

UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

GENDER AND THE GHANA ARMED FORCES: AN  
EXAMINATION OF WOMEN'S INTEGRATION AND  
OPERATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

BY

ROBERT YAW AFFRAM

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature: Robert Yaw Affram Date: 02/12/11  
Name: ROBERT YAW AFFRAM

Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University for Development Studies.

Supervisor's Signature: Dr. A. Abia Apusigah Date: 27/12/11  
Name: Dr. A. Abia Apusigah

## ABSTRACT

In the last two decades, armed forces worldwide have witnessed increased gender integration with women agitating for wider roles in national defence. This has generated debate in many countries regarding its impact on military operational effectiveness and national security. Beginning from the 1990s, the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) experienced a marked increase in women joining its ranks, bringing to the fore the debate on their relevance and impact on military operations. This study investigated the integration of women in the GAF and its perceived impact on operational effectiveness. It adopted a simple survey method and collected data via review of relevant literature, questionnaire administration and interviews. The data was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

The main findings of the study are that: Women were perceived to have a negative effect on operational effectiveness in the GAF. Many respondents were of the view that women were not physically and emotionally equipped to be employed on military ventures, particularly those related to combat. Respondents were however positive that with time and given more training, women could perform in combat related tasks as it pertains in some countries currently. The research also revealed that many soldiers favoured women serving on Internal Security and Peacekeeping operations in spite of apprehensions regarding their effectiveness.

The findings present good prospects for widening women's roles and contribution towards national security. The thesis notes that in spite of resistance, women's roles in the GAF will continue to expand and suggests a well thought-out plan for a gradual integration. The thesis recommends policy, institutional and attitudinal changes that will facilitate smooth integration and make women's roles more relevant to contemporary national/international security and developmental needs. The immediate recommendation was the setting up of a Gender Desk by the Ghana Armed Forces to facilitate a measured and gradual integration of women into its fold.



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The responsibility for any faults in this work is entirely mine.

## DEDICATION

To my parents Raymond and Margaret Affram; Wife, Evelyn and children Akosua Adjeiwa, Nana Nyarko and Paapa Tetteh.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ARTEP	Army Training Evaluation Program
CHRAJ	Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice
GAF	Ghana Armed Forces
IS	Internal Security
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOWAC	Ministry for Women and Children's Affairs
OP	Observation Post
PSO	Peace Support Operations
RWAC	Royal Women's Auxiliary Corps
RWAFF	Royal West African Frontier Force
SANDF	South African National Defence Forces
WAC	Women's Auxiliary Corps
WAFF	West African Frontier Force
UN	United Nations

## CHAPTER ONE BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

In response to social changes at the international scene, especially with regard to gender mainstreaming, women began to join the armed forces world-wide in droves in the 1980s and 1990s. This development did not only make women partners in the provision of national and international security, but also positioned them as a critical component in national development. Though women have served in many armed forces from the 1940s, their roles have largely been restricted to sedentary low-visibility roles like the provision of nursing, clerical and administrative services (Goldstein, 2001). Occasionally, however, they have found themselves in the Communications, Military Police and Intelligence cells (ibid). With time, women are advocating for wider roles in the military, but this is meeting some resistance. Currently, women are barred from serving in some units and taking up certain significant assignments in administration in many armies around the world (Segal, 1996). Women also face discrimination, harassment and discouragement while serving in the armed forces.

In the last 10 years, the Ghana Armed Forces has experienced an exponential growth in the population of women joining its ranks; with the population increasing from four percent (4%) in 1980 to about nine percent (9%) in 2008 (GHQ[PA], 2008). The first female recruitment into the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) was made in 1958 through the encouragement of the first president of the Republic of Ghana, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, who saw women's contribution to national development as crucial (Aboagye, 1999: 113). The first group of enlisted women comprised mainly nurses and other health workers but subsequently, women were recruited into the communications, logistics and intelligence corps. Even though the 1992 Constitution of Ghana guarantees equal rights and opportunities for all citizens, its implementation with regard to women in the Ghana Armed Forces has been problematic because of the peculiar nature of the organisation, its duties, and culture. The increase in women's population has been facilitated by changing normative and legal



standards, labour market demands, technology, and a reconstruction of women's social roles (Segal, 1993). Ongoing efforts to mainstream gender in socio-economic development globally and in Ghana are contributing to increase access to non-traditional women's occupations such as the Armed Forces, but this is not without its own challenges.

### 1.1 Background

The issue of gender mainstreaming has its antecedents in the Western feminist movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Mackinnon, 1987). The movement began as a counter to the patriarchal system that existed in Western Europe and North America at the time. The aim of the movement was to draw attention to institutional sexism in Western society. The initial work of the first feminist movement began to bear fruits during the two World Wars when under pressure governments had to acknowledge the contributions of women in the wars, leading to the granting of franchise (ibid). In both wars, human resource shortages brought women into traditionally male occupations, ranging from munitions manufacturing, mechanical work, and sometimes full time military occupation (Elshtain, 1997). By demonstrating that women could do "men's work" and thus highlighting society's dependence on their labour, a shift towards equality began to be experienced. The First and Second World War years were therefore considered water-shed years for women, who, in addition to gaining the vote, also gained legal recognition in many Western countries (Mackinnon, op.cit).



Women's involvement in the military can however be traced back to ancient times (Segal, 1995). Historical accounts document the participation of female soldiers in civil wars, revolutions, and partisan resistance movements in many nations in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century (ibid). Modern history tells that civilian women first served as military nurses in 1854, when Florence Nightingale was asked to organize a group of nurses to care for the wounded in the Crimea (Carreiras, 2006). In the United States for instance, women served similarly during the American Civil War (1861-1865), however their history as uniformed personnel only began in 1902 during the Spanish-American War, when the US Army Nurse Corps was formed (ibid).



In Europe, women were employed in both nursing and non-nursing capacities in unprecedented numbers during World War I (Elshtain, op.cit). But in spite of their services, they were not granted military rank until after the war (ibid). During World War II, a major shift occurred in the nature of women's military participation by way of expanded roles. Women worked in war industries and performed a wider variety of functions such as medical personnel, drivers and social workers (Segal, 1993: 82). As the war progressed, women's activities expanded beyond the usual women's roles (health care, administration, and communications), to include technical and combat support jobs. Women also became involved in espionage and sabotage activities (Segal, 1993).

In Africa, the history of women at the front is old (Aboagye, 2010; Agyeman Prempeh, 2008; Fallon, 2008; Odotei and Awedoba, 2002). The exploits of legendary figures like Yaa Asantewa of the Ashanti Empire fame, Queen Amina of Zaria, Nigeria and Nana Serwaa of Dwaben in Ghana are recounted. Records also exist of famous Dahomeyan female warriors, who, according to Goldstein (2001: 21), "made up one wing of the standing army and sometimes constituted as many as a third of all soldiers". The Dahomeyan female soldiers were said to "live in palaces, followed special rules, and were excellent soldiers whose presence substantially increased the kingdoms military power" (Aboagye, 2010; Goldstein, 2001: 21). Goldstein reported that it was only in the Dahomey Kingdom, that substantial female combat participation lasted for longer than a short-crisis period. Women's roles in warfare are therefore well chronicled.

### **1.1.1 Current Disposition of Women in the Ghana Armed Forces**

Currently, women form just 09% of the Ghana Armed Forces (GHQ (PA) 2008). They are also restricted from serving in some units and appointments because they are perceived as unsuitable (ibid). For example, women are currently barred from serving in the infantry, armour and artillery units where fighting is expected. They are only allowed service in the Support units where fighting is not anticipated. In GAF, women have themselves not demonstrated the desire to serve in fighting units preferring to stay in "quiet" units away



from "trouble." As a result they miss top-end appointments that come with these roles.

Women's exemption from fighting units is based on the perceived notion that they do not have the strength and aggressive instinct required for combat and that, unlike men, they are the *weaker sex* that must be protected from harm.

Women are also seen as a disruptive influence on unit cohesion and combat effectiveness because of the sexual competition they are likely to introduce into a fighting unit. Apart from restrictions imposed by policy on the deployment of women, women themselves have over the years shied away from frontline units, preferring to work in jobs that will facilitate their dual responsibilities as mothers and career women.

A cursory observation reveals that currently some restrictions imposed on women are changing because of pressures from human rights and women's advocacy groups, and also from constitutional demands for the re-alignment of armed forces standards with societal normative standards. Also, technological changes in the armed forces are also leading to a relative decline in the emphasis on physical prowess as an essential requisite for military performance and this is an area women have benefited. Additionally, there appear to have been a relative change in the attitude of military policy makers towards gender issues because of global events. The UN for example encourages the deployment of women into conflict areas and this has influenced the recruitment of women into the Ghana Armed Forces because of the country's increased participation in international peacekeeping operations.

Today, there are female soldiers within the GAF who fly utility and reconnaissance helicopters for peace-time purposes and who may be required to fly same during war and conflict situations. Ghanaian female soldiers are also known to have guarded key installations, conducted armed patrols and internal security operations while serving abroad on peace support operations (PSO). In spite of these advancements, women still face challenges when it comes to full integration; restricting their full potential to contribute to national and international security.



## 1.2 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

In recent years, women's population in armed forces worldwide is increasing partly because of changing normative and legal standards, labour market demands and a reconstruction of women's social roles. The military has historically been a patriarchal organization that has frowned on women joining its ranks because of the fear that this will undermine cohesion, weaken esprit-de-corps and erode operational effectiveness. While it is becoming generally recognized that women play a key role in national development, the armed forces continues to restrict the full participation of women in its ranks for arguments that border on physical strength limitations, emotional disposition of women and its suitability for the armed forces, and the perceived effect of women on group dynamics and operational efficiency.

The problem to be studied is whether there is a decrease in professional efficiency with consequent effects on national security as a result of the current dispensation of mainstreaming women in the armed forces of Ghana.

## 1.3 MAIN RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The main research objective is to investigate the impact of female soldiers on the operational effectiveness of the Ghana Armed Forces.

### 1.3.1 Sub Objectives

The sub-objectives are to:

- Find out the extent to which women soldiers are being integrated into the Ghana Armed Forces.
- Map out the perceived effects of gender integration on the operational effectiveness of the Ghana Armed Forces.
- Explore the underlying factors and extent to which concerns for operational efficiency and effectiveness account for limited involvement of female personnel in the armed Forces.
- Offer recommendations for allaying fears or otherwise to enhance women's participation in the combat Units



## 1.4 MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

The main question to be answered is: What are the resulting effects on professionalism and national security as a result of mainstreaming women in the Armed Forces?

### 1.4.1 Specific Questions:

- To what extent does the Ghana Armed Forces integrate female personnel in its ranks?
- How is gender integration perceived to affect the ability of the military to carry out its roles?
- What are the actual operational effects of admitting women into the combat arms of the Ghana Armed Forces?
- What are the underlying factors that account for the limited involvement of female personnel in the Ghana Armed Forces?
- What measures can be adopted to allay the fears of sceptics concerning women's effectiveness as frontline soldiers.

## 1.5 HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis to be tested is: **The admission of women into the combat arms of the armed forces undermines operational effectiveness.**

## 1.6 SCOPE AND MEASUREMENT

This study is basically exploratory. It tries to assess the perceived effect of gender integration on the operational effectiveness of the Ghana Armed Forces. It is outlined in the methodology section below that the focus is on frontline duties and leadership roles where women are not fully involved. Differences in favourable and unfavourable views about the integration of women in the armed forces as well as empirical data from various sources are used to assess how gender integration is perceived to affect operational effectiveness. The method adopts both simple quantitative survey and in-depth qualitative interviews with GAP personnel to ensure the validity of observations. The phenomenon of interest is the involvement of females in all military activities including conflict/combat duties. The outcome of this



process is compared with the functionalist theory on how the low involvement of females in the armed forces is explained off by concerns for operational effectiveness.

## **1.7 JUSTIFICATION FOR RESEARCH/INTENDED BENEFITS**

Gender mainstreaming is a phenomenon that is receiving prominence in contemporary civil society because of its human rights dimension and implication for development. In line with this, governments and civil society groups are using legal and other normative means to force organizations, including the armed forces, to adopt good practices. The military has no option than to begin looking at ways of integrating women while playing its role of national defence. The research is meant to add to knowledge by contributing to ongoing debate on mainstreaming of women into all facets of society. The paper recommends ways by which women can be put to fuller use in the armed forces in order to impact positively on national defence and development. The findings are also meant to help the GAF contribute meaningfully to intellectual discourse on gender debate and assist policy makers; especially those in the defence industry, in the formulation and implementation of policies, strategies and frameworks that will help manage a smooth integration of women in the security services.

## **1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS**

Chapter one covers background to the study, the research problem, objectives, questions and hypothesis. Chapter two gives a comprehensive review of the literature relevant for the thesis including the theoretical framework and the GAF in context. It also discusses characteristics that distinguish the military from other organizations and arguments usually advanced against the integration of women. Chapter three outlines the methods used for the enquiry and problems encountered that may guide further research. Chapter four presents findings and discussions using simple qualitative and quantitative analysis of data. Chapter five summarizes the analyzed data, concludes and makes recommendations.





## **1.9 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY**

Gender issues are broad and cannot be fully covered by this thesis; hence, this paper limits itself to integration issues in the combat units of the Ghana Armed Forces where gender discrimination is perceived to be acute. Special reference is made to the combat arms because those are the units that impact most on national defence. The Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) as a whole is used as the locus, but much of the analysis will dwell on the Army and combat arms which constitute a huge chunk of the GAF. Data collected will measure how respondents perceive the increase of women in GAF to impact on operational effectiveness. In this respect, women's competencies and leadership capabilities will be analyzed. This thesis therefore is restricted to women's integration in relation to leadership and operational effectiveness roles in the Ghana Armed Forces.

## **1.10 DEFINITION OF TERMS**

To ensure clarity on issues concerning measurement in this study I have explained key concepts that may have different meanings across various situations. I clarify gender, gender integration, operational effectiveness, frontline duties and direct combat.

### **1.10.1 Gender.**

Scholars maintain that the term 'gender' should not be confused with the term 'sex' (Hawkesworth, 1997). Sex gives a genetic or biological description of a person but gender is variously used to define human differences or to analyze the social organization of relationship between men and women (Barrett, 1980; Rubin, 1975). Shanley & Patemen (1991) accept the different meanings of gender but state that gender naturally corresponds with sex. Gender in this study is defined as the social responsibilities given to the various biological groups as a result of their sexes.

### **1.10.2 Gender Integration.**

Gender integration as used in this study is the full incorporation of males and females into GAF. Gender equality and gender integration are central to the idea of expanding the participation of females in the armed forces. This definition has two parts. The first is a legal standard where women and men are incorporated as equals into the military. This is



guaranteed by the Ghana Constitution. The second is of a social nature where integration is defined as the full acceptance of women as equals. This is broader than women being legally allowed to enter male dominated areas such as the combat arms. The two definitions thus determine whether women are accommodated or accepted. Integration in this paper means the legal and social acceptance of women into GAF as equals.

### **1.10.3 Operational Effectiveness.**

Operational effectiveness simply involves the ability of the military to carry out its tasks effectively so as to achieve results (British Military Doctrine, 2006: 13). In this study, two roles are linked to the success of the military in mission accomplishment; the function of leadership and provision of security to troops (US Army Field Manual, 1983: 40). Leadership and task accomplishment are thus key to military operations. Military leadership as used here relates to who gives command and takes responsibility for what the troops do in specific assignments in operations. In this paper operational effectiveness is described as the ability to carry out military roles in a situation of volatility or conflict; with the environment being the basic theatre for core military duties.

