WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING OPERATION: THE CASE OF THE GHANA ARMED FORCES

BY

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LEGON

NOVEMBER, 2014
DECLARATION

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

.................................................. ..................................................

VERONICA ADZO ARHIN DR. PEACE MEDIE
(STUDENT) (SUPERVISOR)

.................................................2014 .................................................2014

INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Professor Jonathan Narh Ayertey, former Dean of the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College for his guidance and professional counsel.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the Almighty God for his blessings upon me. I also thank Dr. Peace Medie my supervisor, for her patience, dedication and guidance. Without her able support this work would not have been made possible. Dr. Medie displayed rare selflessness; in that despite her tight schedules she found time to guide me through this study. Thank you very much and may the Almighty God bless you. To my dear husband Major Sebastian Abraham Arhin, I cannot thank you enough for your encouragement, support and prayers. I also thank my children Jacqueline, Elizabeth and Vanessa for their sacrifice and understanding. My next thanks go to Ms Patience Tagoe for her support. Finally I thank all who helped in diverse ways to making this dissertation a success.
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<tr>
<td>AFR</td>
<td>Armed Forces Regulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF</td>
<td>All Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDPA</td>
<td>Centre for Development and Population Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDS</td>
<td>Chief of the Defence Staff</td>
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<td>Col</td>
<td>Colonel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cpl</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dept</td>
<td>Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DMR</td>
<td>Director Military Records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPR</td>
<td>Directorate of Public Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td>EAPC</td>
<td>Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FST</td>
<td>Feminist Security Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>FPU</td>
<td>Formed Police Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development Approach</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAF</td>
<td>Ghana Armed Forces</td>
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<td>GAFCSC</td>
<td>Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College</td>
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<td>Gar</td>
<td>Garrison</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>General</td>
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<tr>
<td>GHANBATT</td>
<td>Ghana Battalion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHQ</td>
<td>General Headquarters</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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KAIPTC  Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
LECIAD  Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy
Lt Col  Lieutenant Col
Maj    Major
MONUSCO  United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Congo
NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OR     Others Ranks
PKOs   Peacekeeping Operations
SEA    Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
Sgt    Sergeant
SGBV   Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SRSG   Special Representative of the Secretary General
TCC    Troop Contributing Country
UNSCR United Nation Security Council Resolution
UN     United Nations
UNIFEM United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment
UNIML  UN Mission to Liberia
UNPOL  United Nations Police
UNSC   United Nations Security Council
WO     Warrant Officer
WIPL   Women in Public Life
Abstract

The need for both sexes to actively participate in peacekeeping cannot be overemphasized. Even though women are allowed to join the Armed Forces, their numbers are low and this reflects in their low turn outs on peacekeeping operations (PKOs). Women are restricted from enlisting into the Combat Units of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF). This restriction further limits the opportunity for more women on peacekeeping missions. Studies reviewed show that women are used as instruments of war and they suffer severe sexual and gender-based violence in conflict situation. The lack of institutional arrangements to protect women and children has been identified as an obstacle to long lasting peace. More women in PKOs have been found to be important to meeting the unmet needs of women and children as victims of conflict. The study therefore sought to examine whether increasing the numbers of women will have positive effects on the outcome of GAF PKOs as well as examine the hindrances to increasing women participation in GAF PKOs. The study employed qualitative methodology to review articles as well as interview 10 GAF officers and administered questionnaire to other 40 officers. The results show that in recent times, whiles the number of female victims is increasing, the proportion of female rebel fighters are also increasing. Increasing women participation will contribute immensely to the successes of GAF PKO since women are more effective in assisting humanitarian activities, supporting SGBV victims as well as female fighters and rebels. Local people are able to comfortably approach the team when women are many. However, the identified challenge to increasing women’s participation in PKOs is the non-enlistment and recruitment of women into the combat unit. There is therefore the need to review national policies that bar women from taking certain military roles such as the combat roles.
CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background

Differences in opinion have normally led to disagreements. It is believed that these disagreements if not properly managed, could degenerate into violence.\(^1\) Experts in International Relations (IR) have often described the international system as characterized by violence.\(^2\) Thus violence per se is not forbidden. However, attempts to control such violence are very important. Hitherto, inter-state violence characterized the world’s conflict order but this trend has gradually changed into more of intrastate violence.\(^3\) The international system has made a number of attempts to address conflict when they break out. Following the outbreak of World War One (WWI), the League of Nations was established in 1919 to prevent the recurrence of conflict of such magnitude.\(^4\) The League of Nations collapsed as a result of some inherent weaknesses.\(^5\) The absence of an internationally recognized body to regulate affairs may have contributed to the outbreak of the Second World War (WWII). The United Nations (UN) was then established in 1945 after WWII to ensure international peace and security.\(^6\) On 18 April 1946, the League of Nations transferred its assets to the UN.\(^7\)

Efforts to resolve international conflict by the UN started in 1948.\(^8\) In the past, establishing permanent peace was not a part of peacekeeping mandates.\(^9\) UN troops had little or nothing to do with the inhabitants of the host country. Consequently, traditional UN PKOs deployed troops to bring hostilities to an end had little or no contact with the locals.\(^10\) As a result, old conflicts easily recurred because lasting solutions were not found to them; examples include the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sudan.\(^11\) It is thus obvious that the mere presence of soldiers without
any strategy for economic and social rebuilding does not lead to permanent peace. Meanwhile interaction with the locals helps to understand their concerns and then lead to finding lasting solution to the conflicts.\textsuperscript{12}

Peacekeeping missions have consequently been transformed into multifaceted civilian–military crisis management processes referred to as the comprehensive approach.\textsuperscript{13} As a result, international peacekeepers are getting more involved in the everyday lives of locals in war torn countries.\textsuperscript{14} This new peacekeeping approach calls for a better understanding of the cultural beliefs of the local people and sensibility to gender issues, especially in regions where sexual violence has been used as a tactic of warfare.\textsuperscript{15} This new demands of PKOs have necessitated giving equal opportunities to both men and women to effectively tackle challenges that conflicts pose to the different segments of any society; men, women, children, youth and the aged.\textsuperscript{16} In order to achieve this equity, there is the need for an orientation of a gender perspective into PKOs. This is premised on the fact that international peacekeeping has always been male dominated and gender had rarely been seen as relevant to the analysis of war.\textsuperscript{17} Women have been underrepresented in many fields of endeavour, the security sector, and most especially the military primarily due to cultural barriers.\textsuperscript{18} The low numbers of women in the military is evident in their low numbers in PKOs.

The UN and the international community continue to make conscious efforts to empower women in various fields of endeavour. Women empowerment started with the Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which was adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly and came into force on 3 September 1981.\textsuperscript{19} On
31 October 2000, the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 was passed.\textsuperscript{20} This was the turning point and the first time women, peace and security issues had received a definite resolution from the Security Council.\textsuperscript{21} UNSCR 1325 has had other supporting resolutions especially 1820 and 1889. Resolution 1820 resolutions bars sexual violence and 1889 specifically calls for more women involvement in PKOs.\textsuperscript{22} Since UNSCR 1889, women’s participation in PKO has inched slowly.\textsuperscript{23} Up until date, the number of female presence in PKOs has not gone beyond 3%.\textsuperscript{24}

Since the late 1990s, feminists, women’s association, intellectuals, and the UN, have advocated for Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) to increase the numbers of women participating in PKOs.\textsuperscript{25} This is premised on the assumption that women are more likely to have a pacifying effect on peacekeeping missions than men.\textsuperscript{26} This is, however, considered as an essentialist point of view. It has been noted that the increase in women’s participation in PKOs will help to reduce cases of HIV/AIDS among local women because the presence of female military peacekeepers acts as a check on their male colleagues.\textsuperscript{27} However many feminists argue that the presence of women is not to watch after men. They contend that men need to do the right thing even in the absence of women\textsuperscript{28}. This consequently will reduce brothels as well as babies fathered and abandoned by peacekeepers.\textsuperscript{29} It is important however to note that the presence of women on peacekeeping missions should not be to prevent abuses by their male counterparts, but rather for equal representation of both men and women so as to effectively handle challenges of peacekeeping.
Additionally, the presence of women in PKO has been found to increase the reputation of the Force as they contribute to reducing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA). Although some women combatants have been linked to sexual abuse against other women by organizing the latter as prostitutes for their male counterparts, the numbers of women perpetrators of such crimes are fewer compared with their male counterparts. In fact, the perpetuators of this abetment are women who are caught up in violence and were forced to act sometimes against their own “kind”. It thus stands to reason that if the women are peacekeepers but not belligerent to a war, they may be less likely to carry out such crimes. Again, studies indicate that the presence of women in a mission makes the force more approachable. This is because women peacekeepers act as role models to local women especially which draws the latter to the force and encourages them to strive higher in whichever endeavour they find themselves. The probability of local women striving to be part of the peace process is also likely to increase as they draw inspiration from fellow women involved in the peace process. Therefore, the presence of women during PKOs could also encourage local women to venture into the security sector such as the military, police, prisons, among others in their local communities.

Despite numerous attempts to increase female uniformed personnel in UN PKOs, the numbers of women is woefully inadequate (3%). These few women deployed in various areas of peacekeeping such as police, military and staff have made positive impacts on peacekeeping environments. In addition to their normal peacekeeping roles, women peacekeepers have been known to support local women in diverse ways and highlighting the plight of the local women to the attention of decision makers. They also counsel victims of gender based violence, and teach
local women various skills.\textsuperscript{37} Thus women peacekeepers have proved to be indispensable in any effective PKO and therefore need to be given more opportunities.

Additionally, women peacekeepers have proved to be capable of performing their responsibilities as well as their male counterparts in all fields of peacekeeping.\textsuperscript{38} An in-depth interview with a female peacekeeper in a study conducted by Olivera Simic, indicates that warring groups see women to be much less threatening and much more “buffer zone” than their male colleagues when they need someone to mediate in conflict situations among themselves.\textsuperscript{39}

While the UN encourages and advocates for the deployment of uniformed women to PKOs, the responsibility lies with TCCs.\textsuperscript{40} In spite of the efforts by the UN to rid the peacekeeping system of gender inequalities, most participating institutions, especially the military remain male-dominated.\textsuperscript{41} The situation is no different in GAF. The question worth asking is whether GAF’s performance in PKOs will improve if it deploys more women? It is against this background that this study seeks to examine whether the low numbers of women have affected GAF’s performance on PKOs.

1.2 Problem Statement

According to Jakkie Cilliers and Julia Schunemann, before WWII, 90% of casualties in conflicts were combatants. Today, 90% of casualties are civilians, of whom the majority are women and children.\textsuperscript{42} Meanwhile, women have very little opportunity to influence decision-making processes meant to find solutions to the increasing loss of the lives of women and children on PKOs. It is thus obvious that when one gender (men) make decisions, that decision is likely to
represent only one perspective. Additionally, widespread sexual and gender-based violence in conflict situations, the lack of institutional arrangements to protect especially women and children coupled with the under-representation of women in peace processes, remain a barrier to building lasting peace.

The argument for increasing women’s participation, especially uniformed women, is partly based on enhancing the operational effectiveness of the force. This is because there are certain roles that women perform more effectively and efficiently. A typical example has to do with body search of women fighters/rebels especially in communities where men and women are not permitted to communicate to each other. The call is also as a result of the many challenges that victims of war, usually women and children, go through in times of violence. Additionally, it is believed that women could bring a unique expertise to bear on UN missions.