### **1.10.4 Frontline Duties.**

Traditionally, the frontline is described as the area where close-quarter fighting takes place between military forces during battles (Elshtain, 1997). It is usually called "forward areas". This definition is becoming untenable because frontlines are no longer as clear-cut as they used to be and can mean many things when it comes to asymmetric and non-linear operations. Frontline in this paper however is defined as the area where soldiers engage one another conventionally at close-quarter fighting in a linear operation either physically, by electronic or technological means to include peacekeeping operations. All duties that are performed in this arena are therefore referred to as frontline duties.

### **1.10.5 Direct Combat.**

Direct combat involves "engaging an enemy on the ground with individual or crew served weapons, while being exposed to hostile fire and to a high probability of direct physical contact with the hostile force's personnel. Direct ground combat takes place well forward on the

battlefield while locating and closing with the enemy to defeat them by fire, maneuver, or shock effect" (British Military Doctrine, 2006: 17). Maneuver units that engage in this activity are described as Combat Units. The paper accepts this definition as its operational one. Currently, women in the Ghana Armed Forces are barred from combat units because of the high risks members are exposed to during conflict.

#### **1.10.6 Combat Arms.**

Combat Arms are those elements that engage the enemy directly: they fight, typically employing direct-fire weapons (British Military Doctrine, 2006). They include armoured, infantry and some aviation units (GHQ CSIP Vol. III. Arndt 81, 2008). Armed and attack helicopters give aviation units the ability to fight, and hence these constitute combat elements.

#### **1.10.7 Combat Support Arms.**

Combat Support Arms include: fire support, air defence, reconnaissance, some engineer, some aviation and some electronic warfare elements (GHQ CSIP Vol. III. Arndt 81, 2008). Combat Support is "fire support and operational assistance provided to combat elements" (British Military Doctrine, 2006).

#### **1.10.8 Combat Service Support.**

Combat Service Support is "the support provided to combat forces primarily in the fields of administration and logistics" (British Military Doctrine, 2006). These force elements include logistic, medical and equipment support; personnel welfare and administration; and some force support engineers {such as those providing water and electrical power supply, infrastructure construction and route maintenance (GHQ CSIP Vol. III. Arndt 81, 2008).



## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Introduction

Various studies suggest that the main factors that affect women's recruitment into the armed forces include; **military variables** (such as the national security situation, military technology, force structure, and military accession policies); characterization of the **social structure** (including demographic patterns, women's position in the labour force, economic factors and family structure); and various **cultural considerations** involved in the construction of gender, public discourse regarding gender, and values regarding ascription and equity (Segal, 1995; Dandeker and Segal 1996; and Goldstein, 2001). Segal (1995) argues that women's participation in the armed forces increase during times of national emergencies and peacetime military human resource shortages and/or when social values and labour force structures become more egalitarian with regard to gender. This indicates a certain level of discrimination in the employment of women. Some studies also have shown that during periods of national security crisis, women are deployed for the same jobs that men do (Goldstein, 2001). Additionally, women's own sense of patriotism has also compelled them to give their lives for national security but this arrangement is usually reversed after the crisis is over (ibid).



The exemption of women from full participation in the armed forces cannot therefore be explained-off by nature's design, but can be seen as human creation as attested by the variables above. Available data indicates that the armed forces are gendered and insofar as recruitments are concerned it discriminates against women. In this section, discussions focus on the conceptual and contextual issues shaping the armed forces with specific reference to the Ghana Armed Forces; its establishment rationale, history, structures and functions. It examines possible theoretical information with the view to unravel the basis for the genderization of the Ghana Armed Forces as well as establishing the analytical framework for investigating the problem of study.





## **2.1 HISTORICIZING THE ARMED FORCES**

The military as an institution has historically discriminated the employment of women (Alfonso, 2010; Goldstein, 2001). This was based on the assumption that warfare, which is the mainstay of the profession, was brutal and callous in nature. Women were therefore to be home bearing and nurturing children to ensure sustainability of the human race while men were afield gathering food and offering protection (Pipe and Welch, 2002). Many societies have hence been structured on this concept. In instances where women have sought to contribute to societal defence by engaging in warfare, they have had to disguise themselves as men to be able to participate (Goldstein, 2001). The call for integration of women in contemporary times have, no wonder, been rebuffed by some military/social academics who argue that the military as an institution is "different", hence cannot be measured by the same normative standards as other civil organisations when it comes to the integration of women (Alfonso, 2010). This "special nature" has been used to oppose legislations that advocate full integration, arguing that the state will be weakened if an open-ended recruitment policy towards women is adopted (Frost, 2002).

### **2.1.1 What makes the Military different?**

According to Morris Janowitz (1964), what makes the military different from other civil organizations when it comes to the integration of women is the fact that the military's central functions are related to war. He states that war is differentiated from other forms of social conflict because war-making relies on highly professionalized and specialized skills which not all persons are physically and emotionally equipped to undertake. Dandeker and Segal (1996, cited in Wildman, 2008: 25) states that, "the armed forces need to be different from other organizations because of the functional imperative that underpins all of their actions, namely war-fighting" which is its core duty.

#### **2.1.1a Military Core Functions.**

The core function of the military is national defence. Special powers and privileges are granted the armed forces to be able to carry out this role. These exemptions include the power to kill and destroy for the protection of state.

Manning and Marlowe (1990: 69) state that "soldiers are encouraged, allowed and even obligated to kill because of their duties as citizens and soldiers". Violence and killing are therefore accepted, but these acts are not ones that are normally sanctioned by normal functioning societies; thus these powers set the armed forces apart and impacts on the category of people recruited. Because women are perceived to be incapable of these acts, their recruitment into the armed forces is restricted.

### **2.1.1b Liability.**

Another characteristic that differentiates the military from other organizations is its "unlimited liability" nature (Friedland, 1996, Winslow, 1997), which is the decision to risk one's life as a member of the military. A member of the military may not simply quit when he or she wishes to, because of special laws regulating the armed forces. Women are perceived as unwilling to sacrifice their lives for anything but their children (Frost, 2002), and in this respect are also uncomfortable with subsuming their rights under military law because of maternal responsibilities (ibid). In this light, women are perceived as unsuitable for military service as obedience unto death, for the sake of valour, is not an attractive option to them. This affects their recruitment and retention in the armed forces and impact negatively on integration.

### **2.1.1c Military Law.**

Another factor that makes the military different is that everything is subordinated to the needs of the institution, even one's individual rights. According to Huntington (1957: 63), to achieve military success, there is a need to "subordinate the will of the individual to the will of the group." Miller and William (2001: 397) add that those who join the military are denied some of the legal and privacy rights of the general public with the justification that the military requires a certain type of discipline that will enable them engage in combat and provide national security. Some social scientists argue that women are unwilling to subordinate to military institutional will because of the cruel nature of the military's functions, as women are inherently humane in nature. This affects their recruitment into the service.





### **2.1.1d Privacy.**

Lack of privacy is another characteristic that makes the military different from civilian society (Dunn, 1999, Zeigler and Gunderson, 2005). Segal (1995) contends that the extreme degree to which privacy is absent and freedom of association is curtailed, and the extended periods during which these conditions obtain in military life, have no parallel in civil society. Women are perceived as people who require unrestrained socialization, abhor restricted movement and need a lot of privacy because of their sensitive nature and the physiological challenges that confront them monthly; hence recruiting them in the face of this difficulty, is a challenge to many armies.

The above discussions point, among other things, to the fact that the military does have "unique" characteristics that should be taken into account when arguing for the full integration of women. Wildman (2002: 32) argues that the armed forces are unique and have a need to be different, but advises that it would be foolhardy if they did not take note of the changing world in which they operate and adapt in order to reflect current changes.

### **2.1.2 Women in Combat**

As already noted, women's role in warfare is an old one. The stories of Amazonian female warriors and exploits of women like Boadicea, Prophetess Deborah of The Bible and Joan of Arc who, in 1429 at the age of 17, successfully led French troops into battle against the English are recounted. History is also awash with stories of women who disguised themselves as men to fight in Revolutionary and Civil wars in Europe and South America in the turn of the last century (Goldstein, 2001). During the Great Russian War in 1917, women formed a battalion deployed at the front to fight (ibid). In the same Soviet Union, women, during the Second World War, were engaged as regular combat forces, serving as snipers, machine-gunners, artillery women and tank women (Elshtain, 1997: 271). In some cases Russian women were used as parachutists behind enemy lines (Goldstein, 2001: 900). Pipe and Welch (2002) states that women's military contribution to the survival of many states is crucial but they have often been confronted with problems of discrimination in the fighting arms.

In Africa, the history of women at the battle-front is not different. The exploits of Queen Amina of Nigeria who, according to Fallon (2008: 19), "was known as a great conqueror who in the 1500s led an army of more than 20,000 men in the take-over of large cities as Nupe, Kano and Katsina" is told. Also told are the actions of Queen Mma Ntatisi of the Zulu tribe who is credited for asserting the independence of the Tlokwas by leading them in attacks against the Sotho people in the 1800s (Fallon, 2008:19). In Ghana, the accounts of Yaa Asantewa of the Ashanti Empire fame and Nana Serwaa of Dwaben are chronicled (Agyemang-Prempeh, 2008; Odotei and Awedoba, 2002). According to Goldstein (op.cit), women constituted a substantial number of the army of the Dahomeyan Empire in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and records show that they "made up one wing of the standing army and sometimes constituted as many as a third of all soldiers" (ibid: 21). These women, he said, lived "in palaces, followed special rules, and were excellent soldiers whose presence substantially increased the kingdoms military power" (ibid). It has been argued that colonial interference in Africa, and the introduction of European social values with its attendant concept of division of labour, was what pressured women off African battlefields (Agyemang-Prempeh, 2008; Fallon 2008).



One country that has seen an increase in women's combat roles in recent times is the United States of America (Segal, 1995). Currently, the US military employs about 32,000 women, comprising about 13 percent of its total force (Norris, 2011). This is compared to only 1.4 percent who served in 1970 (Segal, op.cit). Most of these women who found themselves in combat in Iraq and Afghanistan in the 1990s performed remarkably with some winning medals for acts of gallantry (Alfonso, 2010).

### **2.1.3 Determinants of Women's Recruitment**

The recruitment of women into the armed forces has largely been determined by prevailing social and economic circumstances among which is concern for security of the society, technological advancement, military force structure, state of the national economy and prevailing normative standards (Stanley and Segal 1993).



### **2.1.3a. Security of Society.**

Segal (1995) argues that the need for security of the state is a major determinant of women's recruitment. He states that when there are shortages of qualified men, especially during times of national emergency, most nations increase women's military recruitment and roles. Goldstein (2001) and Wildman (2002) agree with this observation by noting that during war, the need for personnel becomes a factor in expanding women's roles, and so are women's desires to contribute to national security. The two writers identified a common pattern of women's active involvement in revolutionary movements, citing women's guerrilla and partisan activities during the Algeria, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique civil wars. These women, it was however noted, were dropped off or forced to change trade when the adversary or targeted government was overthrown and a conventionally organized armed force was established. According to Stanley and Segal (1993), services of American women who were used during the Second World War were curtailed after the war and laws were passed to limit their roles, hampering their opportunities.

### **2.1.3b. Technological Changes.**

Another factor that accounts for the increase in women's roles in the military is technology. Technological changes of various sorts have enabled greater participation of women in the armed forces over the past half century (Segal, 1995). Some technological developments, according to Segal (ibid), have led directly to changes in the individual characteristics necessary to be a fighter, while others have indirectly led to changes in the way warfare is organized and, hence, women's roles and participation. Technology, according to Segal, has led to the substitution of brainpower for brawnpower in the warrior role and this has contributed to the increase in women in the armed forces. Military jobs have also over time become increasingly specialized with individual members performing a relatively narrow range of tasks, with increasing emphasis on technical skills rather than physical strength and bravado (Binkin, 1993; Segal, 1995). Many of these jobs, which are similar to civilian occupations, have attracted women into the military.



### **2.1.3c. Military Force Structure.**

Military force structure has also been cited as one of the factors influencing women's increased participation in the armed forces (Segal, 1995; Dandeker and Segal, 1996). The proportion of military personnel who are in support jobs has risen dramatically over time, with women forming the bulk (Goldstein, 2001). According to Dandeker and Segal (1996), because women feel more comfortable in the support roles, their numbers have increased in this sector. Technological developments in warfare account for the lion's share of the trend toward a higher proportion of support personnel (Pipe and Welch, 2002). Foreign deployments have also contributed towards the modification of women's roles. Increased peacekeeping operations (including multinational ones), that require the deployment of support personnel has brought women closer to combat. The UN's bid to encourage women's participation in Peace Support Operations (PSO) has also led to their increase in the armed forces. It has been realised that some support jobs, especially those that deal with children and women are better done by women, hence their increase in peacekeeping theatres (Pipe and Welch, 2002).

### **2.1.3d. State of Economy.**

The state of the national economy is also said to affect women's civilian and military employment opportunities (Dandeker and Segal, 1996; Segal, 1995). In periods of economic expansion, Segal (1995) says, women are drawn into employment and when it contracts, they tend to leave. High unemployment rates (especially among young men) are associated with a ready supply of men to serve in the armed forces and relatively low opportunities for women in the military while periods of low male unemployment, sometimes lead to expanded military roles for women; especially if they are relatively disadvantaged in the civilian economy (Dandeker and Segal, 1996).

### **2.1.3e. Social Values.**

The pursuit of equal rights under international and national laws, are another cause for the expansion of women's roles in the Armed Forces. As social values become more egalitarian in society, women's military roles also expand (Pipe and Welch, 2002). A driving force toward increasing women's



representation in the military has been laws prohibiting discrimination based on gender (which sometimes apply to the military). Consequently, institutions and cultures that support the practice of division of labour based on gender differences are coming under pressure for change (Dandeker and Segal, 1996). Given the tasks of the armed forces and the traditionally masculine structure designed for their execution, it is not yet clear how far modern social values can go to alter this structure. The military currently is one of the last bastions of male domination and harbours forces that are resistant to gender integration.

#### **2.1.4 Gender Roles in the Military**

According to Goldstein (2001), the position of women in the military has always been clear with men doing the fighting and women supporting. Goldstein (ibid) states that in many societies, war-fighting was a male occupation and domestic work reserved for women. According to Welsh and Pipe (2002), society expected women to be home tending children for human survival, whilst men were afield fighting. As a result, women are often referred to as "defenders of the home front" (Welsh and Pipe, 2000:52). Women in the armed forces are consigned to administrative, catering, clerical and nursing services. At best, they are given Combat and Combat Service Support roles (Goldstein, 2001). Goldstein argues that the gendering of war-roles is an old one but cited two documented cases of female combatants in the Dahomey Kingdom of West Africa in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and the Soviet Union in World War II which were exceptions. A major influence on the gendering of society is traced to Judeo-Christian perspectives on the employment of women (Goldstein, 2001). In its teachings, women are not to lead but be relegated to subordinate roles as this is pleasing to "the God of Israel." This concept, which has influenced the structure of most Western societies, has not helped in the integration of women in leadership, including warfare roles.

Currently, some countries have made substantial progress in integrating women into the military, but are still hesitant in sending them to the front. Where they are allowed, especially with regard to Peace Support Operations (PSO), they are restricted to tasks that are referred to as "feminized tasks" like welfare, humanitarian and negotiation tasks (Pipe and Welch, 2002:51). These





arrangements, Segal says, only perpetuates the gender dichotomy regarding male and female roles. Pipe and Welch (2002:50) observes the exclusion of women from the front as an example of a military establishment that is "out of step with modern liberal democratic principles and norms."

### **2.1.5 Arguments used against Women in the Armed Forces**

Several arguments have been proffered as to why women should not be fully integrated into the armed forces. According to M. Segal (1993), those who argue in favour of expanded roles for women in the military emphasize citizenship equality and its relationship to public service. However, those who oppose the expansion of women's roles emphasize the negative impact of women on military effectiveness and possibly on the women themselves (Frost, 2002, Wildman, 2002).

#### **2.1.5a Safety.**

Opponents to allowing women to compete for frontline roles argue that it is too dangerous to put women in the position of becoming prisoners of war (Sagawa and Campbell, 1992). They argue that there is a much greater probability for acts of sexual molestation and rape with the addition of women to the front lines (ibid). The front lines in modern combat are however fluid making women vulnerable everywhere. For example, two female U.S. soldiers although in support roles, were taken captive and sexually molested by Iraqi soldiers during the Gulf War (Kennedy and Welch, 2002). In March 2007, a British mother of one (1), Faye Tumey, was taken hostage alongside sixteen (16) male counterparts aboard a British Navy patrol boat off the Persian Gulf by Iranian Revolutionary Guards. Under pressure she was forced to confess and apologize for straying into Iranian waters; an admittance which was not agreed by the British government (BBC News, 23 Mar 2007). These kinds of incidents, according to Dandeker and Segal (1996), make those who are already skeptical about putting women in such a compromising position further question whether women should be subjected to the horrors of combat. Some commentators however argue that, adult women who make the decision to join the military are aware of the consequences (Frost, 2002).



### **2.1.5b Physical Fitness.**

Another argument against women in combat is that they do not have the physical strength and endurance needed for military service (Frost, 2002:44). Without a doubt, being in the military is a physically demanding job that does not suit everyone. Frost argues that the average woman has less of the strength, stamina, and muscle mass of the average male, with the greatest disparity existing in the female's upper body strength. Since the major physical capacity requirements for many military jobs are deemed to be lifting and carrying, upper body strength is a limiting factor for many women. Despite this observation, experts agree that there are some women, although perhaps small in numbers, who have the physical strength and endurance to cope with the military work (Elshtain, 1997). It was also observed in a US Army Research Institute of Environmental Medicine 1997 report that, "with appropriate training, women could vastly improve performance of specific tasks associated with assigned duties, such as heavy lifting and long distance marches with 75-pound backpack" and concluded that "78% of the participants of the research could meet the Army's minimum requirements for "very heavy" jobs, up from the pre-study level of 24%". This shows that with training, women may be able to cope up with battle stresses and therefore be able to participate.

### **2.1.5c Unit Cohesion.**

Another argument used to keep women out of combat area is that they would disrupt cohesive in units and undermine esprit de corps (Wildman, 2002). Scholars on combat and unit cohesion argue that groups who share common attitudes and values are best able to form the close bonds needed for trust and motivation in combat (Rosen, 1999). Demographic homogeneity has therefore been found to be helpful in the development of cohesion-for example, similarities in social background, ethnicity, age, values, and upbringing (ibid). In the absence of this, commonality of experience through extended periods of close contact has become the glue that holds the unit together (Zeigler and Gunderson, 2005). Whether gender is a special case of demographic heterogeneity that will affect cohesion in frontline units is an issue under current debate. But according to Bouta et al (2006), where women are allowed into male units, traditional relations between male and females change,



fostering more equal gender relations, as women ought to live and act similarly to men as comrades in arms. Men and women in fighting units tend to share danger, living conditions, and roles, and often have access to training and education that is not gender stereotyped (Bouta et al, 2006). This reinforces the earlier observation by Zeigler and Gunderson (2005) regarding bonding as a result of commonality of experiences. An interesting observation by Bouta et al, however, is that, while women benefit from this opportunity, they also "masculinise," adopting the masculine attitudes and values that prevail in the army, rather than influencing ("feminizing") the army.

#### **2.1.5d Readiness and Task Accomplishment.**

Pregnancies and monthly menstrual cycles have been cited to impact on readiness to mobilize and task accomplishment. Although pregnancy is a major concern of many armies, statistics show that it has little bearing on military readiness (Sagawa and Campbell, op.cit:5). Sagawa and Campbell argue that women in the US Army on the average spend only one hour less per month at work than their male counterparts, and when one excludes pregnancy leave, statistics show that women have a lower rate of lost time at work than their male counterparts. Men are said to lose more time due to disciplinary problems i.e. drug or alcohol use and unofficial absences etc (op.cit:5). Regarding task accomplishment, Pipe and Welch (2002) state that even though the full impact has not been assessed, there is evidence that, the presence of women in combat zones have sobering effect on brutality making war more humane. According to them, evidence shows that violence against civilians by the military especially in war zones tend to minimize if women were part of the team (ibid). Incidence of rape and torture is also lower where women soldiers are present and examples can be cited of Bosnia and Iraq where women were involved in IFOR and OP THUNDER STORM II, as against Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Congo where women's participation on the peacekeeping force was minimal (ibid).

#### **2.1.5e Sexual Competition.**

Sexual attraction and romantic relationships have also been cited by some experts to disturb unit cohesion discipline (Frost, ibid). They argue that

romance may undermine esprit de corps and affect group performance as sexual competition may be introduced. Elshtain (1997) argues that the problem with sexual attraction between men and women is that it is likely to destroy camaraderie and affect performance as it produces dissention among men in a group. She argues that the difficulty is not that men instinctively protect women, but that, both men and women as couples will protect one another to the exclusion of what is good for the unit. The argument against women therefore has been rendered untenable in a world where gay relationships are accepted in some armies of the developed world.

## **2.2 SEX DIFFERENCE ARGUMENTS**

Feminist theorists and gender researchers have for some time now sought to understand the relationship between sex, physiology and capability (Foster, 1999). It was previously assumed that sex was responsible for a whole range of differences in humans i.e. in the area of bodily strength and speed (men are stronger and faster), physical skills (men have mechanical skills, women are good at fiddly work), sexual desire (men have more powerful urges), recreational interests (men love sport, women gossip), character (men are aggressive, women are nurturant), intellect (men are rational, women have intuition), and so on (Lorber, 1994; Foster, 1999).



In the 1970s, however, a number of theorists proposed a sharp distinction between 'sex' and 'gender'. Sex was defined as the biological fact, the difference between the male and the female human animal and gender was the social fact, the difference between masculine and feminine roles, or men's and women's personalities (Lorber, 1994). This was considered a conceptual breakthrough as it cut the knot of natural difference and showed why biology could not be used to justify women's subordination). The effect of biological differences could thus be confined to the realm of biology, while the broad realm of the social (culture, roles etc) remained where gender, as it is expressed, is constructed. R W Connell, in her book *Gender* (2006:26) argued that, sexual reproduction did not require bodies to be specialised by sex, but explained that much of women's physiology and capabilities were determined by their social roles. She tried to illustrate this using the bodies adapted by

female athletes and sportsmen and those engaged in physically demanding 'male jobs'. She cited a wide range of research to into this field to support her assumptions.

According to Connell (2006), the widespread idea that testosterone ('male hormone') and estrogen ('female hormone'), were responsible for aggression or otherwise, was an absurdity as science shows that both males and females have testosterone in their bodies, with some females having more than males. Thus the notion regarding male violence and female calmness, based on these hormones, was flawed. She also argued that scientific perceptions of bodily differences change over time and posits that the presumption that bodies fall into two opposed, qualitatively different types became general only in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

By separating *Sex* from *Gender* in the 1970s, the idea of "character dichotomy," where bodily differences and societal effects are linked, became suspect. This led to a number of researches to throw more light on that subject area.

### **2.2.1 Gender Difference Research**

According to Connell (2006), starting in the 1890s, generations of psychologists have measured various traits with tests or scales and compared the results for women with those for men. This body of research, known as 'sex difference' (sometimes 'gender difference') research, was meant to reveal linkages between sex and capability. Connell (2006) queried the notion that body difference and social effects are often linked through the idea of *character dichotomy* where' women were supposed to have one set of traits, and men, another. Women were supposed to be nurturant, suggestible, talkative, emotional, intuitive, and sexually loyal while men were supposed to be aggressive, tough-minded, taciturn, rational, analytic and promiscuous (Connell, 2006:40). Western feminists in the 1980s often saw male aggression and female usefulness as natural and Fukuyama (1998), for example, refers to neo-Darwinist research to suggest that males are genetically predisposed to violence (cited from Bouta, 2006: 11). These ideas according to Connell (2006)





have been strong in Western culture since the nineteenth century, when the belief that women had weaker intellects and less capacity for judgement than men was used to justify their exclusion from universities and from the vote.

It is however noted that from the 1900s, women began to enter universities and were entitled to suffrage, but the belief in character dichotomy remains strong. This, according to Connell (2006), is sometimes to women's advantage when it comes to the argument that there should be more women in management and government because they will bring their distinctive traits (e.g. empathy and relationship skills) to these tasks. She argues that more often, it is to men's advantage as women, it believed cannot be top managers because they lack the necessary aggressiveness and analytical skills; or the belief that when men engage in predatory or selfish sexual conduct they are only doing what is natural for men and cannot be expected to change. The belief in character dichotomy is so important that it was one of the first issues about gender to be addressed in sustained empirical research; one of it is Kate Hyde's gender similarity research.

### **2.2.2. Hyde's Gender Similarity Hypothesis.**

Janet Hyde is a Professor (of Psychology and Women's Studies) at Madison, University of Wisconsin. She reviewed forty-six meta-analyses on gender differences and concluded that males and females are similar on most psychological variables (Hyde, 2005: 581). Meta analysis is a statistical method for aggregating research findings across many studies of the same question, providing overall estimate of all findings (Eysenck, 2004; Hedges and Becker, 1986). Hyde (2005) proposes "the gender similarity hypothesis" which holds that "males and females are more similar than different". This challenges the gender differences hypothesis or the functionalist argument. Epstein (1988), Hyde (1985) and Hyde and Plant (1995) all support the finding that males and females are similar though not the same. To prove her case, Hyde (2005) clarified that most psychological gender differences are in the close-to zero range ( $d < 0.10$ ) or small range ( $0.11 < d < 0.35$ ) range of significance. A few are in the moderate range ( $0.36 < d < 0.65$ ) and very few are in the large ( $d < 0.66-1.00$ ) or very large ( $d > 1.00$ ) ranges. From these she states



that 78% of previously known gender differences were in the small or close to zero ranges of significance. This means that there is little basis for gender stratification within social systems. She found that gender differences in leadership skills; perceptual abilities and social variables fell within the insignificant range. These suggest that the potentials of males and females are not extremely different and could be integrated effectively in leadership to achieve goals in combat.

Hyde (2005) however pointed out that aggression and motor performance repeatedly showed gender differences that were moderately significant in magnitude across several meta-analyses in favour of males. She cautioned that the significance of gender differences in aggressive behaviour depended on the context. Whether males and females differed on any variable depended on the context or domain under consideration (Hyde, 2005; Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Lightdale and Prentice (1994) used a process of de-individuation to demonstrate that gender differences in aggression depend on the context in which aggressive behaviour is displayed. De-individuation refers to a situation in which a person has lost his or her individual identity and has become anonymous such as in crowds or mobs (Eysenck, 2004:755). In the experiment, the participants were assigned to an experimental group of gender mixed de-individuated persons and a control group of gender-mixed individuated persons. They were asked to throw bombs in a video game and the number of bombs thrown measured the level of aggression. In the de-individuated context the researchers found no significant gender differences in aggressive behaviours. It was though realized that women threw more bombs and showed more aggressive behaviours in the individuated group than men. This is useful for analysing the argument against women in combat related duties.

### **2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

In this research, I present the functionalist theory as the main framework for analysis supported by other theories. A theory is a statement of some general principles explaining particular events (Sternberg, 2004:35). It presents a systematic way of understanding events or situations and represents an



interrelated set of propositions that serve to explain behaviour (ibid). A theory according to (Neuman, 2000:158), must be applicable to a broad variety of situations because by nature, "theory is abstract and does not have specific content or topic area."

Below, I review the functionalist theory as an explanation for discrimination of roles in the armed forces. I also review Conflict, Civilianisation and Institutional/ Organisational theories to explain stratification of roles and why women are consigned to subordinate positions in society in general and the armed forces in particular.

### **2.3.1 Functionalist Theory**

Functionalists view society as a social system of inter-connected parts. They argue that stratification makes an important contribution to social order, and therefore inequality is beneficial, positive and necessary for social development (Hughes et al 2002:273). Stratification, they argue, allows individuals to engage in occupations that best suit their abilities. Functionalists further argue that for society to function successfully, males and females must be differentiated into normative categories suitable for specific functions (ibid). This is based on the idea that males and females are entirely different and that, specific functions in society are better done by either males or females but not both (Parsons and Bales (1955). Functionalists argue that division of labour originally arose between men and women because of the reproductive role of women (ibid). They add that because women were often pregnant or nursing, society assigned domestic and child-rearing tasks to women, whereas men were assigned defence tasks because of their larger body sizes and muscular strengths. Functionalists argue that this idealized structure was necessary for the survival of the human species and so it was retained in society. Boudon (1986), refined this perspective by claiming that men should specialize in instrumental tasks such as making decisions, organizing and leading people to solve problems, and females should play supportive roles. While Emile Durkhiem, one of the leading proponents of functionalism, rooted for this approach to social order, Karl Marx perceived functionalism as



negative and exploitative, with a master and a slave class mentality (McLellan, 2008).

Functionalism therefore justifies sexist processes; policies, practices and procedure which portray one sex as superior to the other (Parsons and Bales, 1955:246). Functionalist ideas make social organization take the form of patriarchy in which men have disproportionate share of power over women. Parson and Bales trace this to cultural and legal systems that historically gave fathers authority in family and clan matters and made mothers dependent on husbands through inheritance. Functionalism makes a stark distinction between males and females regarding what they could do in society; males should play dominant roles and females play supportive roles. Functionalists look at men as the more powerful actors and women as dependent actors and argue that this is necessary for the survival of the society (ibid). This perspective has been criticized by some social scientists as an excuse to justify male dominance. With regards to war-fighting roles, Goldstein (2001:59) for instance cites historical evidences to argue that women throughout history have had military and social powers that were simply ignored. Functionalism therefore is not a plausible explanation for role differentiation in modern society, as the performances of women in many field does not portray ineffectiveness. The theory is studied because it gives us an insight into some reasons why women are discriminated against in the combat arms of most armed forces.