Furthermore, huge numbers of women are raped during conflicts. For instance, about 500,000 women were raped in the Rwandan genocide; 60,000 in the wars of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Croatia; and 64,000 in Sierra Leone alone according to Leatherman and the 2008 United Nations Development Fund for Women’s report. Meanwhile a Special Report by the International Rescue Committee on the Democratic Republic of the Congo reveals that approximately 32,000 cases of rape and sexual violence were perpetrated against women in the South Kivu Province alone in 2005. These staggering rape cases demand more female military peacekeepers and expertise on PKOs to assist rape victims in their counseling, treatment and healing processes. This is because it would be more difficult for a rape victim to confide in a man rather than a woman. Consequently, more women would be needed to assist missions achieve their goals of finding lasting solutions to violence especially sexually based violence. It is important to stress
that some women have been known to perpetuate torture and sexual violence against other women though to a lesser degree.\textsuperscript{50}

Ghana has received accolades for her outstanding performance in PKOs.\textsuperscript{51} One would have expected a correlation between its peacekeeping successes and the percentage of women’s participation to meet current needs of PKO. On the contrary, the number of Ghanaian military women serving in UN PKOs is about 10\% which is far below the 50\% stipulated by UNSCR 1325.\textsuperscript{52} The research, therefore, seeks to ascertain whether an increase in the number of female peacekeepers would improve upon GAF’s peacekeeping performance. Conversely, the research seeks to establish whether the low numbers of women have undermined GAF’s peacekeeping successes.

1.3 Research Questions

The fundamental question that this research seeks to answer is whether the low numbers of women in PKOs has affected GAF’s peacekeeping performance. The specific questions that the research attempts to answer are:

1. How has the low number of women in PKOs of GAF affected its performance?
2. What are the barriers to increasing women's participation in PKO in GAF?
3. How can the participation of women in PKO be improved?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:

1. To identify the effect of the low participation of women in GAF’s PKO on its performance.
2. To examine the barriers to increasing women’s participation in GAF’s PKO.

3. To identify ways of improving participation of women in PKO.

4. To make recommendations for improving GAF’s policies on PKO.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study focuses on the need to increase female participation in PKOs in GAF. The research therefore was restricted to personnel of the GAF who have participated in PKOs. This included both officers and other ranks from the General Headquarters (GHQ), Burma Camp. Furthermore, retired officers who have commanded battalions as well as experts on PKOs were interviewed. Secondary data from GAF GHQ Departments of International Peace Support Operation (GHQ [IPSO]) as well as Personnel Administration (GHQ [PA]) were consulted to support the primary data. The gathering of data was undertaken between 15 October and 15 November 2014.

1.6 Rationale of the Study

UN Resolution 1325 has called for a higher level of women’s participation in peace and security matters. Additionally, UNSCR 1820 and 1889 strongly oppose sexual violence against victims of war especially women and specifically requires of member countries to increase women’s participation in PKOs. As a result, both men and women are required in any mission to ensure the effective protection of victims of war. The need for women’s participation in PKO is further buttressed by former Secretary General Kofi Annan when he said, “we can no longer afford to minimize or ignore the contributions of women to all stages of conflict resolution, peacemaking, peace-building, peacekeeping and reconstruction processes. Sustainable peace will not be achieved without full and equal participation of women and men”.

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The significance of the study is that it will help:

1. GAF optimize all of its human resource.
2. Build the capacity of female military personnel in the GAF on peace and security matters.
3. Assist the international community in resolving conflicts as it would have capable females who could bring their expertise to bear when needed.
4. Contribute to existing literature on women’s participation in PKO.

1.7 Hypothesis

Increasing the proportion of women in GAF’s UN PKOs has enormous advantage for making the force more successful in their peacekeeping operations.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study is underpinned by Feminist Security Theory (FST) which argues for the involvement of both genders in peace and security issues. FST emerged from a cross-ideological, trans-epistemological, multi-voiced conversational debate among multiple feminisms, including liberal, empiricist, modified standpoint, and qualified postmodern perspectives, among others. Historically, feminism has been concerned with the unequal status of women and so has tended to view gender in terms of unequal social relations that exists between men and women. Feminist security is a field within security studies which draws attention to gendered dimensions of security. Gender issues have an important place in the international security landscape, but have been neglected both in theory and practice of international security. It is important to emphasize that conflicts affect men and women differently. FST thus looks at security from the
experiences of people in relation to their culture and customs. Such an approach helps to understand the vulnerable in society and contributes to understanding security from a different perspective.

Security in general has been the preserve of the elites in society such as statesmen, diplomats, and the military to the detriment of gender considerations. Within IR, traditional security revolves around warfare, peace, state autonomy and self-interest of nation-states with emphasis on military might. Ann Tickner thus, describes International Relations as “a man’s world of power and conflict in which warfare is a privileged activity.”

Blanchard therefore posits that FST was reluctantly accepted into the study of international security. Since the 1980s, feminist and gender scholars have undertaken serious analysis of the core issues of IR in terms of war, peace, and the desire to secure the boundaries of the nation-state and have come to the realization that gender issues are very important in security matters. With the quickly changing post September 11 world, feminist contributions must be taken seriously if the international system is to realize an all-inclusive security in the face of terrorism and increasing civilian fatalities. Christine Sylvester describes security for women in male dominated societies as “partial, elusive and mundane.”

FST, therefore, aims at gender mainstreaming security. According to Johanna Velanius, gender mainstreaming documents and practices tend to rely on essentialists idea of women in two ways; seeing women as victims and as intrinsically nonviolent. This consequently affects local
women as unable to take charge of their future and then secondly on female peacekeepers as having pacifying effects on the mission.\footnote{70}

FST has contributed immensely to the field of security studies by critiquing and reformulating many of the foundational theoretical assumptions of IR and has made great strides at expanding and enriching the notions of security.\footnote{71} This includes questioning the lack of relevance of women in international security issues which led to highlighting the contribution of women to IR.\footnote{72} Secondly, FST questioned the extent to which women are protected by the state in times of peace and war. Furthermore, the theory refuted the intrinsic linkage of women to peace because there have been cases where women have been the architects and prosecutors of some of the gruesome murders in the world.\footnote{73} This brings to the fore the need to disarm and search women in conflict areas as is done to men and this demands the involvement of both men and women in PKOs including DDR programmes.\footnote{74}

FST also critiques the Realists’ notion of security where premium is placed on the military, elites and males as patriarchal to the neglect of women’s contribution to the sector.\footnote{75} FST also assesses critically Realists view of security as a subjugation of women and minority groups in society and sees the acceptance of violence as the order of the international system with little or no regard to moral considerations as problematic.\footnote{76} The Realists gave no room to question how gender relations affect the security of the system.\footnote{77} Tickner also describes the Realists stance on security as “…attempt to explain the courses of war through a discourse that privileges a view based on hegemonic masculinity”.\footnote{78}
FST hinges on four main tenets. These tenets broaden the understanding of security, persons subject to security, and define security in multidimensional terms.\textsuperscript{79} Therefore, security threats does not include only war and international violence, but also domestic violence, rape, poverty, gender subordination, and ecological destruction.\textsuperscript{80} Secondly, FST questions why the male gender is elevated over the female as this practice perpetuates inequality among the genders and awards unequal weight in a competitive social order.\textsuperscript{81} Thirdly, FST postulates that gender matters in both theory and practice of international security because it helps to conceptually understand international security. It is also important in analyzing, predicting and promoting positive change in the security realm.\textsuperscript{82} The theory further explains that the omission of gender from work on international security does not make that work gender-neutral or trouble-free.

Feminist Security theory therefore helps to bring a gender angle to security matters and is, therefore, appropriate for this study. It has also widened the scope of security as opposed to the narrow Realist view of security. Additionally, feminist security theory has moved security from the traditional stance of securing borders to one that ensures the security and wellbeing of the individual.\textsuperscript{83} The passage of UNSCR 1325 has heightened the integration of gender issues into peacekeeping.\textsuperscript{84} The challenges that come with the management of refugees especially in post-conflict demobilization, disarmament and reintegration and the protection for non-combatants in times of war, show the increasing importance of gender sensitivity for actors on all fronts in global security.\textsuperscript{85} FST has contributed to breaking the monopolization of the traditional narrative on security and urges the international system to expand the definition of security. The socioeconomic underpinning of FST is however is not well developed and requires more work.\textsuperscript{86}
Despite various scholarly disagreements on bringing gender dimension to security issues, Whitworth has admitted that conflict affects men and women differently.\textsuperscript{87}

1.9 Review of Existing Literature

There are a number of published and unpublished works on women’s participation in UN PKOs. The literature has increased exponentially following the passage of UNSCR on 1325 in October 2000.\textsuperscript{88} This is as a result of the fact that, increasingly women have become very vulnerable in conflict situations and therefore need to be part of the process of finding solution to their problems.

1.9.1 Gender Representation on Peace Keeping Operations

Jill Steans argues that the issue of inequitable representation of both genders in peacekeeping operations is caused by the belief that matters of security are the preserve of men.\textsuperscript{89} It is thus not surprising that the numbers of women in International PKOs is so low. She describes IR and war as “crudely patriarchal”. Steans states that many men are sent to the battlefield under the decision of a few men but not necessarily because men are inclined to violence or war.\textsuperscript{90} In fact, men are appealed to in order to take up arms in defence of their interests such as their nation or ethnic group.\textsuperscript{91} Thus, men’s increased participation in war is a societal creation, a myth and not innate. Consequently, giving the same support to women, they could also participate in war and PKO at the same levels as men. The author further posits that the relationship between women and peace is useful in developing a critique of conventional approach to war and peace. Even though women’s numbers in the military and political stage keep increasing, there is still resistance to women’s participation in combat duties. This is due mainly to the belief that women are unsuited for rigours of military life and that only men have the requisite courage to defend the state even
though there is little or no evidence to support this contention.\footnote{92}

Joshua Goldstein also traces the participation of women in war by state armies as early as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Dahomey Kingdom of West Africa (1670-1892) and the then Soviet Union during World War II.\footnote{93} He indicates that women fought well as their male counterparts in the wars. However, women were disbanded as soon as the wars were over with no tangible reason.\footnote{94} Karen D. Davis and Brian Mckee also indicate that though women are being allowed gradually into militaries, there are still debates as to their appropriateness.\footnote{95} Meanwhile, many nations still do not allow women into the combat units.\footnote{96} It can therefore be inferred that women are allowed in war when it becomes very critical for all human resources to be deployed but are not supported once the wars are over. In fact, women are seen as distracting esprit de corps among men when the situation normalizes.\footnote{97} This therefore raises the question as to why women are employed in war under military necessity, but are not given the opportunity to build their capacity and prepare for such critical times.

In contemporary world, some regions are making strides to involve women in the military such as in Sri Lanka among the Tamil Tigers where women constitute about a third (30\%) of the fifteen thousand forces\footnote{98} and in the 1990s in Iraq where a 43 year old lady and her husband were the leaders of the main guerrilla group.\footnote{99} This brings to the fore society’s acceptance of women’s participation in wars of liberation but frowned on their participation in national well-structured armies. Karen D. Davis and Brian Mckee also point to the fact that there is no single feminist theory on war, instead there are strands which includes Liberal, Difference, Standard Point, Essentialists, and Ecofeminism.\footnote{100} It further adds that, women have over the years been used as
sex tools during wars through “Military Prostitution” and “Comfort Women”. This implies that men also create problems during war but they are provided with the necessary assistance. However, the problems that women pose, if there are any, are not accepted in the military. These challenges are used as the reason for their non-employment.