### 2.3.2 Conflict Theory

Conflict theory is related to the functionalist theory in focus. **Conflict theory** states that society or an organization functions so that each individual participant and its groups struggle to maximize their benefits, which inevitably contributes to social change such as political changes and revolutions (Hughes, *et al*, 2002). The theory is mostly applied to explain conflict between social classes, proletariat versus bourgeoisie; and in ideologies, such as capitalism versus socialism (ibid). While conflict theory successfully describes instances where conflict occurs between groups of people, for a variety of reasons, it is questionable whether this represents the ideal human society. The history of





**conflict theory** can be traced back to thinkers such as Machiavelli or Thomas Hobbes, both of whom viewed humanity cynically (Boudon, 1986; Parsons and Bales, 1955). In its current form, conflict theory attempts to refute the functionalist approach, which considers that societies and organizations function so that each individual and group plays a specific role, like organs in the body (Hughes, *et al*, 2002). According to Hughes (2002) and his co-writers, there are radical basic assumptions (society is eternally in conflict, which might explain social change), or moderate ones (custom and conflict are always mixed). The moderate version allows for functionalism to operate as an equally acceptable theory since it would accept that even negative social institutions play a part in society's self-perpetuation.

Conflict theory has been used by feminists to explain the position of women in society. They argue that women have traditionally been oppressed so that men can benefit from positions of power, wealth, and status (Hughes et al, 2002). These Feminists argue that the conflict over limited natural resources is what led men to relegate women to domesticity. This interpretation of conflict theory also leads to the idea that men cannot be trusted to give power to women because this gift would conflict with their inherent nature. According to Hughes *et al*, (2002), conflict perspective explains gender stratification of roles as a social vehicle devised by men to ensure for themselves privileges, prestige and power in their relationship with women.

Conflict theorists present a number of explanations as to why men perpetuate gender inequality including why men lust for power over women (Chafetz, 1990; Collier, 1988). Some feminist theorists argue that the fundamental motive for gender stratification of roles is to make women available for sexual gratification or to gain economic advantages over women (Hughes et al, 2002). This perspective blames gender inequality in society on the selfish interests of men (*ibid*).

### **2.3.3 Civilianization Theory**

One of the theories that explain the increase of women in the military is the civilianization theory. Janowitz, (1964) and Moskos (1988) observed that the



military as an institution has changed drastically since its inception to conform to civil society's standards. This, they attribute to changing normative standards, technology, social expectations and pressure from women's groups. Civilianization according to Janowitz is the process of making the military take on civil characteristics. The theory was extensively dealt with in Janowitz's The Professional Soldier (1971), which traced the evolution of the American military from the American Civil War days to modern times. He pointed out that social and legal pressures have shaped the modern military with regards to women's integration. Contributing to the civilianization debate, Segal and Segal (1994: 122) also remarked that "military organizations should be microcosms of the society that host them, and thus the rationalization of society and its civilian institutions should be reflected in the military as well." They argue that the armed forces should reflect the diversity found in society but this must not be at the expense of service delivery (operational effectiveness). Segal and Segal (1983:152) however added that the military was an anachronism, because though similar in some ways to civil organizations, it was different because of its assigned roles.

Samuel P. Huntington The Soldier and the State (1957), argued that the military's unique function required a culture independent from societal influences, and that, any "fusionist" efforts by the civilian government, would be disastrous for military effectiveness. Janowitz (1971) disagreed with this assessment. He claimed that the changing demands of modern warfare and the broadening of military tasks (to include non-military roles) required a shift in professional skills and values, and that, the armed forces would not be able to resist "civilianization," because doing so would isolate it from broader society. Janowitz contended that the military will be a reflection of the society it serves, although it will not be a carbon copy. He said that there were real limitations to the civilianization of the military because of military training system, military self-image which sets it somewhat apart, and the duty assignments and daily, living conditions in the military that isolate them from civilian society. He said in spite of these differences, the military should reflect the dominant values of the society it serves. Civilianization theory is important because it allows us to understand how external circumstances or pressures impact on change within

the military which in turn impact on recruitment to include women's employment.

#### 2.3.4 Institutional/Occupational Theory

Another writer, Charles Moskos (1988), in his contribution to the civil-military gap debate, highlighted the implications of an organisation shifting from one highly divergent from civil society (institutional), to one more akin to the civilian marketplace (occupational). Moskos writing, "From Institution to Occupation: Trends in Military Organisation", which was an expansion on Janowitz, developed what came to be known as the Institutional/Occupational (I/O) theory. The work of Charles Moskos is especially important in distinguishing between what he calls "*institutional*" as opposed to "*occupational*" motives for military service. Institutional considerations include patriotism, love of service, and dedication. Occupational considerations, he said, have to do with material rewards and career advancement.

Moskos maintained that the potential outcomes of the move away from the professional/institutional model of military organisation towards an occupational/civilian model, was that soldiers instead of being motivated by a desire to serve the "common good" would be more concerned with pay, benefits and quality of working life. This he believed, would impact negatively on loyalty, commitment and military culture, and by implication, military effectiveness. Institutional/Occupational theory also assumes a continuum ranging from a military organization highly divergent from civilian society to one highly convergent with civilian structures. According to him, convergence with civilian structures was a consequence of changes that are introduced by technology. He argues that divergent and traditional features in the military will become most pronounced in labour intensive support units, combat forces and possibly at senior command levels. On the other hand, the convergent or civilianizing features will accelerate where functions deals with education, clerical administration, logistics, medical care, transportation, construction and other technical tasks. The divergent sector like the combat arms, he says, will



stress customs and traditions, while the convergent parts will operate on principles common to civil administration and corporate structures. This theory is of interest as it explains the concentration of women in the support services units of the armed forces as against the combat arms where loyalty, sacrifice and patriotism are the watch-words. It also explains the underlying *occupational* motives of money, job security and material rewards that account for increase of women in many armed forces including the Ghana Armed Forces.

As noted earlier, a single perspective, Functionalism, is chosen as the main theory to be tested because it gives a fuller explanation for male dominance in the armed forces and the resistance to integration. The paragraphs below trace the trajectory of the Ghana Armed Forces within Ghana's socio-political evolution with regards to women's integration.

## **2.4 GHANA ARMED FORCES IN CONTEXT**

As already noted, perceptions play a dominant role when it comes to the employment of women in the armed forces. In trying to identify a trend in perceptions regarding the involvement of women in the GAF, I considered that perceptions may not exist or change in a vacuum but be influenced by the context. In this regard, the context within which the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) operates therefore matters in this study. This chapter provides some short accounts of factors within the Ghanaian society at large that are likely to influence the perceptions within the Ghana Armed Forces regarding gender equality and mainstreaming.

### **2.4. 1. The National Environment**

The national environment gives expression to some factors which are unique to Ghanaians and the Ghana Armed Forces in particular. In the national context I look at Ghana at a glance, government initiatives on gender equality, women and gender equality in the formal sector as well as gender issues in the traditional sector. I then look at the formation and background of the Ghana Armed Forces and the extent of gender integration as compared to the other security services.



#### **2.4.1a Ghana at a Glance**

Ghana is located in West Africa and bordered by the Gulf of Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Togo and Burkina Faso. The country has a total land and water area of 238,533 square kilometers with a current population that stands at approximately twenty-five million. The annual population growth rate is 1.82% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). In terms of economy, Ghana is relatively poor but has oil finds that can boost its prospects in the future. The 2010 estimate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was \$61.97 billion, with a GDP per capita income of \$2500 (CIA Fact book-Ghana 2011). Ghana's GDP growth rate is currently 5.7%, with an inflation rate of 10.07%. Unemployment rate was 11% as at 2000 with 57.9% of the total population being literate with a slight gender gap of 66.4% for males against 49.8% for females. Ghana is multi-religious with Christians dominating. In military terms, the minimum age at which a Ghanaian is accepted into the military is 18 years. The 2010 national statistics estimates that an average of 264,000 each, of males and females, reach the military age annually (CIA Fact Book). About 6,268,191 males and 6,134,339 females are available for military service and 4,136,406 males against 4,220,761 were estimated in 2010 as fit for military service (ibid). Military expenditure for 2009 was 1.7% of National Gross Domestic Product. This low expenditure on the military has implications for national defence and additional infrastructure to recruit more women.



Politically, Ghana practices constitutional democracy. On 6th March 1957, Ghana, then Gold Coast, became the first country in colonial Africa to gain independence. As will be seen in the discussion, events surrounding Ghana's premiership to African independence have implications for gender equality and employment in the formal sector including the armed forces. The Ghanaian Constitution recognizes a President who also is the Commander-in Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces. Ten years after independence the first president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966. Several of such political unrests occurred until 1981 when the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council led by Fit Lt Jerry John Rawlings took over the administration of the state. Since 1981 Ghana has been stable in political terms until 1992 when



Ghana returned to constitutional rule. It has since not witnessed any military take over.

#### **2.4.1b Ghana Government and Gender Equality**

A major step taken by the Government of Ghana on the reintroduction of democratic rule in the 1990's was to set the legislative basis for promotion of gender equality in the National Constitution. Article (17) clause (1) of The 1992 Ghanaian Constitution states that "all persons shall be equal before the law". Clause (2) goes further to specify that "a person shall not be discriminated against on grounds of gender. . ." 'Discrimination' as used in the constitution is explained in clause (3) of the same article referring to the situation where different treatment is given to different persons attributable only or mainly to their respective description by gender. .. "State institutions, including the Armed Forces, are guided by the Ghanaian Constitution in matters concerning the rights and status of women.

Another major political initiative to strengthen gender equality in the Ghanaian society was the establishment of the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) in January 2001. This ministry is backed by the Executive Instrument (EI 18) of 26th October 2001 Civil Service Instrument of Ghana ([www.mowac.gov.gh](http://www.mowac.gov.gh)). The mission of this ministry includes the formulation and monitoring of gender and child specific policies and guidelines for all identifiable institutions namely; government ministries, departments and agencies including the Ministry of Defence. It works in collaboration with the United Nations, NGOs and other institutions interested in gender issues. The ministry has a Strategic Plan of Action (SPA) in line with the National Gender and Children's Policy. This is aimed at mainstreaming gender issues into the national development processes. In drawing the strategic plan of action MOW AC took into consideration the international standards on gender. The Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action and Beijing +5 and +10 Outcome Documents and Political Declarations form part of such standards. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women is another. MOW AC is further guided by the International Millennium Development Goal of promoting gender equality and empowerment of women. 33





Ghana therefore makes a lot of effort towards empowering women even though this is perceived as short of expectation. Most political parties in Ghana have made it a point to feature in their manifestos the advancement and appointment of women to political positions in order to attract their votes and satisfy requirement in the MDGs goals to empower women. To give expression to this, political parties give financial concession to women who aspire to political positions. Recently, the issue of recruitment of women into the Ghana Armed Forces was brought to Parliament.

#### **2.4.1c Women and Gender Equality in the Formal Sector**

Until recently women have not been allowed to play significant roles in the formal sector of Ghanaian society. By 2010, not more than ninety (90) women, from the time of independence, have served at the executive level of governance as Ministers and Deputy Ministers ([www.guide2womenleaders.com/Ghana.htm](http://www.guide2womenleaders.com/Ghana.htm)). As of March 2010, Ghana had only about fifteen women making up 28.6% of cabinet serving as Ministers and Deputy Ministers. This is in sharp contrast with Nigeria which has 31 % and Rwanda, which has 40% share of women in government as Ministers (UN Commission on Status of Women, 2011). Even though Ghana currently has women as Chief Justice, Speaker of Parliament and head of the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), no woman has ever served as Minister or Deputy Minister for Defence or Chief of Defence Staff perhaps because of the fear that women may not perform in that Ministry. In the Police and Immigrations Services however, Mrs Elizabeth Mills-Robertson, was appointed as Acting Inspector General of Police from Jan May 2009, and Mrs Elizabeth Adjei as substantive head of the Immigration Service of Ghana from Sep 20.02. The relegation of women in the GAF to the background is not by default, but can be partially traced to traditional thinking patterns and the socio-cultural perceptions regarding women in frontline positions.

#### **2.4.1d Gender Issues in the Ghanaian Traditional Sector**

Ghana is a multi-ethnic state with about six major ethnic groups. The Akans make up the largest ethnic group in Ghana and constitute 44% of the total

Ghanaian population (Schott and Henley, 1996). This ethnic group traditionally practices maternal inheritance (Quisumbing *et al*, 2001; Fallon, 2008). This implies that children trace their lineage to and inherit properties from the maternal uncle. It is noted that gender discrimination in wealth transfers including land ownership within the Akan people of Ghana has been fairly small (Ratray, 1923; Quisumbing *et al*, *ibid*). Queen mothers and other female gate-keepers play crucial roles in administration and governance in these societies (Ratray, 1923; Fallon, 2008). This is not fully the case for the other ethnic groups that constitute 56% of the population and practice patrilineal inheritance (Fallon, 2008). Men in patrilineal societies play dominant roles in family and traditional administration; thus, even though women constitute a larger population in most of these ethnic groups, their influences are limited (Fallon, 2008). It must be stated that in spite of the involvement of women in the administration of most traditional societies, the Ghanaian traditional sector generally remains highly patriarchal. Most personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces have cultural backgrounds that emphasize male dominance thus the current perception towards women and the structure of the GAF.

#### **2.4.2 Formation and Background of the Ghana Armed Forces**

The GAF can trace its background from armed units organised in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by European Trading Companies to safeguard their socio-political and economic interests in the Gold Coast (Aboagye, 1999; Rogers, 1959). In 1864, a Corps of Hausas nicknamed "Glover Hausas" after a British Captain was formed by the British for service in Nigeria (Rogers, 1959). In 1874, this corps was brought to Gold Coast to fight for the colonial government in the Ashanti Campaign of 1873 - 74. Glover's Hausa was disbanded after the war and 350 men who remained became the nucleus of Gold Coast Constabulary (GCC) which was raised in 1879. The GCC was amalgamated with other military units in the British colonies to form the West African Frontier Force (WAFF). This was after a grueling battle with the Ashanti's in 1901 sparked by Queen Yaa Asantewa of the Ashanti Kingdom (Aboagye, 2010; Haywood and Clarke, 1964). The WAFF was re-designated the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) in 1925 with the headquarters in Accra. The RWAFF Command





was divided into 3 regiments namely, Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone/Gambia (Haywood and Clarke, 1964). On the attainment of Independence, the Gold Coast Regiment accordingly became the Ghana Army (GA) structured on the lines of British regular units (ibid). The force was given the responsibility of maintenance of internal security, defence of the sovereign and territorial integrity of Ghana and to take part in regional and international peace operations subject to national objectives (Aboagye, 1999: 1:28). The 1992 Constitution of Ghana extended these roles to include assistance in national development and the provision of disaster relief and humanitarian assistance during national disasters (ibid: 31). The Ghana Air Force and the Ghana Navy were established in May 1959 and June 1959 respectively as allied services to the Ghana Army. These together form the Ghana Armed Forces. It is noteworthy that at the time of independence the GA did not have women in its ranks as structured by the British colonial government.

#### **2.4.2a Women in the Ghana Armed Forces.**

The participation of women in the GAF only began after independence in 1957, when the first president, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, envisioned a wider role for women (Aboagye, 1999: 113). Dr. Nkrumah, took an important step to promote gender equality in the Armed Forces by establishing the Directorate of Women's Auxiliary Corps (WAC) (Aboagye, 1999). This unit was named after the first Ghanaian female warrior, Yaa Asantewaa, and was designed to take charge of women's affairs in the Armed Forces (ibid). Structured after the Women's Royal Auxiliary Corps (WRAC) in the United Kingdom, WAC was designed to increase the representation of women in the Ghana Armed Forces. In 1964 the armed forces commissioned three (3) female military air transport pilots when many in the developed world had not contemplated that.