1.9.2 Reasons for Low Representation of Women on PKO

Franklin Pinch argues that gender and diversity are very important to any military’s success if the military needs to make best use of its human resources. The argument that the military’s closed nature leads to the development of unity, motivation, group survival and successful missions is being questioned. Such norms have led to the exclusion of minority groups such as women and “not like us” groups. The closed nature of the military could be attributable to the theories upon which the military was established such as Institutional and Occupational models. These models support the male-centred bias for the military service. Harries-Jenkins one of the contributors to the book argues that:

“Today…not only is the pertinence of conservative, male dominated models questioned, but their very conceptual validity is in doubt”. Harries-Jenkins believes that a diversity model is more appropriate for the military. He argues that in a situation of free choice within all-volunteer forces, heterogeneity and representativeness are needed for the military to achieve combat effectiveness. He thus recommends inclusiveness and heterogeneity, rather than exclusiveness and homogeneity. For the diversity model to be effective three concepts were needed; tokenism, equal opportunities, and positive discrimination. According to him, women must constitute 15 percent of an organization to be considered more than a token and this is lacking in many militaries around the world especially in PKOs where
women constitute about 3%.\textsuperscript{104} Karen Davis and Brian McKee also believe that the real challenge to the low numbers of women in the military is not as a result of women’s physical and mental inability but rather social and cultural issues that characterize combat.\textsuperscript{105} There is therefore the need to find more scientific approach to explaining women’s role in the military rather than resorting to myths, prejudices and unsubstantiated arguments. Such prejudices result in low numbers of women in their respective militaries which intends account for the low numbers of women in PKOs. Davis and McKee again indicate that recent studies in US and UK suggest that presence of women in a force has a negligible effect of maintenance of cohesion, esprit de corps and operational effectiveness in a force. Instead, they maintain that operational effectiveness depends on good leadership and effective teamwork.\textsuperscript{106}

Sahana Dharmapuri indicates that the UN is unlikely to achieve its tasks of gender parity in peacekeeping missions due to its inability to influence TCCs to increase the number of women in their respective militaries.\textsuperscript{107} She also attributes the outcome to the lack of understanding among member states about UNSCR 1325 and UN policy on gender equality in peace keeping operations to:

A gap in data and analysis about women’s participation in national security institutions globally and in UN peacekeeping in particular; and most importantly, the prevalence of social norms and biases that perpetuate gender inequality within the security.\textsuperscript{108}

She indicates that for the UN to be successful at gender mainstreaming, there is the need to develop a deliberate policy and efforts in the mission area. Some of these efforts include paying attention to gender-sensitivity during force generation, increasing research on women in PKO and undertaking gender-coaching programmes in UN and TCCs. Additionally, there is the need
to increase understanding of UNSCR 1325 among Members States and highlight its importance
to PKO. The project identifies that social customs and behaviours that are responsible for
inequality among men and women hinder women’s full participation in the security sector.\textsuperscript{109} It
however did not specifically mention the contribution of women to PKO.

1.10 Concepts Relevant to the Study

Certain concepts are very important in creating a better understanding of the study. Two of such
concepts are; Gender Mainstreaming and the Gender and Development Approach.

1.10.1 Gender Mainstreaming

Gender is a social construct of roles, duties and values that an individual acquires within a
particular society and time frame.\textsuperscript{110} It also refers to the particular roles and relationships,
personality, traits, attitudes, behaviours and values that a society ascribes to men and women.\textsuperscript{111}
Thus gender is neither biological nor static. It refers to learned differences between men and
women. As a result of this learned roles, both sexes have areas of specialties. Thus, to derive
maximum benefit from any society, it is more appropriate to employ both men and women.\textsuperscript{112}
This is because when one gender makes a decision, it is likely to present only one perspective.\textsuperscript{113}
The aforementioned led to the concept of Gender Mainstreaming. Mainstreaming is the process
of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, such as legislation,
policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels.\textsuperscript{114} “It is a strategy for making women’s as
well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation,
monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal
spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.\textsuperscript{115} The ultimate
goal of Gender Mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2008), mainstreaming includes gender-specific activities and affirmative action, whenever women or men are in a particularly disadvantageous position. Gender-specific interventions can target women exclusively, men and women together, or only men, to enable them to participate in and benefit equally from development efforts. Gender Mainstreaming is a temporary measure designed to combat the direct and indirect consequences of past discriminations. According to the former Under-Secretary General for Peacekeeping, Jean-Marie Guehenno:

“Gender Mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations is necessary if our interventions are to be relevant, effective to women, men, girls and boys in the host countries we serve”.

1.10.2 Gender and Development Approach

Gender and Development Approach (GAD) is a concept that holds that gender equality is critical in achieving decent work for all (women and men), in order to effect social and institutional change that leads to sustainable development with equity and growth. The concept aims at addressing policy and institutional constraints that maintain disparities between the genders and thus limit the effectiveness of development programmes. GAD is a way of determining how best to structure development projects and programmes based on analysis of gender relationships. GAD is not concerned specifically with women, but with the way in which the society assigns roles, responsibilities and expectations to both women and men. The central idea of GAD is that both women and men must be lifted from poverty and contribute and also benefit from development efforts. According to the Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) 2014:

… until women are represented fully in local, national and international
decision-making bodies, their priorities will not receive needed resources.\textsuperscript{125}

1.11 Methodology

The qualitative method of collecting data was employed in this research. This method is ideal for examining the presence of certain qualities or attributes in some phenomenon of interest. Qualitative method is also appropriate for a small sample size of 50 respondents. Both primary and secondary data were employed in the study. The primary data was gathered from interviews and questionnaires from military personnel who had undertaken PKOs and who work at the General Headquarters of the GAF. These personnel constitute the population for the study from which the sample size of 50 was taken. Out of this number, 10 were interviewed and 40 were given questionnaires. Five of the officers (two Generals and 3 Colonels) who were purposively interviewed are within the GAF strategic decision making levels. Their activities influence the selection of personnel into the PKOs. The activities of the other five (who work at the GHQ) also play a key role in the recommendation of personnel for PKOs. The responses from these officers were seen as cardinal to a better understanding of objectives that the study sought out to achieve.

The secondary data came from the General Headquarter International Peace Support Operations (GHQ [IPSO]) and GHQ (Personnel Administration). GHQ (IPSO) is in-charge of PKOs in the GAF whiles GHQ (PA) keeps record of personnel in general. Other secondary sources included scholarly works such as books, journals and articles on women, peace and security. The Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), the Balm Library, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) and the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFCSC) Libraries provided valuable sources of reference materials.
Purposive and the snowball were employed in selecting the respondents for the study. While the purposive sampling was used to select the ten officials who were engaged in the interview, snowball sampling was used to select the forty (40) respondents who have been to peace keeping before. Data was collected using structured questionnaires and semi structured and unstructured interviews. Descriptive statistical tools such as graphs and charts were used to present the findings of the survey. A thematic analysis method was used to analyze the interview data.

1.12 Definition of Key Terms
Below are definitions of some key terms required to give better understanding of the study as explained by Aboagye:\textsuperscript{126}

a. Other Rank: A soldier who has not been commissioned as an officer of the Armed Forces.

b. Warrant Officer (WO): A WO is an Other Rank above the rank of Staff Sergeant.

c. Senior Non-Commissioned Officer (SNCO): A SNCO is an Other Rank of the rank of a Staff Sergeant or Sergeant.

d. Junior Non-Commissioned Officer (JNCO): A JNCO is an Other Rank with the rank of a Private, Lance Corporal or Corporal.

e. Senior Officer: A senior officer is a commissioned officer of the rank of Major and above.

f. Junior Officer: A junior officer is a commissioned Officer between the ranks of Captain and Second Lieutenant.

g. Garrison: A town where military personnel are stationed.

h. General Headquarters: The Joint headquarters for Army, Navy and Air Force.

i. Combat Roles: Fighting/Battle roles.
1.13 Arrangement of Chapters

The study is arranged into four chapters as follows:

1. Chapter one: Research Design.

2. Chapter Two: Overview of women’s participation in Peacekeeping Operations.

3. Chapter Three: Presentation and analysis of data.

4. Chapter Four: Summary of the research findings, conclusions and recommendations.
ENDNOTES

1 Spaho Kenan, "Organisational communication and Conflict Management", (March 2, 2013), p.103.
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34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
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42 Jakkie Cilliers and Julia Schunemann, 2013.
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75 Eric Blanchard, p. 1299.
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Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses women’s participation in peacekeeping operations. It gives the background to UNSCR 1325 and its impact on women’s participation in PKOs. It then examines women’s contribution to peace and security.

2.2 Peacekeeping

International peace and security have been the concern of many nations around the world. As a result, various attempts have been made to ensure world peace through sub regional, regional, and world efforts. Although peacekeeping has been one of the means of resolving such conflicts. Peacekeeping has no standard definition, however, Boutros Boutros Ghali conceptualizes peacekeeping as the “deployment of UN presence in the field, previously with the approval of all the parties concerned, normally involving UN military and or police personnel and civilian components”.¹ According to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) 2008, peacekeeping is simply identified as one of five peace and security activities as follows:

1. Conflict Prevention- including structural and diplomatic measures to prevent disputes from developing into violent conflict;
2. Peacemaking - the use of diplomatic measures to bring hostile parties to a negotiated agreement;
3. Peacekeeping - the use of military, police and civilian personnel to lay the foundations of sustainable peace;
4. Peace Enforcement - the use of military and other measures to enforce the will of the UN Security Council and

5. Peace Building - a range of measures aimed at reducing the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict.²

For the purpose of this study, PKO would refer to the use of military, police and civilian personnel to lay the foundations of sustainable peace. Within this category of peacekeepers are formed units (contingents), military observers and staff officers. The study will concentrate on formed units. It will however draw relevant examples from the other five peace and security activities. Peacekeepers carry out a number of tasks such as monitoring and observing peace processes in post-conflict areas, patrols, protection of civilians and assisting ex-combatants in the implementation of the peace agreements they may have signed among others.³ Sometimes these peacekeeping forces are lightly armed⁴. Their mission may, for instance be, to deploy their forces between former combatants, literally to keep the peace or use diplomatic measures to bring hostile parties to an agreement. Whatever their aim, three principles are fundamental to peacekeeping:

1. PKOs are undertaken without prejudice to any party to the original conflict.

2. Peacekeeping missions are normally undertaken with the consent of the parties concerned except peace enforcement in certain cases.

3. Armed peacekeepers’ use their weapons only in self defence or the defence of other lives and property.⁵

Peacekeeping started in 1948 to create peace and security for humankind.⁶ Women have been relegated to the background in this noble venture due to several reasons.⁷ Considering the
complexity of current armed conflicts and humanitarian demands, deploying both men and women on PKOs is crucial for reducing suffering, and helping those in need.\(^8\) This will help meet the needs of women and children, who are often subjected to sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) and persecution, during and after conflicts.\(^9\) In light of this fact, the UN has made considerable progress in its attempt to reform and strengthen its ability to address the needs of women and children. Most notable is the strong advocacy for women to become greater actors in the realm of peace and international security.\(^10\)

### 2.3 Background to United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325

On 31 October, 2000, the UNSC passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was passed. This resolution recognizes the important contribution that women can make towards the maintenance of international peace and security.\(^11\) The declaration acknowledges the specific issues that affect women in armed conflict such as forced displacement, sexual and gender based violence, and HIV/AIDS infection by belligerent forces.\(^12\) This reinforces the need for increasing female participation in post-conflict rehabilitation and peace building initiatives. UNSCR 1325 is however non-binding on member nations as it falls under Chapter VI of the UN Charter which uses pacific settlements of disputes. It does not have an enforcing mechanism to impose the resolution as opposed to Chapter VII which has an enforcement capability. The important fact however is that UNSCR 1325 specifically enjoins Member States:

> To ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict...[and] urges the Secretary-General to see to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field based operations, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel.\(^13\)
UNSCR 1325 is based on three pillars namely: protection and promotion of the rights of women and girls in conflict environment and in peace support operations; secondly the inclusion of women in conflict prevention, peace and security institution and processes; and the prevention of violence against women including sexually, gender-based and conflict related violence.\(^{14}\) UNSCR 1325 specifically recognizes the needs, rights, experiences and role of women in the areas of armed conflict, peace building and peacekeeping.\(^{15}\) Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, six (6) supporting resolutions have been adopted by the Security Council. These include resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009) and 1889 (2009). Others are resolutions 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013) and 2122 (2013).\(^{16}\) The main focus of these resolutions is to strengthen women’s participation in decision-making, end sexual violence, and impunity and ensure an accountable system.\(^{17}\) UNSCR 1820 specifically realizes that sexual violence has been employed as a cheap but effective tool to demoralize and destabilize communities during war. It is used to unduly inflict pain on both men and women especially women during war. Hence, this resolution aims at addressing conflict-related sexual violence as a security challenge.\(^{18}\) UNSCR 1889 on the other hand calls for increased women’s participation in PKOs as diverse views from men and women could lead to better decisions as well as effective performance of peacekeeping force. Despite the numerous strides made by the UN to increase women’s participation in PKOs, women’s representation in the military segment of UN PKOs is still far below the 50% target set by resolution 1325.\(^{19}\)

Many nations did not have women participating in PKOs until the end of the Cold War.\(^{20}\) Even though UN peacekeeping started some 66 years ago, women’s participation in PKOs started in the late 1990s. However, considering the complexities of peacekeeping, equal representation of
men and women have become very necessary. Women face challenges such as lack of equal access and active participation in peacekeeping, even though civilians, particularly women and children, are most affected by armed conflict. Following, the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action launched in 2000, gender mainstreaming was to be implemented in all peace support operations and gender issues were to be discussed during peace negotiations. Additionally all missions were expected to have gender advisors. The Declaration also demanded the inclusion of 50% of women in managerial and decision making positions, including Special Representatives of the Secretary General.