President Nkrumah was quoted as saying in a statement before a presidential trip in 1966 that, "when I return, I want to see the Women's Auxiliary Corps as I see the Army, the Navy and the Air Force" (Aboagye, 1999, 227). He was overthrown by the Armed Forces when he was still on that trip. Following his overthrow, the Women's Auxiliary Corps was disbanded from the Ghana Armed Forces (ibid) and no effort was made since then to actively enlist



women until 1992 when the forth republican constitution was established. Apart from the Nursing Corp, women have not played major roles in the administration of the GAF until 1998 when Major Constance Edjeani-Afenu (later Lieutenant Colonel) was appointed to command the Forces Pay Office; first, in acting capacity from July 1998- February 1999 (Aboagye, 1999:75), and in substantive capacity up to May 2002 (GHQ (PA) 2008). She is the only woman, with the exception of Lt Col Christine Debrah who commanded the Women's Auxiliary Corps from 1963 to 1965 (ibid), to have commanded a major Army unit since the establishment of the GAF.

#### **2.4.2b Women in the Police and other Security Services**

While the Ghana Armed Forces faces an uphill task in the integration of women, the story appears slightly different in the other security services. For instance, the Ghana Police Service, Immigration Service and the Ghana Customs Excise and Preventive Service have quite a number of women serving in their ranks. These Services have also had females as heads either in acting or substantive capacities. Recruitment into -these services is also unrestricted and unconstrained. This is probably because their respective roles are not war related. For instance, in the Police service, women constitute about 20% of the total force while women make up about 28% of the Immigration Service force (Ghana Government, Ministry of Interior, 2010). The Customs and Preventive Service has about the same percentage of women as the Immigration Service (ibid). These numbers are significantly higher than that of the Armed Forces, which currently stands at 09% (GHQ (PA), 2008). The question that needs asking is whether an increase in women in the OAF will affect performance. Some studies that have been reviewed below do not seem to suggest that; rather, it presents a positive picture regarding women's abilities, even in battle.

### **2.5 EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE REGARDING WOMEN EFFECTIVENESS IN THE ARMED FORCES**

Studies reviewed in this section include field observations and surveys on women's effectiveness in the armed forces. Controlled observations regarding performance of US Army women in Operation Desert Storm in Iraq in 1991

and surveys covering the South African Defence Forces (SANDF) and the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) are discussed.

### **2.5.1. US Army Field Studies.**

Contrary to popular arguments, Rosen (1999) states that the effect of women's presence on unit performance and readiness was not found to be negative according to two studies conducted in the mid-1970s in the US Army. This was supported by observations made regarding women's performance during the 1991 Gulf War. In the first study conducted by the US Army, soldiers from forty combat support and combat service support companies were evaluated over an eighteen-month period during their Army Training and Evaluation Program (ARTEP) and the presence of women was found to have no significant effect on the operational capabilities of the unit (Rosen, 1999). The second study found a negligible impact of women's presence on unit performance during a ten-day field exercises (Rosen, op.cit). A more recent study similarly found that gender integrated basic training had no negative effects on the performance of either gender, and actually showed some positive effects for women (US Department of Defence, 2001).

Combat units containing men and women have performed well in battle according to Townshend (1997), with many recent wars and insurgencies providing examples. The resistance to allowing women serve their country on an equal basis with men, some argue, is due to outmoded cultural views on the proper roles of each sex, and not to any rational objections. According to a 1996 US Department of Defence report (Burrelli, 1996), the 40,000 women deployed during Operation Desert Storm in 1991, performed admirably and without substantial friction or special considerations. In fact, a United States Army Research Institute study of Desert Storm in 1993, found no significant gender differences in job performance, readiness, effectiveness, or morale (US DoD, 2001). Assigning women to combat positions, the report noted, could increase military effectiveness.





### 2.5.2 A South African Case Study

A case study of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) was conducted to ascertain if women should serve in all combat specialties and the effect this may have on force cohesion, morale and operational effectiveness of the military (Heinecken, 2002). It was found that expanded participation of females was perceived to hinder overall operational effectiveness of the military. This has been a major concern for SANDF in deploying personnel for among other things, peacekeeping operations (Heinecken, 2002:715). An aspect of Heinecken's study was to test the perception of military officers on whether women should serve on combat roles. It was found that perceptions were slightly unfavourable as 40 percent agreed, 12 percent were unsure and 48 percent disagreed (Heinecken, op.cit:721). When military women were asked if they would like to go on frontline combat if given the chance, 75 percent of black African women, 58 percent of Coloured Women and 34 percent Whites agreed. And when asked whether deployment on combat duties should be compulsory or voluntary, 41 percent White women supported the volunteer option, 47 percent black African women supported the compulsory option. The researcher explains the responses with differences in racial backgrounds of the respondents noting that responses from the White women reflected Western trends that they want to choose and not to be forced for combat assignments (ibid). Again the racial differences affected the perceptions of military personnel regarding the capabilities of women to serve on combat roles. Whereas nearly 70 percent of Whites and 63 percent of Coloured perceived women as capable of effective combating, less than 48 percent of Blacks held that view. Again, more men (41 %) than women (28%) had the perception that women did not have the capability to perform well in combat duties. This sentiment was felt most among African men than among White or Coloured men (ibid). A general survey by the Equal Opportunities Chief Directorate of the South African Defence National Force tested if the inclusion of women in combat units could have negative impact on force cohesion, morale and operational effectiveness. The results showed that 56 percent of males and 47 percent of females supported the view that the integration of women would have detrimental effects on unit cohesion, morale and operational effectiveness. In general black Africans (56 percent) felt more



strongly than Whites (49 percent) that this was so (Heinecken, 2002:722). The researcher explains the findings with a unique contextual issue within the new South African National Defence Force, namely, that the men lacked previous exposure to the military capabilities of women. Also, the researcher observes that racial issues rather than gender issues determined social and task cohesion of SANDF (ibid).

### **2.5.3 Ghana's Case Study**

In a case study conducted by Afrim-Narh (2006) on the- Ghana Armed Forces on the acceptability of women participation in peacekeeping operations, fifty-seven percent of respondents supported the integration of women in combat and leadership duties in peacekeeping. On the other hand, 32 % did not support this position and 11 % were uncertain about whether women should be integrated in leadership and combat duties in peace operations.

Seventy percent of respondents were of the view that women could take leadership duties in peace operations. Only 20% of respondents did not take this position and as low as 10% of respondent were uncertain of whether women should be given leadership positions or not. With regards to combat duties, only 44% of respondents were of the view that women's employment will not have any negative effects on the ability of the military to defend itself during peace operations. Another 44% of respondents did not favour women in combat responsibilities and 12% were uncertain.

Some differences in response also occurred between men and women regarding the assignment of women to military combat and leadership duties in peacekeeping. Thirty percent (30%) of males were optimistic that females could be effective in combat duties if they were given the same training and motivation like males. 58% of males disagreed that females should be included on combat duties and 12% of males were neutral. In sharp contrast, 68% of females were optimistic that they could be effective in combat duties as their male counterparts if they were given the training and motivation.





In terms of gender equality in leadership roles, fifty-four percent (54%) of males and 88% of females perceived no differences in the ability of the military to engage effectively in peace operations if qualified women were given leadership roles. By this, most respondents among other things agreed that military leadership in peace operations should be opened to females as well. They did not perceive the gender of the leader to have any negative effects on their motivation and efficiency in peace operation. Further they were ready to respect the authority of a female military leader in peacekeeping. They therefore perceived that a qualified female leader was just as capable of achieving absolute force cohesion for the purposes of effective peace operations as a male leader would normally achieve. The most frequent reason cited for this was that a dedicated soldier looks to the source of command for action and not the gender of the one in command.

## **2.6 Concluding Remarks**

In Afrim-Narh's case study, women were not perceived as incapable of leadership and combat responsibilities in peace operations. They were also not perceived to have any significant negative effects on the ability of the military to be effective on peacekeeping. This finding does not support the SANDF case or what other researchers have emphasised in explaining why the military remains male-dominated. Heinecken (2002:716) emphasizes that the motivation for limiting the roles of women in military operations stems mainly from concerns that the expanded integration of women will affect operational effectiveness as observed in the South African National Defence Force. Segal (1995:758) notes that "for women to participate in the military, either the military has to be perceived as transformed to make it more compatible with how women are, or women have to be perceived as changing in ways that make them seemingly suitable for military service." The finding suggests that concerns for operational effectiveness may not be so important in assigning personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces on peacekeeping duties. What then accounts for and/or sustains the continuous practice of job segregation in the Ghana Armed Forces?

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

The choice of a suitable research methodology is guided by the theoretical underpinnings of the study scope, goal and objectives, the nature of the research problem, how data would be analyzed, interpreted and presented (Brown, 1996; Yin, 1993, 1994). The use of a particular research approach would depend on a number of factors: the purpose of the research, its specific objectives, practicability and validity, available financial resources, the skills of the researcher in data analysis and interpretation, among others (ibid). Hence, my choice of the research approach is guided by these factors.

This study explores gender integration in the context of the Ghana Armed Forces in relation to combat and other operational activities. I try to find out the extent to which women are integrated in all aspects of military life. I also attempt to map out how women's integration is perceived to affect operational effectiveness and explore the extent to which concerns for operational effectiveness accounts for limited involvement of female personnel in the armed forces. I will use the simple qualitative and quantitative methods to collect data to answers these inter-related questions.

#### 3.1 Research Design

Research design is generally regarded as the vehicle that transports the researcher from a state of ignorance to a state of knowledge and according to Brown (1996) there are many types. What is used by the researcher, according to him, depends on his level of mastery of research methodology. But basically, research design should be such that it measures what is being measured, and obtains the data that will validly lead to a conclusion that is also valid (Yin, 1994). For any investigation to be successful, Yin argues that the selection of an appropriate research design is therefore crucial in enabling one to arrive at valid findings. Hence, the research design that was adopted for the study is the Mixed Method Research approach using Quantitative and Quantitative Survey design.





In choosing the appropriate research strategy, I considered the comment by King et al (1994:5) that most researches do not fit discretely into qualitative or quantitative categories but rather some best known researchers have combined both strategies. Miller (1991) argues that many political scientists adopt both qualitative and quantitative methods to develop theory and knowledge.

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

My attempt to find a trend in the involvement of women in the combat arms of GAF was best answered with qualitative data (ibid). However, the assessment of perceived effect of gender equality on the ability of the military to engage in effective military operations was instantaneous and fitted the quantitative survey (Yin, 1994:5). In order to effectively capture both phenomena, I combined the two approaches. Hence, the study combined both the qualitative and the quantitative approaches in data collection and analysis.

Hinkle et al (2003), point out that the research design must identify and control the independent variable. My design was meant to test whether expanded participation of women or gender integration is perceived to hinder operational effectiveness in the Ghana Armed Forces. Current normative and legal requirements demand the full involvement of females in all facets of society including the armed forces. My interest was in what was perceived to happen to the ability of the military to carry out effective military operations if the roles of women were expanded to include all duties hitherto reserved for males.

Gender integration is the independent variable in this context. I test its perceived effect on operational effectiveness being the corresponding dependent variable. The results in this survey were reinforced with qualitative



data to make detailed measured decisions on the impact of women on military operations and subsequently, national security. The ultimate goal is to determine if the roles of women are limited due to concerns that their involvement may reduce operational effectiveness. Statistical manipulation is done by simply comparing favourable and unfavourable responses regarding full involvement of women in aspects of military activities from which they are excluded. I then fitted the empirical observations into the theoretical' frame chosen for the thesis.

Due to the peculiarity of the military, the research adopts a Survey design that incorporates quantitative and qualitative techniques of collecting data. The research is therefore a Mixed Method Research. It is currently the first that tries to investigate the challenge of integration in the Ghana Armed Forces. References are made to surveys and other studies conducted into the South African, US, UK and other armies.

### **3.2 Population of Study.**

The Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) is the population of study. It is made up of the Army, Navy and Air Force. The Army is constituted to fight on land, whilst the Air Force fights from the sky with support from ground maintenance and administrative crew. The Navy on the other hand defends the territorial integrity of the state from the sea with some support from the land forces. Thus, the Ghana Armed Forces is made up of the land, sea and air forces. The Armed Forces currently have a total strength of 15,000; with the Army making up 10,000, which is 66.7% of the total force, the Air Force has 3,000 strong, constituting 20% of total strength, with the Navy having 2,000 personnel, bringing it to 13.3% of total strength.

All three Services of the Armed Forces are grouped into the Combat arm, Combat Support arm, and Combat Service Support arm. The Combat arm comprise fighting troops and their equipment, while the Combat Support and Combat Service Support arms are those that provide technical and administrative support to the fighting troops. Currently, most women are deployed in the Combat Service Support units. The different Services (Army, Navy and Air Force) have different occupational cultures because of the nature



of their jobs that affect social interactions and attractions affecting the employment of women.

The job of the Army is labour intensive and depends on brawn and brute force to accomplish. It engages in close-quarter fighting which involves killing at close range. It is a highly regimented institution which thrives on strict obedience to orders designed to facilitate its emotionally difficult job of fighting and killing at close range. The Army until recently was not particularly attractive to women because of its brutal nature, but this is changing with the service witnessing an increase in women's numbers.

The Navy and Air Force, on the other hand, are more technologically oriented and rely on technical expertise to operate their equipment for mission accomplishment. They hardly engage in close-quarter hand-to-hand combat but instead fight from afar on sea or air platforms. The work environment and the relaxed attitude of the Air Force makes it more attractive to women than the other two Services. Though technical, the seafaring nature of navy work and the enclosed and isolated working environment does not endear it to many women, thus women's strength is relatively low in the Service. This divergence in roles, institutional cultures and job environments affect recruitment patterns in the Armed Forces.

Currently, female soldiers make up 800 of the Army's strength, constituting 8%, Air Force has 1,500 giving them 50% of total Air Force strength and the Navy has 300, giving them 15% of the total Naval force (GHQ PA, 2008). In all, women constitute about 9% of the total Armed Forces strength. Of this, 10% are officers and 90% other ranks. The Army currently has 600 female enlisted soldiers as against 200 female officers, the Air force has 1,400 female soldiers against 100 officers, and Navy has 285 female soldiers against 15 officers. But for a few exceptions, women serving in the Armed Forces are mostly deployed in the nursing, administration and catering roles. Table 3.1 below shows the strength distribution with regards to men and women in GAF.

**Table 3.1: Total number of military personnel in Ghana Armed Forces**

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	% MEN	% WOMEN
ARMY	9,200	800	10,000	92.0	8.0
NAVY	1,700	300	2,000	85.0	15.0
AIR FORCE	1,500	1,500	3,000	50.0	50.0
TOTAL	12,400	2,600	15,000	91.0	9.0

Source: Ministry of Defence.2008

Army units are spread all over the country, in all regional capitals, making them accessible to many including women. The Air Force however has its bases only at Accra, Tamale and Takoradi, presenting only a small recruit catchment area. The Navy has the same problem with its only two units located in close proximity with the sea at Tema and Sekondi to facilitate seafaring activities.

### 3.3 Sample and Sampling Procedure

Mitchell and Jolley (1996:610) define sampling as "the science of inferring the characteristics of the population from the sample." The sample, instead of the population, provides the data on which conclusions are made (Hinkle *et al*, 2003: 141). There are several procedures for doing scientific sampling, but these are basically grouped into probability and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling gives every individual of the population an equal chance of being selected to participate in the study (Wimmer and Dominick, 1997:62). Probability sampling techniques are many but those used in this study include the simple random and cluster sampling. The quota sampling was also helpful for fair representation though it belongs to the non-probability category. In simple random sampling all members of the population have the same chance of being selected and independent of the selection of all other members (Hinkle *et al*, 2003:141).





I used the simple random sampling method to select respondents. This gave every individual of the population an equal chance of being selected to participate in the study. To make the Services representative, I used cluster sampling. Cluster sampling involved the random selection of clusters (groups) in the Armed Forces instead of individuals. This helped me select samples from the various Services (Army, Navy, Air Force). I used quota sampling to ensure that the sample matched the population. It also ensured balanced inter-Service and sex representation. Male and female participants were selected across all the different rank structures, in different job categorizations and age groups. This helped me to come to valid conclusions. In all, I selected one hundred (100) participants; seventy (70) males and thirty (30) females for the questionnaires. Using quota sampling, I selected 80% Army, 10% Navy and 10% Air Force respondents respectively. For interviews, I selected 15 females and 15 males of ranks from Lieutenant to Colonel.

### **3.3.1 Participant Description**

The desired population for this study was limited to personnel from the three Services (Navy, Army and Air Force) who have had some field experiences like Peacekeeping or Internal Security (IS) operations. This was deliberate to capture conflict zone experience which is at the focal point of women's integration in the armed forces. Effort was also made to include females who were deployed in administrative capacities in fighting units. The numbers of women deployed in fighting units who have conflict area experiences are very small and are simply reflective of gender roles in the Armed Forces. A total of 30 persons were interviewed for qualitative responses. Interviews were conducted on ten (10) officers and five (5) other ranks in each sex group. Senior male and female officers were captured to get policy perspectives, which was necessary at arriving at cogent and authoritative findings.



Table 3.2: Total number of personnel interviewed

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
OFFICERS	10	10	20
OTHER RANK	5	5	10
TOTAL	15	15	30

Source: Own Construct. 2010

### 3.4 Methods of Data Collection

Generally, there are two sources of data collection in social research. These are the primary and secondary data sources (Kumekpor, 2002). Both sources were extensively used for this research. Secondary data sources were used in all stages of the study while primary data were gathered by the techniques discussed below:

#### 3.4.1 Questionnaire.

The main advantage of a survey research using questionnaire is that it makes it possible to gather responses from a large number of respondents (Yin, 1994). Constructing questionnaires for a survey Yin said must be done properly, taking into account the validity of measurement. Adcock and Collier (2001) explain that measurement validity is achieved when scores meaningfully capture the ideas contained in the corresponding concept. In this research, structured and semi-structured questionnaires were used. While structured questionnaires provide predetermined closed-ended answers for respondents to choose from, in semi-structured questionnaires, open-ended questionnaires are used and respondents are at liberty to give any answers (Karma, 1999; Twumasi, 2001). The language used was simple unambiguous and without negative questions. To help me trace consistencies and inconsistencies in the responses, a number of questions were presented more than once but with different sentences. Care was taken to avoid direct repetition of sentences which might introduce boredom and bias into the responses. In all, 10



structured and 20 semi-structured questionnaires were administered in the study.

#### **3.4.1a Questionnaire Administration.**

Having constructed the questionnaires and the participants selected, the next step was to do the actual administration of the questionnaires. Eysenck (2004:741) notes that people tend to behave differently when in groups due to group polarisation. It was more likely for participants to respond in socially acceptable ways instead of giving independent views if the questionnaires were administered in groups. To reduce the extent to which social desirability could bias the study, participation was individually based. Questionnaires were given as take-home assignments to respondents. A time span of one week was allowed for respondents to hand in the answered questionnaires. Respondents were asked to strictly follow the instructions in the preamble to the questionnaires which required respondents not to provide any personal information such as names or regimental numbers which might serve to show personal identities. This was done to satisfy the ethical requirement that the identity of individual research participants and information provided must be held confidential (Sternberg, 2004:55; Eysenck, 2004:881-882).

#### **3.4.1b Scoring the Responses.**

The questionnaire was constructed on an interval scale to show continuity in response options as a requirement for quantitative data manipulation (Hinkle et al 2003: 11). For example, a typical question of how participants would agree if a male or female was selected to lead them in a conflict situation was rated on a three-point response scale of agree, uncertain, disagree. Depending on how consistent the responses fitted into favourable, unfavourable and uncertain categories they were tabulated into raw scores to be tested with a Chi Square for statistical significance.

#### **3.4.2 Interviews**

According to Rubin and Rubin (1995:43), the researcher listens to and hears the meaning of data by way of interviews. Mitchell and Jolley (1996) indicate that in-depth interviews provide detailed and rich answers to questions. They





say in-depth interviews should provide the flexibility that would allow the researcher to depart from schedules and ask interesting questions emanating from interviewees' responses (ibid). Semi-structured interview guide was therefore used for my research. The interview guide was based on the questionnaires administered. Direct interview, not phone or proxy interviews, was used. In all, I interviewed twenty (20) male and female military officers of the ranks of Lieutenant to Colonel and five (5) each of male and female other ranks totaling 30. Participants were drawn across the various Services and trade groups.

### **3.5 Document Analyses**

Researchers argue that using secondary data is advantageous as existent data can be evaluated prior to use. They further argued that time spent evaluating potential secondary data source is time well spent, as rejecting unsuitable data earlier can save much wasted time later (Nwadinigwe, 2005). In the light of this, previous work that provides the required information on the subject matter was used such as researches done on GAF and the South African Defence Forces (SANDF). Policy papers, directives, manuals and instructions pertaining to gender integration were collected from the Ghana Armed Forces archives, Personnel Administration Department and libraries were used. Information was also collected from magazines, books, journals, and the internet,

### **3.6 Personal Observations**

I also employed personal observations for data collection. Observation is defined as a purposeful, systematic and selective way of watching and listening to an interaction or phenomenon as it takes place without asking the respondent (Karma, 1999). Karma says this is relevant in situations where accurate information about group behaviour, functions and interactions cannot be elicited by questioning. The type of observation employed was active participant observation, being a member of the Armed Forces. This approach was convenient; however, the problem of bias could not be ruled out.

### 3.7 Data Analysis Techniques

I employed both qualitative (descriptive) and quantitative (SPSS) data analysis. Data analysis is summarizing data and organizing in such a manner that it answers your research questions. It involves the searching of patterns of relationship that exist among data-groups (Karma, 1999) as well as examining for consistencies and inconsistencies between knowledgeable informants and finding out why informants agree or disagree on issues on the subject matter (Brown, 1996). Quantitative data analyses were done using a Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software version 16.0 to draw correlations and other statistical relationships between variables in the structured questionnaires. SPSS was used because of its clarity in expressing quantitative relationships between variables in the forms of graph, frequencies, percentiles, cross-tabulations among others (Leech et al, 2005).

The quantitative analyses from the SPSS were further explained by qualitative interpretations that involved respondents' general perceptions from their worldviews. Qualitative data analysis was made during the collecting stage, and at the end after the overall data has been collected. This supported Yin's (1994) view that data analysis should not be a separate step coming after data collection but a continuous and simultaneous process. The SPSS analysis was however done at the end of the collection process. The overall data analysis was therefore a combination of the qualitative and quantitative approaches to reflect the sum total of the overall analysis.

### 3.8 Research Validity

By combining qualitative and quantitative methods, one is able to enhance reliability and validity of answers to questions asked leading to better deductions. Most researchers refer to this way of using more than one method or source of data in the study as triangulation of methods (Bryman, 2004). Patton (1990) notes that the shortcomings associated with one method may be compensated for by the other in a study. I therefore used the questionnaire as the main survey tool; with interviews and data from multiple sources including



manuals, existing literature, and personal observations. Random sampling was also used to make the selection of respondents as valid as possible.

### **3.9 STAGES OF RESEARCH**

The research went through three distinct stages namely the reconnaissance main survey and analysis stages. These stages had their peculiar end-states which are discussed below:

#### **3.9.1 Reconnaissance Stage:**

This stage involved reading and discussing broad issues on gender, women's employment and developmental roles, which afforded me the opportunity to choose both the topic and the study target. It is at this stage that I made keen observations on the military that culminated in the choosing of the study subject. It also included the writing of the research proposal and data collection instruments as well as pre-testing of the instruments and review of relevant literature.

#### **3.9.2 Main Survey Stage:**

The main Survey stage involved the actual collection of data from the officers and soldiers of the Ghana Armed Forces. It was essentially the primary data collection stage but it also included preliminary data analysis.

#### **3.9.3 Analysis Stage:**

This is the stage where all data collected were systematically analyzed to bring to light the relationships between the various variables in the study. Qualitative data collected were coded and inputted in the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for analysis. Primary data were organized into themes according to the objectives of the study for analysis and presentation.

### **3.10 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED AND SOLUTIONS**

The main problem encountered in data collection was the hesitance of respondents to speak or fill-out questionnaires for fear that they may be divulging classified information, which constitutes an offence in the Armed Forces. This was resolved by a letter from the Army Headquarters permitting the exercise to go ahead. Female respondents in particular were reluctant to be



part of the scheme and this was attributed to their usual shy disposition. Some persuasion and cajoling had to be employed to get them to answer the targeted number of questionnaires. A lot of difficulty was encountered retrieving questionnaires as some respondents took their time to answer or did not fully answer all questions.

### **3. 11 LESSONS LEARNED**

In every endeavour, lessons are learned in order to improve existing conditions. In the course of this research, a few lessons were learned which may come handy to future researchers.

#### **3.11.1 Planning.**

The first lesson is that, research is a continuous process of planning and re-planning. Though the research design was carefully done, it could not be carried out to the letter because of the need to modify. Desk/office plans may need some alteration on the field to accommodate changing situations.

#### **3.11.2 Use of Triangulation.**

Triangulation of data collection is useful as it helps in cross-checking inconsistencies of data. Multiple collection techniques are helpful in getting valid and reliable conclusions. This is necessary to make the research useful and relevant.

#### **3.11.3 Daily Review of Work.**

Daily reviews and summaries of work done are important in checking consistencies of data. This will also ensure that a good work which will go to improve society is done.





## CHAPTER FOUR

### MAIN FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses and presents data collected. Data collected from survey were analysed using the SPSS version 16.0 in the form of tables and diagrams. Interviews and discussions held on study objectives are also presented here. For clarity in data presentation and analysis, data is organised in sub-themes in line with the study objectives. These are the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, extent of integration of women in the Ghana Armed Forces, overall perceived effect of gender integration on operational effectiveness, extent to which concerns for operational effectiveness affect employment of women, the underlying factors that account for this and the way forward.

#### 4.2 Demographic Data of Respondents

A total of 100 respondents, comprising 70 males and 30 females were interviewed. Women constituted 30% of total respondents hence were fairly represented. Men made up the remaining 70%. In spite of this disparity, there were no significant differences in opinions between men and women on the subject of integration. Combat experiences of respondents were also captured because of its influence on perceptions regarding women at the front-line. Fifty percent of female respondents did not have operational area experiences while 77% of males did. Because of ascension problems, a high number of women questioned were of low ranks, hence could not contribute fully to policy issues regarding women's integration. Another area of demographic data captured was the Arm of Service of respondents (Army, Navy and Air Force), as perceptions regarding integration in the individual Services differ.

##### 4.2.1 Age and Sex of Respondents

The average age of respondents interviewed for the thesis was 30 years. The age of male respondents ranged from 18 to 50 years, while that of women was up to 40 years. Beyond 40 years, most women have left the armed forces to raise families having given birth to children. Age and sex were captured



because of the different perspectives men and women, with different ages, brought to the debate. Young males tended to be dismissive of women's request to fully participate in the armed forces, while the old were more accommodating but were concerned about women's safety. Table 4.1 below shows the age and sex distribution of respondents.

**Table 4.1: Age and Sex Structure of Respondents**

		Age					Total
		17 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 45	46 +	No Response	
Sex	Male	13	29	15	6	7	70
	Female	10	12	6	2	0	30
Total		23	41	21	8	7	100

Source: Field Survey. 2010

#### 4.2.2 Sex and Arm of Service

Regarding the Arm of Service of respondents, majority of respondents were from the Army as it was proportionately larger than the other Services. The two others, Navy and Air Force were however fairly represented for balanced views. Table 4.2 below shows the distribution of respondents by Sex and Arm of Service.



**Table 4.2: Sex and Arm of Service of Respondents**

		Arm of Service				Total
		Army	Navy	Air Force	No Response	
Sex	Male	49	9	11	1	70
	Female	18	2	8	2	30
Total		67	11	19	3	100

Source: Field Survey. 2010

#### 4.2.3 Conflict Area Experiences of Respondents

Men with battle or conflict area experiences tended to resist the employment of women in the front-line because of the brutality of war, while women who have served on peacekeeping operations tended to be confident in their ability to lead in combat because of acquired experiences. Almost half of the women interviewed had some peacekeeping area experience as shown in the Table 4.3 below.

**Table 4.3: Conflict/Combat Experiences of Respondents**

		Have you ever served in a conflict/combat Situation?			Total
		Yes	No	No Response	
Sex	Male	54	15	1	70
	Female	15	11	4	30
Total		69	26	15	100

Source: Field Survey. 2010

In spite of the percentage of women with conflict area experience, women's participation in military operations generally is minimal; hence, women needed to be goaded to talk on deployment issues.

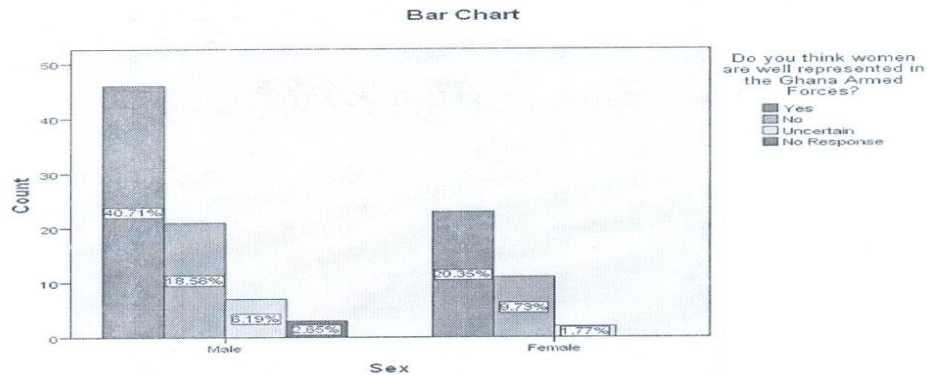
#### 4.3 Extent of Gender Integration in Ghana Armed Forces.

It was extrapolated from responses that the level of integration in GAF was

low. Women currently constitute only 9% of the total Armed Forces strength (GHQ (PA) 2008). This percentage was however perceived as satisfactory by respondents when compared with figures from some developed countries that have made headway in the gender integration process. For instance, in the USA women constitute 11.5% of the total armed forces. Canada is 10.9, Britain, 6.0%, Denmark, 3.4%, Norway, 2.4%, and Netherlands, 1.7% (Rezetti and Curran, 1989, 381).