Data from the UN DPKO indicates that as at 1993, women constituted 1% of deployed uniformed personnel. The percentage of female military personnel in peacekeeping operations rose to 3% in 2000 and declined to 1.2% in 2005 and to 1% in early 2006. In 2012, however, out of approximately 125,000 peacekeepers, military women constitute 3% of personnel in UN Peacekeeping missions. The desire for more women involvement in PKO was aptly captured by former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan as follows:

If women are to play their full part in negotiating peace accords, mediating disputes, creating new governments, rebuilding judicial and civil infrastructures, and the many other activities that support peace, the world needs to make an investment in building up their skills for doing so. This will require both political will and a much larger pool of funding.

The need to meet the requirements of women in PKOs depends largely on how women are employed in their national militaries. Many military women are employed in non-combat roles hence are either non-existent or very few in PKOs. Governments, therefore, need to make the conscious effort to enlist and recruit more women in combat roles in their respective militaries. Though with some difficulty, the US military is opening hitherto strictly male only branches to
women. For instance, as at 3 October 2014, three (3) women had for the first time passed the marine corps training paving the way for possible graduation of women in the corps.\textsuperscript{28} According to the Washington Post newspaper, the integration of women at the Infantry Officer Course is one of the high-profile parts of the Pentagon’s ongoing research into which new jobs women should be allowed to serve in while in combat units.\textsuperscript{29} The training originally had 93 men and seven women, according to a Marine Corps spokeswoman Captain Maureen Krebs.\textsuperscript{30} However, 67 men passed along with the three women, who are expected to continue with the training.\textsuperscript{31} This implies that a total of 26 men and 4 women failed the training. Thus, given equal numbers (opportunity) women could do very well as their male counterparts. The unfortunate aspect of this training is that even if the women eventually pass their final training, they would not be employed in the infantry corps because the training is on a trial basis and the corps is still not opened to women. Persons opposed to this initiative argue that enlisting women in the infantry corps would weaken it because women are weak as compared to their male counterparts. They also cite cultural barriers to both men and women working together effectively in high-stress situations.\textsuperscript{32}

Similarly, women are being allowed into the Ranger School in the USA which used to be the preserve of men. The purpose for such an effort is to assess and determine how to open combat arms military specialties to women.\textsuperscript{33} In the Benin Armed Forces, women are allowed to join any arm of the service. Promotions and nominations for courses are based on performance during written examinations.\textsuperscript{34} The numbers of women in the Benin Armed Forces, however, is still low (about 13\%) due mainly to cultural barriers,\textsuperscript{35} which give more opportunities to men than women. Some roles are considered to be in the domain of men and this tends to affect women
enlisted into the military, which is regarded as the field for the masculine sect. These are good examples that other militaries around the world could emulate. With gradual improvements, women would be enlisted or recruited to hitherto male dominated corps and eventually improve in their participation in PKOs.

Following the adoption of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) policy on implementation of UNSCR 1325 in 2000, NATO made a significant progress by integrating a gender angle into its decision making process.\textsuperscript{36} Policy frameworks have been adopted and realistic mechanisms developed in order to ensure the effective implementation of UNSCR 1325 throughout NATO’s entire organization. NATO has chalked a significant achievement through the appointment of the Special Representative of the NATO Secretary General on Women, Peace and Security in 2012.\textsuperscript{37}

To date, there are 48 countries globally that have adopted a National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. In Africa, there are 13 countries that have a national policy towards the implementation of UNSCR 1325. These includes Burundi, Cote d’Ivoire, DR Congo, Liberia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Uganda.\textsuperscript{38} For instance, Uganda developed a National Action Plan for the national implementation of UNSCR1325, alongside the Goma Declaration on Eradicating Sexual Violence and Ending Impunity in the Great Lakes Region for the period 2008-2014. It forms part of a broader national strategic framework on the advancement of women. In particular, the five year National Action Plan on Women (2007) which set out priorities in peace building, conflict resolution and the rights of women and girls to
live freedom from violence.\textsuperscript{39} Conflict in Uganda and in the Great Lakes region more broadly, has been characterized by gross human rights violations, including human trafficking, torture, abduction and systematic sexual violence, including sexual slavery, the incidence of which has disproportionately impacted women and children.\textsuperscript{40} Women and children also represent the vast majority of internally displaced persons and refugees. The implementation of UNSCR 1325 is, therefore, seen as a commitment to address sexual violence against women in armed conflict.

Rwanda also developed its National Action Plan (NAP) on UNSCR 1325 for the period 2009-2012 and is set within a post-conflict and recovery context, following the 1994 genocide. The NAP is strategically linked to existing efforts to mainstream gender and promote women’s role in political and security decision making.\textsuperscript{41} In the case of Nigeria, since its independence in 1960, thousands have lost their lives in various levels of armed conflicts and violence. Many more have become perpetually internally displaced. Within the last two decades, Nigerian women have paid a heavy price in the long and violent conflicts that have been ravaging a section of the country. Nigerian women have endured unprecedented levels of sexual violence and assault, along with related HIV infections, involuntary pregnancies and health complications as a result of abuses, increased food insecurity, and forced several women to flee from their homes. Using a NAP Advocacy Toolkit developed for their needs specifically by Peace Women, WILPF Nigeria worked at both the grassroots and government levels in order to increase awareness at the community level. WILPF Nigeria translated UNSCR 1325 into several indigenous languages. During the 16 Days campaign in 2012, WILPF Nigeria organized a capacity building workshop for women on UNSCR 1325, NAPs, its process and its significance.\textsuperscript{42}
Ghana's NAP on the UNSCR 1325 was developed in 2010, but launched in 2012 for the period 2012-2014. It was led by the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs with broad-based participation from the civil society. Although Ghana has not experienced armed conflicts of grave humanitarian consequences, there have been a number of violent ethnic conflicts with adverse impacts on women and girls especially which make it absolutely appropriate for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Ghana.\(^{43}\) This is coupled with the fact that Ghana is involved in the maintenance of international peace and security by contributing troops to different peace support and peacekeeping operations. The relevance of a Ghana National Action Plan on the UNSCR 135 is ultimately for the maintenance of both national and international peace and security as well as maintain multilateral co-operation and active participation in several international peace keeping operations within the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU) as well as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).\(^{44}\)

### 2.4 Women’s Contribution to Peace and Security

Until the formulation of UN Resolution 1325, data on women on PKOs was scarce.\(^{45}\) According to Sahana Dharmapuri, a Fellow at the Carr Centre for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School of Government:

> It is difficult to accurately map trends in the number of female peacekeepers in UN operations, for several reasons. It was only in 2000 that the UN started gathering sex-disaggregated data on its peacekeeping missions, with statistics dating back to 1994.\(^{46}\)

Even though there were no sufficient data on women’s participation in PKOs, it is established that women’s participation in PKOs has been low since the inception of UN operations in 1948\(^{47}\).
Available statistics indicate that from 1957 to 1989, no more than 20 women had served in peacekeeping missions, mainly as medical personnel (nurses). From 1957 to 1993, no female military officer had served at the UN Headquarters in New York. However, this trend started changing gradually and by the end of 1993, 11 out of 19 UN peacekeeping missions had about one-third female civilian staff serving in them. It was also in 1994 that the Secretary General specifically advocated for equal representation of men and women on the secretariat’s military posts.

More than a decade after UNSCR 1325 (2000) was unanimously adopted, there exists a wide gap between men and women in formal peace security issues. This is a troubling situation considering the numerous attempts at both global and regional levels to increase women’s participation in peace and security. A comprehensive study undertaken in 2008, which scanned 33 peace negotiations, found out that less than 4 per cent of participants (11 out of 280) on peace and security issues were women. The average participation of women on government negotiating delegations was about the same as that of delegations of non-state armed groups. This implies that non state armed groups appreciate the importance of women in the negotiation teams. Out of a sample of 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011, the percentages of women were 9% negotiators, 4% signatories, 3.7% witnesses and 2.4% chief mediators.

The Oslo peace to end the conflict in the Philippines, comprised of 33% of female signatories and 35% of women on delegations. The team to reach the 2011 agreement represents an average of 3% women signatories and 7.5% negotiators. From August 2008 to March 2012, women were signatories in 2 out of 61 peace agreements that were concluded over the period.
However, in 11 mediation processes that the UN led in 2011, the mediation teams held regular consultations with women’s civil society organizations in 7 processes. “Women’s absence in peace processes cannot be explained by their alleged lack of experience in conflict resolution or negotiations. Rather there has been a lack of effort to integrate them in formal peace processes”.

Some of the most notable examples of women’s participation in peace negotiations took place before the Security Council adopted resolution 1325 on 31 October 2000. In the Republic of El Salvador in the 1990s, women were present at nearly all the post accord negotiating tables. In the end, women made up one third of the beneficiaries of land redistribution and reintegration packages, which corresponded roughly with the percentage of female members of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), either as combatants or as collaborators.

In the Republic of South Africa in the mid-1990s, the Women’s National Commission demanded that 50 per cent of participants in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process be women and succeeded in establishing that one out of every two representatives per party had to be a woman, or the seat would remain vacant. Approximately 3 million women across the country participated in focus groups and discussions, and a 30 per cent female quota was adopted for their general elections in 1994.