Figure 4.1: Women's Representation in the Ghana Armed Forces



Source: Field Survey. 2010

Forty-one percent of male respondents and 20% of female respondents, totaling 6 % of respondents were of the opinion that women were well represented as indicated in the diagram Figure 4.1 above. This was made against the backdrop that females are currently deployed in all units of GAF, albeit in traditional female roles. The deployment of women in "female roles" reinforces the stratified and discriminative nature of roles in GAF. While women are perceived to be represented in this research, responses captured in the diagram Figure 4.2 in the chapter below shows that they are not fully integrated because of discrimination in job allocation.

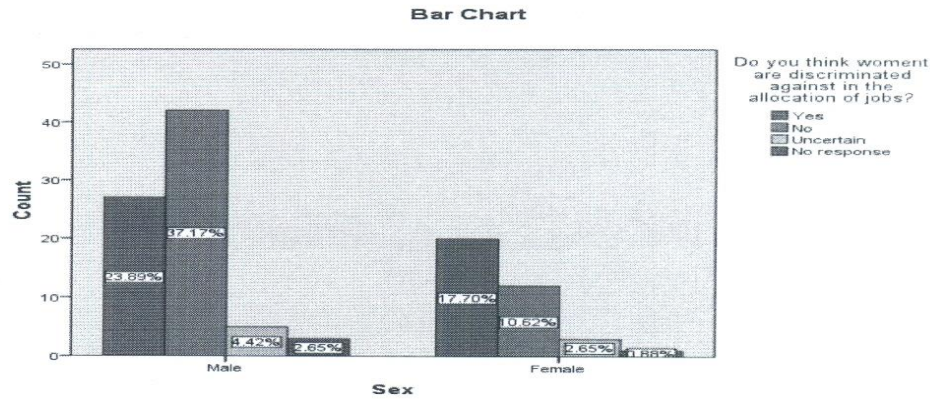
#### 4.3.1. Women and Job Allocation.

Fifty-six percent of female respondents as against 35% of male respondents felt that women were not well integrated because of discrimination in the allocation of jobs (see diagram below). Currently, women's roles are still restricted to the mundane nursing, clerical and administrative jobs already discussed in chapter two. This condition does not place them on a level playing ground with men when it comes to influence and leadership. By GAF regulations, women are barred from serving in fighting units (GHQ CSIP Vol. III. Arndt 81, 2008); thus, while women are represented in almost all units, they are not allowed all jobs. This does not prepare them towards higher leadership.



This practice is justified on the premise that operational duties are not suitable for women as these jobs are considered too risky to expose women to.

**Figure 4.2: Gender responses regarding Job allocation in the GAF**



Source: Field Survey. 2010

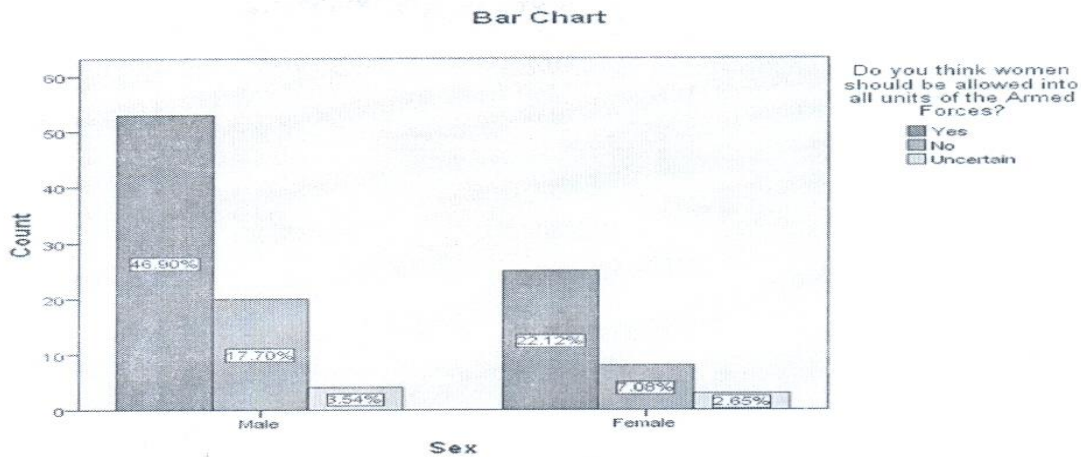
Whereas female respondents used job allocation as the measure for integration, most male respondents used representation in Units as the measure for integration; presenting two angles to the integration debate. The current practice of deploying women in male units has not been properly regularised by the GAF; hence, ascension becomes a problem for many women who aspire to climb up the ladder, as they are not properly catered for in the organisational trees of fighting units. The practice therefore is more of cosmetic than of practical value when perceived against the kinds of jobs women are allocated in these units. This anomaly can be corrected if the necessary amendments are made to Ghana Armed Forces Regulations to regularise the deployment and job allocation of women in all units.

#### **4.3.2. Women in Combat Units.**

By GAF regulations, women are not allowed into some units as already mentioned. When asked whether this should change so that women could be embraced in all units, 69% of total respondents did not see anything wrong with this proposition while only 24% was against it as shown in the diagram Figure 4.3 below. Even though there was unanimity between men



Figure 4.3: Views on whether Women should deploy in all Units of GAF



Source: Field Survey. 2010

and women on this subject-matter, most male respondents did not feel comfortable with women playing frontline roles when deployed in combat units. The reasons given, which include discipline, leadership and capability problems are discussed in the chapter that follows.

In spite of the unanimity in responses on this subject matter, women's deployment at the frontline continues to be a controversial issue that militate strongly against their full integration in many armed forces world-wide; and with regards to the GAF, even though numerical advances have been made in the representation of women, the level of integration is low as women's jobs are still skewed towards supporting roles. This notwithstanding, it was noticed that the Ghana Armed Forces was making efforts to involve women in tasks that were traditionally reserved for only men like guarding, patrolling, flying and peacekeeping operations etc. Currently, women in the GAF fly helicopters, perform guard duties and serve in volatile peacekeeping environments around the world. Women are also currently visible in all units even though their jobs have still not been properly defined.

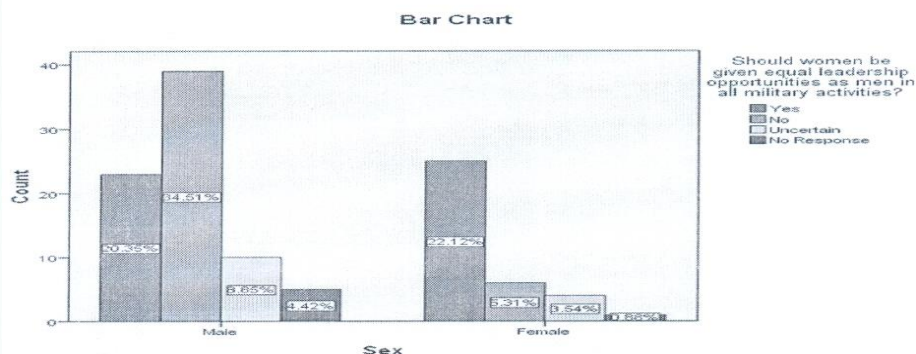




### 4.3.3. Women and Leadership Roles.

Regarding leadership as a function of integration, the general feeling of men is that women should not lead in the armed forces. Women are therefore not well integrated in leadership positions in GAF as shown in diagram 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4: Gender Variations regarding Women in Leadership Position



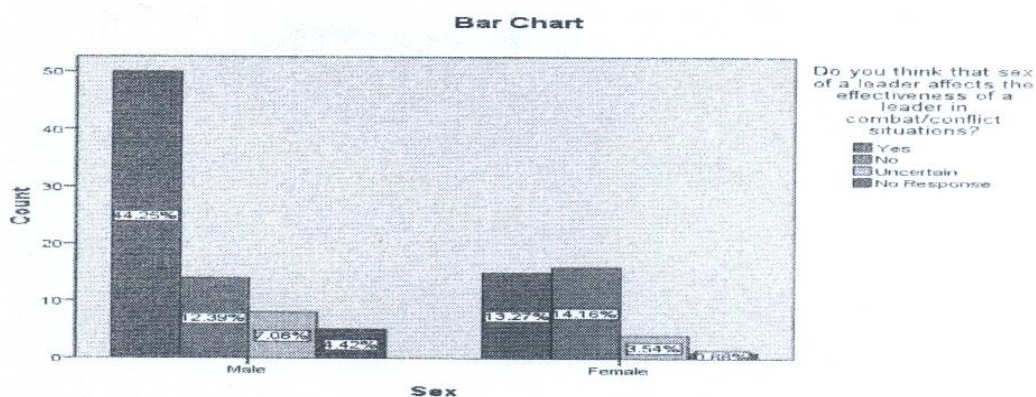
Source: Field Survey, 2010

Fifty-one percent of total male respondents said women should not be given leadership roles as it will negatively affect the operational performances of the Armed Forces. Female respondents however were of a contrary view as many of them who have served on peacekeeping operations felt women could perform as well as men given the chance. One of the uncomfortable, but unsurprising, observation in the research was the fact that majority of male respondents (44.25%) felt that sex was a determinant for effective leadership in the military. They argued that the physiology has a lot to play in a woman's effectiveness on the battlefield as suggested by other some social scientists. Surprisingly, about half of female respondents as indicated in diagram 4.5 below, also carried the same view. When probed for explanations, most of the women who agreed with this proposition said they were doubtful of women's competence regarding battlefield leadership. They blamed this on lack of exposure and lack of the requisite training for frontline duties.





**Figure 4.5: Sex and its correlation with effective leadership**



Source: Field Survey. 2010

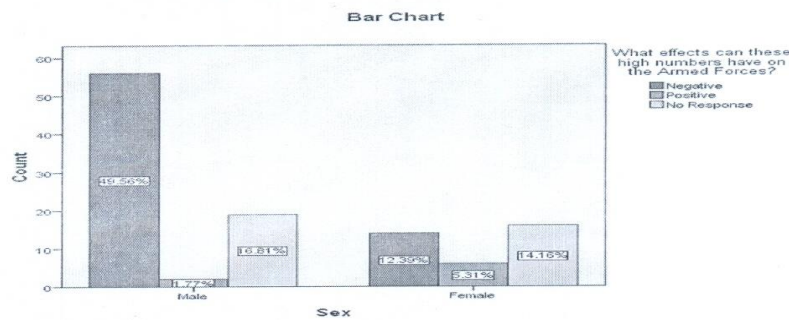
For respondents who did not agree with women in leadership positions, their reasons did not reflect perceived gender differences only, but also reflected factors like inadequate training, lack of motivation by women themselves to take up leadership positions and lack of institutional support. There was however a unanimous agreement that with improved training and determination by women themselves, women could be deployed on all duties including combat. The observation regarding training as a way forward is discussed further in the following paragraph that deals with women's impact on operational effectiveness.

#### **4.4. Perceptions on Women's Integration and Operational Effectiveness**

Unlike women in some developed armies like the US Army, Canadian Armed Forces and Royal Dutch Armed Forces that are fully integrated and perform operational jobs, female personnel of GAF are not integrated when combat duties are concerned. The key question is 'if the roles of females were expanded to include all combat related duties, how do personnel of GAF view the effect that this may have on the ability of the military to carry out effective military operations'?



Figure 4.6: Impact of Women on Operational Effectiveness



Source: Field Survey, 2010

Seventy-three percent of male respondents and 38% of female respondents said that operational effectiveness will suffer when women are fully integrated. About 44% of females did not answer the question which is significant because of their stake in the matter. Curiously however, quite a number of women agreed with their male counterparts that women will have a negative effect on operational effectiveness. These responses were made probably because women themselves did not feel confident in their own abilities, but not because they were incapable. Most of the female respondents said it was not appropriate for a woman to be placed in combat situations and indicated that they were happy to remain in their current roles, but with an increased number. This appears to corroborate the observation by Segal and Segal (1983) that women's numbers in the armed forces does not necessarily increase because of interest but sometimes correlates with the prevailing economic conditions. Thus the argument by women for increased numbers in the GAF appears skewed towards economic than egalitarian interests.

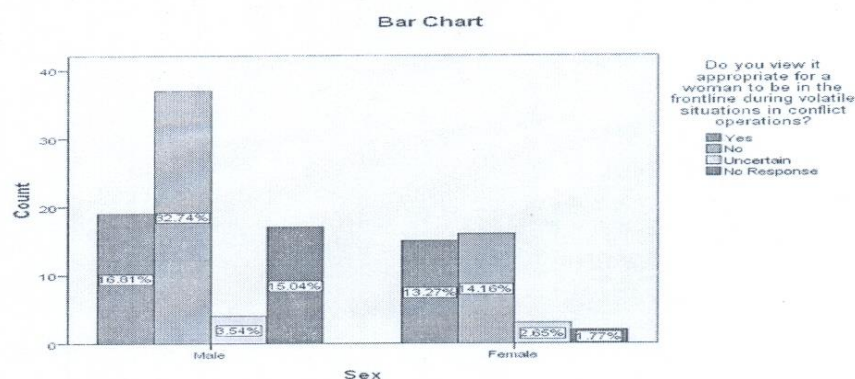
#### 4.4.1. Women in Combat.

On the specific question of deploying women in combat situations, forty-seven percent of combined male and female respondents who were interviewed were of the opinion that women should not be deployed in combat because of its brutal nature. A sizeable thirty percent did not take the same position and as



low as 6% were uncertain with 16% refusing to answer as shown in the diagram Figure 4.7 below.

Figure 4.7: Views on the deployment of Women at the front.



Source: Field Survey, 2010

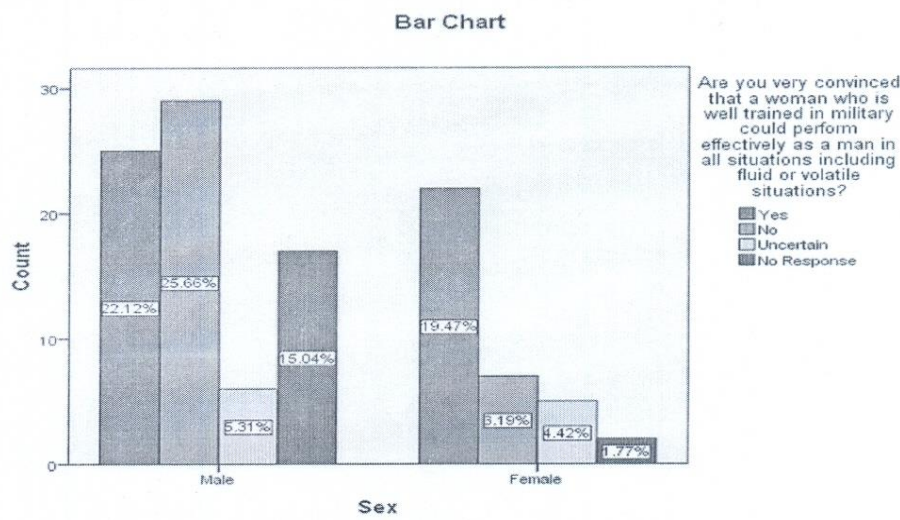
Many women, surprisingly, agreed with men that they (women) should be excused from combat because of its cruel nature and doubts regarding their own abilities when it comes to warfare. Currently, performance in combat or its related duties is used as the measure of operational effectiveness in the Ghana Armed Forces; thus, women's performance cannot be measured as they are not engaged. This has to be rectified if women's operational effectiveness is to be measured.