In Northern Ireland, women secured a seat at the peace table in 1997 by forming a women’s cross-party political grouping and winning some seats in the election. The Northern Ireland
Women’s Coalition successfully built bridges between Catholics and Protestants and promoted reconciliation and reintegration of political prisoners.\(^{62}\)

In the Republic of Guatemala, women significantly influenced the talks that led to the 1996 peace accord, in spite of the fact that two women were included in the negotiating teams of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity and the Government of Guatemala. Civil society participation, including women’s groups, was strongly supported by the United Nations and the Group of Friends that sponsored the talks.\(^{63}\) Jean Arnault, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Guatemala and mediator of the negotiations, endorsed the formal tabling of women’s concerns and recommendations for the parties’ consideration. Despite the underrepresentation of women at the peace table, the agreement contained a number of important provisions regarding gender equality.\(^{64}\)

Several months before the adoption of resolution 1325 (2000), Asha Hagi Elmi, a Somali woman formed the women’s Sixth Clan in the Somali Republic to lobby for participation in peace talks in Arta, Djibouti, because the 5 main Somali clans had all been given a seat at the table but had excluded women.\(^{65}\) In Burundi, prior to the passage of resolution 1325, while 19 parties to the conflict were in the midst of another round of negotiations in Arusha (Tanzania), UNIFEM, now part of UN WOMEN, convened the All-Party Women’s Peace Conference. This conference was attended by two women representing each of the parties to the conflict and 7 women who had access to the plenary sessions of the peace talks as observers. The women presented their recommendations to the facilitator of the negotiations, Nelson Mandela, and more than half of these recommendations were incorporated into the peace agreement.\(^{66}\)
Apart from the low numbers of women on negotiation tables, women participation in PKOs both as military and civilians are also low. In December 2011, the United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Congo (MONUSCO), had a total of 18% of women civilian staff in MONUSCO. An analysis of ranks shows proportionally more women (30 per cent) at the lower levels of employment as compared to 23% at the middle level and 21% at the top hierarchy. This implies that the higher the appointment the lower the numbers of women in those appointments. Within the military, the percentage of women since 2004 has constantly been at 2% in contingent and at 3% for military observers. There are, however, wide differences between military contingents. For instance, while the Republic of South Africa had 16% women representation, Ghana had 10% and Uruguay and China had 6 % each. The gender ratio amongst UN police varies from between 3% (2004), 6% (2009) and 4% (2011). The UN continues to promote advocacy efforts amongst TCCs to increase the number of female personnel in military and police. The current representation of women shows that a significant improvement will be necessary in order to attain the 2014 United Nations Police (UNPOL) target of 20% and the UNSCR 1325 target of 50% women.

As of January 2012, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, deployed All Female (AF) contingents in UN missions. In 2007, the first AF police contingent from India was deployed in Liberia. Since then, four more AF UN police units have been deployed as follows: a Bangladeshi unit in Haiti, a Samoan unit in Timor-Leste and a Rwandan unit in Sudan. This trend has been continuing with the most recent deployment in January 2013 of a Peruvian AF contingent in Haiti. These AF units have been criticized because they were separated from their male peacekeepers, which is
not in accordance with the gender mainstreaming approach that is at the heart of UNSCR 1325. The segregation of women rather than their integration into otherwise-male peacekeeping units might have some effect on other mixed-gender contingents. The AF units, therefore, need to be used as a temporary measure to encourage other TCCs to deploy more women. Once deployed, AF contingents need to be integrated into the mixed-gendered peacekeeping environment.73

The mere presence of AF contingent does not mean gender mainstreaming is achieved. Gender mainstreaming requires changing the relationships between masculinised protectors and the feminised protected.74 There is the need for political commitment and concrete policies to achieve this change. It also requires an agenda of gender balance into the meaningful participation of women in policymaking on issues that affect their lives, as well as the lives of local women. TCCs, thus, need to increase the number of women to bring about change in the lives of local people.

Though women’s roles in PKO has received a huge boost through UNSCR 1325 and its associated supporting resolutions, having the appropriate numbers of women peacekeepers has been found to be one of the greatest challenges facing the United Nations.75 Women are disproportionately underrepresented as peacekeepers though it is widely acknowledged that peacekeeping efforts would be enhanced with greater involvement of women. A study on women peacekeepers in UN Mission to Liberia (UNMIL) by Cordell Kristen showed that gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping has an impact on security for the population.76 For instance, women in UNMIL held a variety of roles in the mission including senior level leadership such as the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) and Deputy SRSG among others.
The increased numbers of women in UNMIL led to improved collection and analysis of community based intelligence. This was done through informal interactions between female peacekeepers and the local women who were initially reluctant to give out information. In one instance, an interaction between peacekeepers and local women resulted in the uncovering of a significant cache of weapons. The female peacekeepers were also actively involved in the education and rehabilitation of the community on sexual and gender based violence (SGBV). Also, a total of forty-one (41) female personnel of Ghanbatt 10 deployed in the port city of Buchanan, in Grand Bass County, Liberia, constituted the largest female within any single contingent in UNMIL’s operations at the time. These females provided assistance to the local women in terms of medical, administrative needs and patrols (security). Their presence was very crucial because Buchanan is mainly a Muslim society where men could not interact with women easily.

The study also indicates that the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Liberia’s local women found it difficult to interact with male peacekeepers especially on issues of SGBV. This is an area where data shows that women peacekeepers have comparative advantage over their male counterparts. Additionally, an increased capacity of missions to address SGBV is the second area where women peacekeepers have significant impact. In August 2009, the United Nations highlighted the connection between a greater number of women in a mission and a lower rate of SGBV in the community. The data showed two impacts: improved prevention through security and improved response to women survivors. In an attempt to stop SGBV in the community in and around Monrovia, the Indian Formed Police Unit (FPU) introduced night patrols and self-defense classes for teenage girls. Their presence, alongside focused activities,
effectively eroded intimidation and provided reassurance for vulnerable groups creating a more hospitable environment for civilian women.\(^8^3\)

Kristen Cordell indicates that an all-female Indian FPU set up Women and Children Protection Units which was highly accessible. This Unit worked to provide security for local events, riot control and assisting in building the capacity of local institutions. They also organize outreach projects including providing medical services to communities and providing first-aid classes for women.\(^8^4\) By working alongside local women, female peacekeepers serve as a resource for building the capacity of the community to sustain national security structures. The presence of women peacekeepers inspires more women to join their national security services. Women peacekeepers in Liberia led the recruitment of women for the Liberian National Police.\(^8^5\) Women peacekeepers become role models for local women in challenging social and cultural context, both within and outside of the security sector. Having female and male peacekeepers working side-by-side can be an effective means of breaking down traditional views that discriminate and marginalize women.

The enactment of UNSCR 1325 led to an increase in PKOs by women in areas such as the establishment of Gender Units and Gender Advisors for many PKOs. Out of the 18 UN Operations, 10 have dedicated and full time Gender Advisors. These operations include Afghanistan, Burundi, Cote d’Ivoire, Congo, Haiti, Kosovo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Timor-Leste.\(^8^6\) In the absence of Gender Advisors in some missions, Focal Point Persons are appointed. Some of these missions include Cyprus, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Georgia, Middle East, Syrian Golan Heights and Western Sahara.\(^8^7\) The presence of the gender advisors and focal point
persons has contributed significantly to the relative protection of the vulnerable in many of these peacekeeping missions. Additionally, there is a gradual inclusion of gender issues in all new peacekeeping missions. The development of gender awareness training brochures prior to and during operations as well as efforts at advancing gender mainstreaming within the UN’s comprehensive approach attests to the steady inclusion of women in PKOs. According to former Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan, the most significant progress in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 has been made in the area of PKOs.88

A study by Gorana Odanović indicates that the presence of women in PKOs contribute in diverse ways to the force for instance; increased security among local women, increased trust by local community in the mission and easier access to females in the local community.89 However, out of three (3) missions that Serbia was involved, the numbers of women were two out of eleven (11) police officers in one mission; one (1) out of six (6) in another; and six (6) out of thirty-four (34) personnel in still another operation. These low numbers were attributed to the low numbers of women in both the police force and especially in the Serbian military which has 0.6% of women.90

The study states that the greatest obstacle to women’ participation in PKOs is their low numbers in their respective countries’ military and police. Women are least represented in the military, constituting 2% as compared with women in the police who make up 8% and civilian women who constitute 30%.91 In 2010, the UN had 7 Special Representatives of the Secretary General (SRSGs) or head of mission out of which one (1) was a female and she was the SRSG (Margrethe Loj) in UNMIL which has been hailed as a model of successful peace support
As women and girls are sexually and physically targeted during conflict situations, one of the ways to meet women's needs and increase their level of their security is to have greater involvement of their women in PKOs.

### 2.5 Conclusion

The term peacekeeping has a broad meaning but generally is concerned with the intervention of a third party in an internal or interstate conflicts and aims at restoring peace using the military, police, and civilian components. Peacekeeping started in 1948 to help find solution to conflict situation and the phenomena has become complex necessitating the employment of both men and women. The UN consequently enacted UNSCR 1325 to encourage TCCs to deploy more women to assist the missions.

Resolution 1325 has six supporting resolutions which aim at strengthening women’s participation in decision-making, end sexual violence and impunity and ensure also accountable system for all. These resolutions have led to the inclusion of more women in PKOs as well as empowered more women in peace and security issues. The chapter enumerated a number of women’s contribution to peace and security across the world. The chapter also revealed that local women found it difficult to interact with male peacekeepers especially on issues of SGBV. It also established that there is a relationship between greater number of women in a mission and a lower rate of SGBV. The data showed two impacts: improved security and response to women survivors.

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CHAPTER THREE
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a profile of the GAF, traces the enlistment/recruitment of women into the GAF and highlights the contribution of women to PKOs in the GAF. It then focuses on the analysis of data collated from interviews and questionnaires.

3.2 Profile of the Ghana Armed Forces

This study seeks to examine women participation in GAF’s PKOs and therefore the need to understand its set up is paramount. It was conducted within the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the GAF. The GHQ refers to the Joint Headquarters of three services; Army, Navy and Air Force. GHQ is located within Burma Camp and falls within the Five Garrison (5 Gar) of the GAF. GAF has seven (7) garrisons or towns or regions where military personnel are stationed across the country. These are Tema (1 Gar), Takoradi-Western Region (2 Gar), Sunyani-Brong Ahafo Region (3 Gar), Kumasi-Ashanti Region (4 Gar), Accra (5 Gar), Tamale-Northern Region (6 Gar) and Ho-Volta Region (7 Gar). In each of these garrisons are autonomous units or battalions which are administered by their respective commanding officers. The major units in the garrisons have oversight and internal security responsibility for the region and are expected to undertake activities alongside other security forces within these regions that help to strengthen ties between the units and the communities in the respective regions.
Burma Camp is the main military base in Accra. It was named “Burma Camp” to commemorate a battle fought during World War Two (WWII) in Burma in which West African forces served. The barracks originally was known as Giffard Camp, named after General Sir George Giffard who was General Officer Commanding (GOC) West Africa in 1940. The name was changed to Burma when Ghana gained independence.

The overall authority of the GAF is vested in the President of Ghana who is the Commander-in-Chief. The Ministry of Defence is headed by a Minister. The GAF consists of the Army, Navy and Air Force and each are headed by Service Chiefs. All the three Service Chiefs report to the Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS) who is headquartered at the GHQ and coordinates the affairs of all three services. Strategic decisions including PKOs in the GAF are taken at the GHQ. The GHQ consists of about 20 departments and directorates with about 1500 personnel. These departments are headed by either Directors General (DGs) or Directors. The departments are GHQ (Chief of Staff), GHQ (Joint Operations), GHQ (Personnel & Administration), GHQ (Logistics), GHQ (Plans and Development), GHQ (Intelligence), GHQ (Training), GHQ (Military Secretary) and GHQ (Defence Financial Comptroller). Others include GHQ (Medical Directorate), GHQ (Base Ordnance Depot), GHQ (Camp), Directorate of Religious Affairs, Directorate of Public Relations, Supply and Transport, the Signal Corps and Forces Pay Office. Still others are Electrical Mechanical and Engineering, Military Records, Directorate of Engineering Services, 37 Military Hospital and Military Police.

The Ghana Army evolved from the military units organised in the 19th century by European trading companies to safeguard their socio-political and economic interests in the then Gold
Coast. In 1865, a corps of Hausas was formed for service in Nigeria. This force was under the command of a Captain Glover and therefore the corps became known as Glover’s Hausas. After the Ashanti Campaign of 1874, Glover’s Hausas was disbanded. Three Hundred and Fifty (350) remaining men (Glover’s Hausas) formed the nucleus of the Gold Coast Constabulary in 1879. The Gold Coast Constabulary was reorganised into the Gold Coast Regiment after World War Two (WWII). A few men from the Gold Coast Regiment thus formed the nucleus of the Gold Coast Army. The Gold Coast Army was re-designated the Ghana Army at independence. The traditional role of the Ghana Army is to defend the territorial integrity of Ghana by land. It also has the responsibility of assisting civil authority to maintain law and order among others.

The Ghana Navy was formed from the nucleus of the Gold Coast Naval Volunteer Force established during WWII. The Volunteer Force was established by the colonial British administration to conduct seaward patrols to ensure that the coastal waters of the colony were free from mines. A new volunteer force was raised in June, 1959 with headquarters at Takoradi in the Western Region. The first batch of Ratings (other ranks) was drawn from the then Gold Coast Regiment and was under the command of British Royal Naval officers. On 29 July 1959, the Ghana Navy was established by an Act of Parliament with the primary role of defending Ghana from seaward attacks.

The Ghana Air Force was founded in 1960 with training from Indian and Israeli officers. Later that year, a headquarters was established in Accra under the command of an Indian Air Commodore. In 1960, Royal Air Force personnel took up the task of training the newly established Ghana Air Force and in 1961 they were joined by a small group of Royal Canadian
Air Force personnel. In September 1961, as part of President Kwame Nkrumah's “Africanisation” programme, the Royal Air Force commander was replaced by a Ghanaian Air Commodore.

3.3 Enlistment of Women into the Ghana Armed Forces.

The enlistment of female military officers into the Ghana Armed Forces started on 1st January 1958 with the commissioning of the first public health nurse into the Ghana Army. This was followed by the enlistment of 13 more female officers between 3rd March 1958 and mid-1960. All these female officers were given one to three months limited training at the Queen Alexandra’s Nursing Corps (Q–ANC) Depots at Aldershot, Britain. They were then commissioned into the Nursing Corps, which is generally seen as the domain of women. The Ghana Military Academy (GMA) was established in 1960 to train officers locally, and the first set of women to be trained at GMA matriculated in May 1965. They comprised seven nurses and two female pilots commissioned into the Army and Air Force respectively. The first non-nurse female officer to be commissioned into the Ghana Army was from the Education Corps in 1975. Eight more followed in 1981 but they were mostly with the erstwhile Border Guards Service. The enlistment of women into the Ghana Navy started in 1996, with the granting of Short Service Commission to a female Supply officer. Since then, twenty-one more female officers have been commissioned into the Navy as Short Service officers and three regular female officers.

It is also worth mentioning that the recruitment of female Other Ranks (OR) started rather late as compared to their male counterparts, who began to be recruited during colonialism. The first
batch of 31 female OR were recruited and trained between August 1963 and January 1964.\textsuperscript{29} The second batch of 30 was trained in the late 1965\textsuperscript{30}. Unfortunately, the whole of the first batch of OR retired from the Army in 1969 because their unwritten terms and conditions of service were to be revised to prevent them from bearing children in addition to being paid 70\% of salaries of their male counterparts\textsuperscript{31}. Thus, child bearing was seen as an impediment to full operation of the army. From 1972 women were enlistment into the erstwhile Border Guards which was established as the fourth service of the Armed Forces. In all, fourteen (14) batches of women were trained until 1984 when the Border Guards Service was disbanded\textsuperscript{32}. Women from the erstwhile Border Guard Service were all absorbed into the Army Support Services in 1984. While the enrolment of a few nurses and other professionals into the officer corps of the Army continued, that of the other ranks ceased until 1995 when the Navy recruited its first batch of thirty female ratings.

The Air Force also followed with the recruitment of twenty-one airwomen the same year. In 1997, sixty-eight airwomen were trained at the Army Recruit Training Centre at Shai Hills. This marked the beginning of the enlistment of women into the Armed Forces on a relatively regular basis.\textsuperscript{33} According to Director Military Records (2014) the population of females in GAF as at December 2013 was 13\%. The increment in women’s involvement in the Armed Forces could be attributed to various reasons. These include the global call for gender equality in all spheres of life. Several conferences held on women such as the those held in Copenhagen and Nairobi, and the 4\textsuperscript{th} World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 were all geared towards strategic gender needs and gave prominence to the issue of gender inequality in society.\textsuperscript{34} One other reason could also be the 1992 Constitution of Ghana which advocates equality and freedom from
discrimination and women’s rights. These constitutional provisions have necessitated a change in the Armed Forces enlistment and recruitment policy which stipulates between five to twenty percent quota for women in every recruitment exercise.  

3.4 Ghana Armed Forces’ Involvement in Peacekeeping Operations

The Ghana Armed Forces began participating in UN PKOs from 1960. Female personnel of the GAF however did not participate in peacekeeping until November 1984 when the first female officer, a nurse, participated in the UN peace operations in Lebanon - United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). She served with Ghana Battalion (GHANBATT 23). After 2 years of participation, women were suspended from peacekeeping missions on disciplinary grounds until 1994 when they were reinstated. Thus effectively, women in the GAF have been involved in PKO for about 20 years while their male counterparts have been engaged in PKOs for about 54 years. Since 1994, Ghanaian military women have participated in all PKOs that GAF undertakes. Though Ghanaian military women are among one of the first female military personnel to have participated in PKOs, their percentage in GAF PKOs is about 10%.  

GHANBATT contributed a total of 8,800 troops to the United Nations Operations in the Congo (July 1960 – June 1964). This was 44% of 19,928 at the peak of the operations contributed by over thirty-five (35) countries. Before the United Nations began deploying troops to Congo in 1960, Ghana had already dispatched soldiers in an operation named ‘Operation Full Cock’ to begin peacekeeping in Congo. Ghana and Senegal were the only African countries that participated in the Second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II) in the Sinai, Egypt from October 1973 to July 1979. UNEF II stabilized the Suez Canal and Sinai, supervised
disengagements of forces and formed buffer zones. Ghana contributed 11 battalions with 8,862 personnel. A Ghanaian General Erskine served as a commander in UNEF II. Ghana has been part of UNIFIL in Lebanon since 1978 to date and is currently the only African country in the mission. General Erskine and Major General Seth Obeng were at different times Force Commanders of UNIFIL. By the year 2000, about 45, 496 Ghanaian soldiers had served under UNIFIL.

Ghana contributed significantly to ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) from 1990 to 1999. During these operations, Ghanaian soldiers took responsibilities for disarming militants, rescuing and escorting operations as well as delivering humanitarian supplies. UNOMIL “re-hatted” in 1999 and became known as the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). Ghana and Nigeria are the two remaining nations with infantry battalions in Liberia as at 2014. Ghana was also a major player in ECOMOG in Sierra Leone as well. Ghana contributed 3,359 soldiers and 283 police personnel to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) between 1992- 1993. The UNTAC mandates involved human rights, military and civil administration, policing, repatriation, electoral assistance and mine-clearing.

From 1993 to 1996, Ghana contributed more than half of the total troops to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, (UNAMIR). In the heat of the genocide in Rwanda, all participating troops withdrew except Ghana which kept her troops to continue the peacekeeping operation. The Ghanaian troops were left alone protecting the airport, treating the injured, doing mass burials, protecting the displaced, and delivering humanitarian assistance. They
suffered casualties and had little resources but prevailed until calm was restored to Rwanda.\textsuperscript{48}

For over five decades Ghana has participated in other PKOs both in the sub region and beyond. The peacekeeping experiences indicate that the Ghanaian soldiers play several roles including humanitarian services, border patrols, ceasefire monitoring, disarmaments, electoral assistance, command responsibilities and several other functions. The nagging issue is what has been the place of women in all these endeavours.

3.5 Analysis of Data- Biographical Data

3.5.1 Sex of Respondents

Fig 1 below shows the sex of the respondents of respondents and interviewees. Out of a total of 50 respondents, 23 (46\%) were females and 27 (54\%) were males. Thus, the males constituted more than half of the respondents.

**Fig 1 Sex of the Respondents**

![Bar chart showing the sex of respondents.](source: Field Work)
### 3.5.2 Units of respondents

Fig 2 below provides information on the Units of the respondents as follows; of the 8 respondents (16%) from GHQ(Camp), 5 were males and 3 were females. Also, of the 7(14%) from GHQ(Training), 4 were males and 3 were females. Of the 6(12%) from GHQ(Medical) 3 were males and 3 were females. Of the 6(12%) respondents from GHQ(PA), 2 were males and 4 were females. Of the 5(10%) respondents from GHQ(MS), 2 were males and 3 were females. Of the 4 (8%) from GHQ(PR), 1 was male and 3 females. Of the 4 respondents (8%) from GHQ(DMR), 3 were males and 1 was a female. Of the 4(8%) from GHQ(Log), 2 were males and 2 were females whiles of the 4 (8%) from GHQ (IPSO), 3 were males and 1 was a female. And of the 2 (4%) form Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Centre (KAIPTC), all were males. Thus, whiles the proportion of males were more than females in the GHQ(Camp), GHQ (Trg), GHQ(DMR), GHQ(IPSO) and KAIPTC, the proportion of females were more than males in GHQ(PA), GHQ(MS) and GHQ(PR).

#### Fig 2 Units of Respondents

![Bar Chart](source: Field Work, 2014)
3.5.3 Years in Service

Fig 3 below provides information on length of service of respondents. The gender analysis show that of the 5 respondents who have served below 5 years, one was a male and 4 were females. Of the 10 people who have served for 5 – 10 years, 5 were males and 5 were females; of the 7 who have served for 10 – 15 years, 2 were males and 5 were females. Of the 15 who have served for 15 – 20 years, 8 were males and 7 were females. Of the 5 who have served for 20 – 25 years, 4 were males and 1 was a female. Of the 3 who have served for 25 – 30 years, all od them were males; and of the 5 who have served for 30 years and above, 4 were males and 1 was a female.

![Fig 3 Years in Service](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh)

Source: Field Work

3.5.4 Number of Peace Keeping Operations Undertaken

Fig 4 represents the number of PKOs respondents have undertaken. The gender analysis shows that of the 4 who have been on 3 operations, 3 were males and 2 were females. Of the 15 respondents who have undertaken 7 operations, 7 were males and 8 were females. Thus, the
females were slightly more than the males who have undertaken 7 operations. Of the 11 respondents who have undertaken 8 operations, 6 were males and 5 were females. Of the 5 respondents who have undertaken 9 operations, 2 were males and 3 were females. Similarly, the females were more than the males who have undertaken 11 operations. While the females were 2, there was only one male. However, for the 5 respondents who have undertaken 12 operations, the males were 4 and there was only one female.

**Fig 4 Number of Peacekeeping Operations Undertaken**

![Bar chart showing the number of operations undertaken by gender across different levels of operations.](image)

Source: Field Work

### 3.5.5 Rank of Officers

Figure 5 depicts the ranks of respondents. All the 2 Generals were male. Of the 4 Colonels, 3 were males and 1 was one; of the 3 Lt Colonels, 1 was male and 2 were females; of the 10 Majors, 6 were males and 4 were females; of the 7 Captains, 2 were males and 5 were females; of the 4 lieutenants, 3 were males and 1 was females; of the 7 Warrant Officers, 5 were males
and 2 were females; of the 9 sergeant 3 were males and 6 were females; and of the 4 corporals, 2 were males and 2 were females.

**Fig 5 Rank of Respondents**

![Bar chart showing the rank of respondents by gender.

Source: Field Work

### 3.6 Benefits of Increased Women’s Participation in PKO.

Questionnaires administered and interviews conducted revealed that both men and women in the Ghana Armed Forces are given equal access to training pertaining to their specific field of expertise (employment). It was generally acknowledged that both men and women have important roles to play in the success of any effective PKOs, even though some were of the view that the presence of women in PKOs is a distraction. Five interviewees indicated that:

> The presence of women on any Ghana Battalion (GHANBATT) peacekeeping mission gives us easier access to interact with the locals in our area of operations especially women. Because of the phenomenon of rape, many women and girls have lost trust in us the male peacekeepers.⁴⁹

This confirms studies by Olivera Semic which indicates that the presence of women on peacekeeping missions makes the force more approachable.⁵⁰ It was also acknowledged that allowing women to participate in peacekeeping increases the skill set in the mission and equips
the women in their professional life. Also when women participate in peacekeeping and witness the carnage perpetrated in other countries in addition to the difficulties that other women go through, the female peacekeepers are in a better position to dissuade their governments and male counterparts from taking decisions that could lead their countries to similar harsh situations. This confirms the view of Galligan that women are generally averse to violence.\(^{51}\) It is however important to note that there have been occasions when women have perpetrated heinous violence.

Additionally, interviewees indicated that the presence of women in peacekeeping projects the image of the country on the international stage. Two Generals as well as one Lieutenant Colonel shared this view. In the words of one of the Generals:

> The inclusion of women in PKOs helps to avoid naming and shaming countries as going contrary to internationally accepted standard. Ghana is a signatory to the UN and failure to comply with an important resolution as 1325 would dent her image.\(^ {52}\)

The response from interviewees shows that the utmost benefit of women’s contribution to peacekeeping is in the role they play in civil military coordination as well as humanitarian activities which are integral parts of peacekeeping. These activities help to provide some basic assistance to the communities where peacekeepers operate. These activities endear the battalions and the UN force as a whole to the local populace. Civil military coordination has been identified as one major pillars of building confidence in any war torn country.
Four (4) interviewees indicated that the presence of women in peacekeeping gives the force a “balanced outlook” especially in a mission where men have committed atrocities to the local populace. According to one of the Lieutenant Colonels:

The presence of women in the midst of peacekeepers calms nerves of especially local women and children. This enables the force to interact much more easily with the locals than they would have, if there was no woman in the team.

On the question as to the main tasks undertaken by contingents on PKOs, a number of tasks were enumerated. These include camp and operational duties, administration and troop protection, patrols, escort duties, arms inspections, body search, protection of civilians and Non-Governmental Organisations, mounting of road blocks, verification visit and humanitarian activities. Apart from humanitarian activities and body search of women which women were said to be better at, men were better in all the other duties because those duties fall within combat roles in which women are nonexistent. Therefore in order to make the presence of women more meaningful and increase their presence requires that women must be employed in the combat roles of the GAF.

On whether there are roles women performed better than men, various responses were received. Some respondents believe that women perform some duties better than men such as humanitarian and civil military coordination. Hence, the presence of women in missions is very critical to the effectiveness of the force. Conversely, others are of the opinion that PKOs is masculine in nature, hence, men do better in the core PKO duties than women. One interviewee said that:

The whole idea of soldiering, from the Greek civilization is masculine and it has not changed. That was why men went to war leaving behind women and children- protection of the innocent- hence PKO is virtually a masculine duty. During
training while men could stay in trenches for days and even weeks without bathing, special arrangement had to be made for women to take hot bath. These are some of the challenges women bring to bear on PKOs.\textsuperscript{54}

Out of the 27 male respondents/interviewees, 5 (18.5\%) had worked with victims of SGBV. Meanwhile, out of twenty (20) women, 12 (87\%) had worked with SGBV victims. SGBV victims mostly go through various emotional and psychological traumas, aside the sexual violations, which all tend to have negative effect on their health. Aside the ability of these victims to openly confide in the PKO officials to tell them their problems, the officials on the other hand are able to counsel them. They also gave them medical assistance when necessary. This implies that GAF stands to do better in supporting SGBV victims in mission areas if it employs more women in such mission, since women are more inclined to interacting with SGBV victims than men.

The study further reveals that in recent times, many of the rebel forces are recruiting many women into their camp. Three of the respondents even cited the Boko Haram capture of the 200 girls in Nigeria as an evidence of the girls-recruitment strategy. These rebels train some of the girls in arms whiles others are used in satisfying their sexual pleasures as noted by some of the respondents. The increasing numbers of female rebels/fighters therefore require more women’s participation in PKOs to handle them. This includes searching, counseling and detaining female rebels/fighters in correctional centres if need be. One General and a female Lt Col noted that:

… some of these female rebels are brainwashed to kill at the expense of their own lives. In many instances, they easily mingle with the civilians and it becomes very difficult to isolate them from the civilians. They can therefore cause great harm than even the men. To correct this defect requires high emotional and psychological tactics which women officials possess than men. We can therefore never underestimate the invaluable role of women in PKO in this contemporary world.\textsuperscript{55}
Another respondent also added that violent conflicts have become dynamic and multifaceted involving different actors and different motives. The causes and nature of conflict keep changing as the conflict progresses. It therefore requires all stakeholders and the integration of all people especially women, who are very instrumental in peace issues. Apart from meeting international standard of appropriately handling women in combat situations, it gives female peacekeepers some experience which could be brought to bear back home in Ghana when the need arises.

Given the same level of motivation, guidance and training for women, some respondents (36%) believe that women could work as effectively as men. These respondents were of the view that motivation comes from various sources including adequate resourcing which they described as a force multiplier. However, majority of respondents (64%) were of the view that soldiering and for that matter PKO is a combat duty and therefore men are better suited for it. Going by the views of the majority will require the recruitment of women into the combat units in order for females to perform effectively on peacekeeping missions.

3.7 Barriers to Increasing Women’s Participation in GAF’s PKO.

The major barrier to the low numbers of women’s participation in peacekeeping missions in the GAF has to do with the non-admittance of women into the combat arms. Armed Forces regulations bar women from either being enlisted or recruited into the fighting units. Consequently, women are employed in the supporting roles such as medical, Public Relations, Education, Pay Corps, Records, Supply, and Administration branches. Therefore, women’s roles in peacekeeping are generally restricted to the administrative aspect with very little combat roles. Ghana Armed Forces, however, allows women to perform minimal combat duties on
peacekeeping such as patrols, guard duties and sentry duties. Due to the fact that women do not perform such roles in Ghana, they tend to be ineffective compared with their male colleagues on PKOs. An interviewee had this to say:

The attitude of some Ghanaian women to operational issues is problematic. Many female soldiers will think you are punishing them when you detail them to go on patrols during winter in Lebanon. This puts pressure on the men available for the task. Therefore it will be difficult to give equal percentage of participation to men and women on any given operations.\(^5\)

This problem arose because back in Ghana women are not allowed to participate in patrols. It is therefore new to them on PKOs. In order to derive maximum benefits from women on PKOs, they should be trained to play such roles in Ghana before being tasked to do same on PKOs. The non-admittance of women into the combat roles is however gradually giving way. Currently, 2 female officers have been enlisted into the Signal Corps, 3 into the Executive Branch of the Navy and another 3 into the Engineer Corps. Additionally, since August 2000, women have been allowed to undertake airborne training as well as regular training meant for infantry officers. Nonetheless these women are not posted into the infantry or combat units. An interviewee from GHQ (PR) added that:

It will take a while for women to be posted to the combat units. As at now, the training is virtually on a trial basis.\(^5\)

Another hindrance to women’s active participation in peacekeeping according to the respondents in PKO is the physical demands that peacekeeping pose to peacekeepers. PKOs require long range patrols, escort duties under very harsh conditions, arms embargo among many others. Thirteen (57\%) of female respondents perceived combat duties as too difficult and beyond their capabilities. Meanwhile 43\% believe that women can perform well within the combat units with determination. In order to encourage women into the combat unit there is the need to institute
counseling and mentoring in the GAF to instill confidence and mental robustness in all personnel especially females. Twenty-two (80%) of male also believed that women cannot perform effectively in the combat units. A male interviewee confirmed the physical demands of PKO by indicating that:

The physiological make-up of men and women are different, and that no amount of training can bridge the gap. \(^{58}\)

This emphatic statement is however debatable. He believes that a 50/50 approach would put undue pressure on the few men that would be available in the mission area and this would negatively affect output. Therefore, even though UNSCR resolution 1325 aims at a 50 percent of women on peacekeeping in the long term, women would need to exert themselves in order make their participation more meaningful and worthwhile.

Three (3) male respondents were also of the view that participation of women in PKOs creates huge administrative and logistics challenge to the contingent and the government in the face global economic hardships. They were unanimous that the culture of Ghana frowns on both sexes sharing common ablution and accommodation units. Hence, the presence of a single woman requires huge logistics support separate from that of the men, unlike in some cultures where women and men can conveniently share common units. A male interviewee captured it as follows:

While you can conveniently put 35 men in a single tent accommodation, the presence of 3 women making a total of 33 personnel in any mission would require double logistics supply since you cannot house both men and women in the same accommodation unit. The UN therefore needs to give some special support to units that bring more women into the mission. This will relieve the countries and contingents from the extra logistics burden of deploying more women. \(^{59}\)
Other respondents also indicated that men and women cannot be given equal opportunities under certain circumstances. For instance, they contend that for newly established PKOs where facilities are not well established, it would be difficult to deploy more women. Likewise in peace enforcement operations, where more of combat tasks are undertaken, fewer women are likely to be deployed. Additionally, every country would like to protect its women therefore fewer numbers of women are likely to be deployed in hostile peace enforcement operations. Consequently, GAF deploys more women in Liberia, Cote d’Ivoire and Lebanon where there is relative peace as compared with Congo, Mali or Sudan.

Another reason which many respondents found difficult to mention was the issue of amorous relationship between some personnel on PKOs contrary to Command Policy Guidelines in GAF. Due to the long absence from home, some personnel tend to engage in relationships which negatively affect the performance of duty. Thus, some of the respondents were of the view that the numbers of women on PKOs should be reduced. Even though this problem is created by both men and women, women are tagged as the source of the problem. To adequately address this challenge, the Military Police should be empowered to thoroughly investigate and recommend appropriate punishment for all offenders both at home and on PKOs. Two female officers were unanimous that:

Even though marriage among military personnel is allowed, relationships that have the tendency to break up homes and also negatively affect work must be stopped.60

Respondents also raised the issue of some women either coming into the mission area with pregnancy or getting pregnant while in the mission. They indicated that such situation creates lots of complication for the contingent. To remedy this situation, GAF would have to intensify
strict pregnancy tests for women embarking on PKOs. Even though GAF has this policy in place, there have been lapses which need to be addressed. Three Lieutenant Cols (1 female and 2 males) indicated that:

> It was similar amorous relationships and pregnancies on PKOs that made the military high command to suspend women from participating in PKOs until 1994 when the situation was reviewed.⁶¹

The percentage of women on peacekeeping operation is almost a reflection of their percentage back home. Due the policy of the Ghana Armed Forces to recruit about 10%⁶² of females, the percentage of females in GAF was 13% as at December 2013. Coincidentally, the percentage on women in GAF PKOs ranges from 8%-10%. Therefore, the current percentage of women on PKOs in GAF is a reflection of their percentage back home. In order to increase women’s participation on PKOs requires increased percentage of women intake back home in the GAF. There is therefore the need to reduce restrictions that bar women from joining certain units such as the combat units.

### 3.8 Improving Participation of Women in PKO

On the issue of improving women’s participation in GAF PKOs, respondents called for the removal of restriction barring women from the teeth arms. They contend that peacekeeping is mainly a combat assignment for contingents and therefore unless one is in the combat units, their relevance would diminish. They enumerate their core responsibilities as ensure security, peace, safety for UN Personnel, installations, locals and their own force and indicates that humanitarian duties are strictly for other UN organisations even though the military may occasionally get involved. Therefore, for women to be relevant in PKOs they need to be part of the combat units. Being in the supporting role on missions does not give women the necessary leverage required.
Moreover, many of the administrative roles undertaken by women can be done by men thereby decreasing the importance of women on PKOs. Therefore, the best way to ensure improvement of women’s participation in PKOs is to ensure their enlistment and recruitment into the combat units.

Another area of improving women’s participation in PKOs is to give all equal training. Even though both sexes undergo same training prior to joining the GAF and deployment on PKOs, more training is generally given to the men in Ghana who are in the combat units as against women in the supporting units. All personnel are however given same training to make them effective in the mission area. Some of these training include lectures from Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance sponsored by US (for all key appointment holders of units) and pre-deployment training which includes all personnel of the battalion. Personnel are taken through weapon training, physical training, convoy protection, lectures on UN rules and regulations as well as lectures on the host country among others. An interviewee added that:

Such training makes the Ghanaian female personnel a force to reckon with on every UN PKOs.\textsuperscript{63}

### 3.9 Conclusion

The Ghana Armed Forces began participating in UN PKOs from 1960. The enlistment of women into the GAF started in 1958 but women started participating in PKOs from 1984. They were suspended for 10 years and since 1994 have consistently participated in PKOs. GAF stands to make numerous gains by empowering more women into PKOs. Some of these gains include making the force more approachable, improving the skill set of women and women using the
experience gained from preventing similar violent occurrences in their Ghana. Still others include building a positive image for GAF, effectively assisting in humanitarian activities and victims of SGBV as well as female rebels/fighters. The major challenge to women’s low numbers in PKOs is their barring from joining the combat units. Also women would need to exert themselves to make their contribution meaningful.

Finally the study has shown that the low number of women in GAF’s PKO has not affected their operations negatively. This is mainly because Ghana is one of the countries with a notable reputation in peacekeeping. The UN attests to the outstanding performance of the country over the year. However, majority of the respondents opined that if the number of women increases, there is the likelihood that the country will perform better. The percentage of women on PKOs is a reflection of their percentage back home. Thus, until their percentage is increased in GAF, it would be very difficult to increase it on PKOs.
ENDNOTES

2 Ibid
3 Ibid
4 Command & Staff Instructions and Procedures, Volume 5, 1982.
5 Ibid
7 Ibid
8 The 1992 Constitution of Ghana, Chapter 17, Article 212.
9 Ibid
11 Aboagye 1999, p. 15.
12 Ibid
14 Ibid
15 Ibid
16 Ibid
18 Ibid
19 Ibid
20 Ibid
22 Ibid
23 Ibid
25 Ibid
26 Ibid., p.3.
27 Ibid
29 Ghana Armed Forces; General Headquarters Consolidated Training Report 1980, 78.
30 Ibid
31 Ibid 83
32 Ibid
33 Ibid 91
38 Aboagye 1999, 51.
39 United Nations, Ghana: Four Decades of UN and Regional Peacekeeping, Accra: UN Information Centre, 2000, p.iii.
40 Aboagye, 1999, 45.
42 Ibid
44 Ibid
48 Ibid
Interview with one Gen, one Col and three Lt Cols.


Interview with a Gen at GHQ (MS).

Interview with one Col at GHQ (Camp)

Ibid

Interview with a Gen at KAIPTC and a female Lt Col at GHQ (Log).

Interview with a male Lt Col at GHQ (IPSO).

Interview with a male Lt Col at GHQ (PR).

Interview with a male Lt Col at GHQ (Med).

Interview with a Col at GHQ (Trg).

Interviews with 2 females (One Col and One Lt Col).

Interviews with a female Lt Col from GHQ (log) and 2 male LtCols from GHQ (IPSO) and GHQ (PA).


Interview with a male Col at GHQ (Trg).
CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes major findings from the data analyzed and makes recommendations to improve women’s participation in PKO in GAF. It draws conclusion on the entire study and highlights some limitations encountered in the course of the study. The objective of this study is to identify the benefits derived from increasing women’s participation in PKOs, barriers to increasing women’s participation, identify ways of improving their participation in PKO and add to literature on women and peacekeeping. The study is based on the hypothesis that the integration of both men and women in GAF’s UN PKOs makes the missions more effective.

4.2 Summary of Findings

GAF stands to make numerous benefits by increasing its women’s participation in PKOs as women have comparative advantage in the performance of certain roles in peacekeeping missions. These include effectively assisting in humanitarian activities, supporting victims of SGBV, female fighters and rebels. Additionally the presence of women in a mission makes the force more approachable to the local populace which the mission can take advantage of to gather information that can help in sustaining lasting peace. Above all increased women’s participation in PKOs improves the skill set of women which is helpful to the mission and home governments.

From the analysis of data from the field, the main stumbling block to effective women’s participation in the GAFs PKOs is the non-enlistment/recruitment of women in the combat units.
This is because peacekeeping by contingents to a large extent, is a combat activity where women are non-existent. Therefore, in order to improve women’s participation in PKO, there is the need to review the national policies which bar women from certain military roles such as combat roles.

4.3 Conclusion

Peacekeeping missions have transformed into a multifaceted civilian–military crisis management which requires the presence of both sexes, military, civilians and civilians to find lasting solutions to the conflict and help in the healing process of especially the worst affected persons; women and children. The UN through UNSCR 1325 encourages member countries to increase women’s participation in PKOs. This is because research has shown that the presence of women in a force helps it in various ways such as increase the reputation of the Force, makes the force more approachable, helps men to comport themselves and reduce HIV/AIDS. Women also have a pacifying effect on missions to addition to functioning as role models to local women and children. Despite all these advantages, the percentage of women in PKOs is about 3 per cent.

Women are encouraged to participate in independence struggles, wars of liberation and in irregular forces especially when all human resources are required to prosecute a special agenda. However they are disbanded once the wars are over and seen as outcasts. Similarly women are not encouraged into structured armed forces but rather considered as obstruction to esprit de corps among men. The women who are able to join the military are restricted to certain roles which reduces their importance on PKOs. Women face many difficulties when they join the military and throughout their work in the Service. Therefore the pacifist approach by UNSCR
1325 to increasing women’s participation in PKO is not contributing effectively to the changes needed for the increased participation of women in PKOs.

To increase the participation of women to a meaningful level in GAF’s PKOs, women need to be integrated into senior, decision-making and leadership positions. AF contingents need to be trained and deployed in, and integrated into mixed-gender on a temporary basis to encourage and build confidence in the local women. To help address sexual violence on PKOs, the UN would need to insist on TCCs to deploy more women to support in gender mainstreaming and help local women to regain their lost confidence. A peaceful atmosphere will enable women contribute meaningfully to the socio-economic of their countries.

The study has confirmed that gender integration is essential to the effectiveness of PKOs in the GAF. This is because women are better at certain roles than men hence their presence is always required. For instance, out of the total of 50 respondents, 16.7% and 60% women had interacted with SBGV victims and this attests to women’s comparative advantage in certain roles on PKOs. Thus the presence of more women on GAF PKOs would help it assist such victims more effectively.

The findings of the study confirm the two major concepts; Gender Mainstreaming and Gender and Development Approach. The study has revealed that until policy and institutional constraints that maintain disparities between the genders are addressed, mainstreaming more women into peacekeeping operation cannot be achieved. Women and men are strong stakeholders in addressing all issues affecting a nations security and socioeconomic development. One sect
(male) cannot be seen as the major actor in nation-state security matters. To achieve a holistic development which addresses all the needs of society, ranging from economics to politics and security, mainstreaming gender should be addressed with all the urgency it deserves. The respondents and the data reviewed have all pointed to the fact that high level of efficiency can be achieved in Ghana Armed Forces PKOs when women, whose efforts and potentials have been marginalized for a long time are given the opportunity to participate fully in PKOs. But the solution still lies in re-examining the policies that obstructs women from joining the combat unity of GAF.

4.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions drawn from the analysis, the study makes the following recommendations to improve women’s participation in GAF’s PKOs:

First and foremost, the findings of the study show that there are some national policies that bar women from enlisting into the Combat/Teeth Arm Units. Majority of the soldiers enlisted for peacekeeping operations are also enlisted from these Units. To increase the participation of women in peacekeeping operations therefore, requires a review of those policies to make GAF enlist more women into the Combat/Teeth Arm Units. Once more women are enlisted into the unit, there is a higher probability that the proportion of women to participate in peacekeeping will also increase. Until these policies are reviewed, all other efforts to increase women’s participation in peacekeeping operations will be in vain.

Secondly, female officers who have undergone regular training should be employed in those specific roles. More often than not, when women in GAF undertake training in some areas, it
becomes very difficult for them to be employed into those departments they have acquired training in as compared with their male counterparts. For example, a woman and a man both with Public Relations background undergo the same regular training but the man is posted to an infantry unit while the woman is posted to Public Relations outfit. Even though both have undergone the same training, the man gets the opportunity to work in the infantry unit but the female does not, due to the policy that bars women. Ironically the bulk majority of the work on peacekeeping operations requires people with the infantry or teeth arms background hence limiting the opportunity to employ more women.

Also, GAF should establish mentoring systems for young female officers to train and build their confidence. Mentoring systems help to build people’s confidence and aspiration to aim high in their areas of specialization. It is the belief that if GAF institutes a mentoring system, where female officers will be assigned to experienced officers (male or female), it will go a long way to prepare them for leadership positions and also build their confidence. This will nurture them physically and emotionally for peacekeeping which will in turn have a positive impact on their productivity on the field.

Finally, women on several occasions have been criticized for their weaknesses and ineffectiveness once they become pregnant. During peacekeeping operations, the disability of an officer invariably affects the strength of the entire team. To ensure that women do not become “liabilities” on peacekeeping operations, GAF should ensure strict compliance with administered pregnancy tests for all female personnel embarking on PKOs.
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Appendix - Sample Questionnaire

Preamble

The following questions are intended to source information on women in the Ghana Armed Forces and Peacekeeping Operations. This is purely an academic research and therefore information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality. I therefore appeal to you to answer the following questions as candidly as possible. Please, do not provide any indication of your identity such as name or ID number apart from the biographical details required in Section A.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Section A: Biographical Data
Sex: Male………… Female………
Rank: .............................
Unit in the Armed Forces..........................
How long have you served in the Forces .......................
How many times have you been on peacekeeping operations? ........

Section B: Detailed Questions
1. Do you know of any benefits that GAF stands to derive from deploying more women?
   Yes……No……
   Why?...............................................................................................................................................

2. Kindly list any 3 peacekeeping activities that you have undertaken before?............... 

3. From the activities listed above, are there any that are better performed by
   a) Men only..............................
   b) Women only............................
   c) Both men and women..................
4. Have you ever worked with victims of Sexual and Gender Based Violence?
   Yes…………. No………………
   If yes, briefly explain your interaction………………………………………………………………………………

5. Do you agree that given the same level of motivation, guidance and training women can perform as effective as their male counterparts on peacekeeping operations?
   Yes…….No……
   If no, why?

6. Are men and women given equal opportunities to participate on peacekeeping in GAF?
   Yes…….No……
   If no why?....................................................................................................................................................

7. Do you agree that men and women should be given a 50/50 percentage ratio on peacekeeping operation? Yes……. No……
   Why?............................................................................................................................................................

8. Are there any challenges to deploying women in peacekeeping operations?
   Yes……. No……
   If yes, list 2 of these challenges…………………………………………………………………………………..
   How best can these challenges be addressed?................................................................................................

9. In your opinion, what is the main hindrances to increasing women’s participation in PKOs? ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

10. Are there some activities in peacekeeping that you think women should not be allowed to perform?
    Yes…….No……
    If yes, list 2 of these activities…………………………………………………………………………………..
    Why…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

   83
11. Are personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces (both men and women) given same training prior to embarking on peacekeeping operations?
Yes…… No…..
If no why……………………………………………………………………………………………………