Majority of male respondents questioned on women's suitability for combat argued that women were incapable of bearing the stresses of combat because of their physical/physiological and emotional make-up, and the likely negative impact they will have on group cohesion because of sexual competition that will be introduced into units. Male respondents were also of the opinion that leadership will suffer because of feint-heartedness on the part of women, which will lead to a breakdown in Command and Control. These issues have been discussed in detail under the succeeding topic "factors limiting the employment of women in GAF." The responses elicited from respondents on this subject-matter only reinforces the functionalist view on male dominance in GAF: but this notwithstanding, majority of respondents were confident that



women's professional standards could be enhanced with improved training as indicated in the diagram Figure 4.8 below.

Figure 4.8: Effect of Training women on Operational Effectiveness



Source: Field Survey, 2010

Currently, beyond basic military training, men and women do not receive the same training because of job differences. As a result, women are not particularly honed for dangerous jobs. This practice was adopted against the backdrop that women were weak and should not be engaged on difficult jobs or battle. But the question Welch and Pipe (2001) ask is "what else can be more strenuous than child-birthing after carrying a pregnancy for nine months." Examples from other armies have shown that women are capable of taking on certain "male" jobs when appropriately trained. For instance, in the US Army, women fly fighter aircrafts, carry out bomb disposal duties, drive fuel and ammunition convoys in dangerous terrain and operate as gunners in Artillery regiments etc (Norris, 2007: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story>). This can be replicated in the GAF if perceptions are modified.

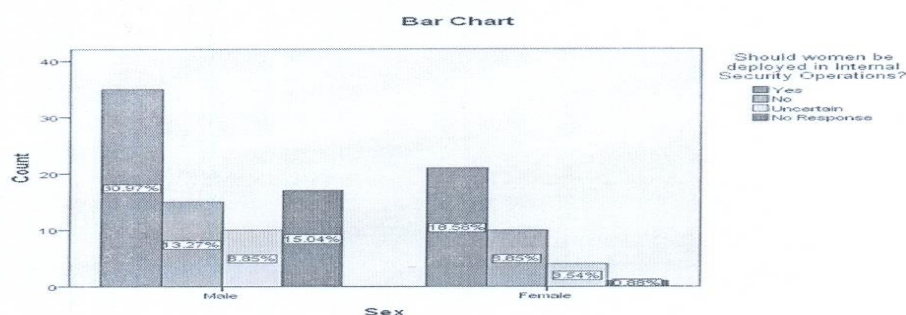
**4.4.2. Women in Internal Security Role.**

An interesting observation that was made in the research regarding women in combat was that, while many respondents were of the view that women should

experimental one for integrating women into combat related roles in the Ghana Armed Forces,

not be deployed in combat zones, they were not opposed to them being deployed on Internal Security (IS) operations; which paradoxically can also be described as conflict in nature.

Figure 4.9: Gender Variations in support of Women in IS Operations



Source: Field Survey, 2010

Thirty-one percent of males and 19% of women totaling 50% of total respondents did not oppose women serving in IS areas of operations. There was however a hypocritical angle to this, as men's responses were that, since women have opted to be soldiers and are currently deployed in infantry units, they should also share in the burden of internal security to make up for manpower shortages. Deployment in Bawku was particularly cited. This was in stark contrast with their position regarding women at the front. It was further argued that IS areas of responsibility were not as volatile as battle areas; hence, women could manage just as they were currently managing on PSO. This is an interesting area that could open a window for further debate on the deployment of women in volatile areas. Women voted overwhelmingly for this position remarking that their performance on UN peacekeeping operations was a testimony of their ability to deliver on IS operations. An ongoing IS operation, Operation CALMLIFE, is designed to deal with communal violence, armed robbery, highway robberies and other violent crimes in conjunction with the civil police and other security agencies. This IS operation can be used as an





#### 4.4.3. Women in Barracks Administration.

Even though many respondents expressed doubts about women's effectiveness in combat, they did not harbour the same views about their capabilities in barracks. Majority of respondents, as reflected in the chart Table 4.4 below, said women could play effective leadership roles in barracks during peace time.

**Table 4.4: Women and Barracks Leadership**

		Should women be given leadership positions in Barracks?				Total
		Yes	No	Uncertain	No Response	
Sex	Male	31	32	4	3	70
	Female	24	2	3	1	30
Total		55	34	7	4	100

Source: Field Survey. 2010



The challenge however is what to do with them when combat is joined and role-switching become necessary as women cannot lead in battle by current GAF regulations. For example, how will a female battalion commander who has trained with her troops in peace-time hand them over to a male counterpart who is unfamiliar with them, for battle? This question is one that many officers in policy formulation positions are unable to answer. The general feeling however is that, though women may not be able to play all roles, the numbers in their current roles should be expanded. Leadership positions in the Combat Support and Combat Service Support arms like the Military Police, Public Relations, Ordinance Service and Signal Regiment should be open to them. Additionally, positions for Defence Attaches, Directors and Directors General should also be considered. The optimism shown by women regarding their ability to lead in peace-time was heart-warming, however the challenge of role-switching discussed above remains.

When women were specifically asked which areas of leadership they wanted, most of them said they wanted any roles other than battle-field leadership because of the responsibilities it imposed.

#### 4.5. Underlying Factors Accounting for Low Employment of Females in GAF

The main underlying factor that accounts for low employment of women in the armed forces, as already discussed, is the concern for operational effectiveness. Respondents perceived that an increase in women's numbers will undermine discipline and leadership, impact negatively on manpower and task accomplishment and have an overall negative impact on operational effectiveness. The general responses of respondents are captured in Table 4.5 and this has been discussed below.

**Table 4.5: Factors Accounting for low Employment of Women in GAF**

	What is it about women that impact negatively on operational effectiveness?					Total
	Indisciplin e and Sexual attraction problems	Reduced Manpower for operations	Command and Control challenges/ Weak Leadership	Physical fitness and Menstrual/ Pregnancy problems	No Response	
Male	27	21	12	10	0	70
Female	10	4	6	5	5	30
Total	37	25	18	15	5	100

Source: Field Survey. 2010







#### **4.5.1. Discipline.**

Regarding discipline, most respondents felt that standards will be lowered leading to indiscipline if more females were recruited. As shown in Table 4.5 above, respondents felt that the employment of more women will introduce sexual competition into units that will compromise discipline. Some mentioned the lowering of military standards by way of bearing, regimentation and response to orders as women are inherently lazy when it comes to military activities. Quite a number of women agreed with these observations and cited sexual relationship between superior officers and junior females as an issue that will lead to favouritism in the allocation of jobs and promotions. Some men also complained that despite the current increase in women's numbers, men are made to do all the hard work, leaving the women free. It is noteworthy that 5 out of 30 female respondents, constituting a significant number, did not answer the question as indicated in the table above. This was probably because they did not know what to say as they were the target of enquiry. The number of nit responses is significant as it does not work in the interest of women.

#### **4.5.2. Human Resource Strength.**

With respect to the argument regarding strength of the human resource, 31 % of male respondents felt that the fighting strength of the Armed Forces will be affected as women currently cannot be deployed on all jobs and this will be detrimental to GAF. Respondents said that even when allowed into all jobs, it was doubtful if women will be ready to participate in dangerous jobs because of fear and lack of motivation. Male respondents contended that even though women were currently recruited in their numbers; most of the hard and dangerous jobs remain their lot, while the soft jobs go to women. They further stated that the distribution of workload was better when the military was a male dominated institution. Women on the other hand were of the opinion that in spite of the challenges that women may present, they needed exposure to be proficient, hence an increase in their number was needed. They also argued that women have a responsibility to national security, thus the need for an increase in their numbers for effective contribution. They based their arguments on the fact that currently female soldiers in GAF perform guard

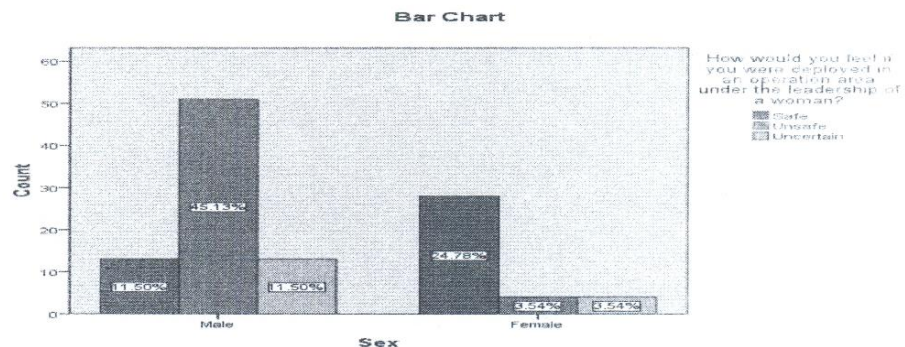
duties, serve on peacekeeping operations, keep watch, perform Observation Post (OP) tasks and fly helicopters among others; albeit unrecognised.

#### 4.5.3. Command and Control.

About twenty percent (20%) of respondents who answered this question said women will provide weak leadership which can lead to loss of Command and Control during military operations. Many male respondents said women had weak personalities (too compassionate) that will hinder the taking of difficult decisions, particularly if it had to do with life and death matters; hence, their increase will not help the Armed Forces. Unfortunately, the capabilities of women with regards to this type of decision-making have not been tested to ascertain the veracity of this claim, as women have not been given the chance to prove themselves. It was however gathered from follow-up questions that male respondents were ready to respect women's leadership but feared for safety as reflected in the diagrams below (Figure 4.10). Most women in contrast were confident about their own leadership abilities and said they will feel safe working under a woman in any situation. The responses' concerning safety is most likely an act of solidarity on the part of women, as they have themselves already indicated doubt about their leadership abilities in conflict situations.

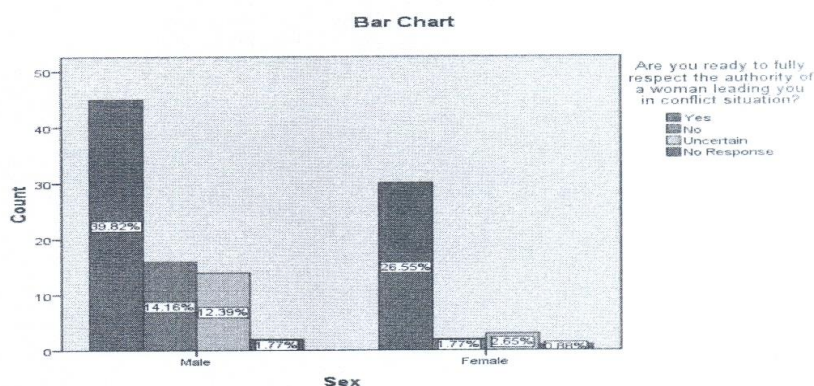


Figure 4.10: Perception of safety under Women leaders



Source: Field Survey, 2010

**Figure 4.11: Gender Variations regarding Readiness to Respect Women in Leadership Position**



Source: Field Survey, 2010

#### 4.5.4. Task Accomplishment.

Another recurring theme in the gender debate was women's physical fitness and the ability to withstand the stresses of military operations. Majority of men felt that women's physical make-up does not make them suitable for difficult jobs hence task accomplishment will suffer. Segal (1986, 24), agreed and said that "women and men differ on the average in a wide range of physical traits relevant to military performance, e.g. upper body strength, aerobic capacity, adaptability to high temperatures," but however said, "women also have areas of strength, like lower body strength, that are relevant for a wide range of military tasks." These comments suggests that, even though different in nature, women can perform some combat tasks better and should rather complement men with these strength rather than being left out.

#### 4.5.5. Mobilisation.

Pregnancies and monthly menstruation circles were also cited as challenges that will affect the military's ability to mobilise. Apart from limiting performance, it was also argued that such encumbrances will keep women out of job for stated periods which will impact on call-ups and operational timelines. If on operations, special arrangements will also have to be made to



accommodate women during such periods; hence, mobilisation will suffer. One male respondent recounted his experience in Lebanon where women in his detachment on peacekeeping operations had to be pulled back because they had pre-maturely menstruated when the detachment came under attack. Their withdrawal from the post, he said, led to a reduction in force strength exposing the men to danger. For this reason, he refused to accept women in the frontlines. In spite of these reservations, there was however a general feeling that with more training, women could also contribute their quota citing examples of women of other armies that respondents meet on peacekeeping operations, performing the same jobs as men.

#### **4.6 Improving the Status of Gender Equality in GAF**

This section discusses how integration can be improved in the Ghana Armed Forces. As already stated, a sizeable number of respondents did not object to women taking up leadership roles or engaging in combat if they are well trained. Another good news is that, even though many did not agree that women should be deployed to volatile areas, they were favourable in their deployment in IS locations, which may mark a point of departure for the employment of women in combat situations.

##### **4.6.1. Training.**

As already discussed, for most of the respondents who did not agree with women in combat or leadership positions, their reasons did not per se reflect perceived gender differences as shown in diagram Figure 4.5, but other factors like inadequate training, lack of motivation by women and lack of institutional support. The number of respondents who said given training, women can perform is significant and could be used as a point of departure for preparing women for wider roles. Currently, men and women do not receive the same training in the military because of job differentiations. The optimism by both sexes regarding training is an indication of the potential training has for women regarding job allocation. Training can therefore be a major tool for facilitating integration in GAF. As shown in diagram Figure 4.11, the fact that many male respondents were ready to accept the leadership of women if gained on merit attest to this.





#### **4.6.2. Legislation.**

The Constitution of Ghana guarantees the right to employment without recourse to gender, sex, religion or tribe (Ghana 1992 Constitution). In a study done on the Canadian Armed Forces (CF), Jason Dunn (1999) observed that the CF was only able to improve on gender integration through legislation. In Ghana, the constitution is an appropriate reference point to facilitate integration. The fifty-seven percent (57%) of respondents (in diagram Figure 4.5) who said sex of a leader has an influence on leadership capabilities were in contradiction of constitutional requirements. The good news however is that many respondents, as already indicated, were ready to respect the authority of a female military leader when given the responsibility which is a good starting point when it comes to change in attitudes, which will be discussed shortly. The need for legislations to force change is imperative as that will lay the ground work for gender friendly policies.

#### **4.6.3. Policy Framework and Institutional Structures.**

Ghana Armed Forces lacks the requisite policy framework and institutional structures for the promotion of full integration of women. Currently, the policy governing role allocation in the Armed Forces, as already mentioned, is not female-friendly. Women are barred from serving in some units or jobs within the Armed Forces as already discussed. The necessary institutional structures to facilitate gender mainstreaming are also absent. The Armed Forces do not even have a gender desk to oversee the needs of women. Without the requisite policies and necessary institutions, not much can be achieved in the area of gender integration in GAF. A modest beginning may be the establishment of a gender desk in GAF.

#### **4.6.4. Learning by Observation and Involvement.**

The Ghana Armed Forces has a long tradition of contributing to UN peacekeeping operations. Since 1990, Ghana has contributed women to peacekeeping worldwide. The continuous participation of troops on these operations has exposed them to good practices of other progressive armies. United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (2000) encourages member countries to contribute women as a way of improving their



capabilities and empowering them with regards to the provision of human security. The increasing number of women of the Ghana Armed Forces who are participating in peacekeeping will engender confidence in their capabilities. The exposure will also help improve their competences and enlighten their male counterparts on their capabilities. A number of officers interviewed for this study indicated that GAF is keen on sustaining its status on the international scene as an ace peacekeeper; hence, the participation of women will continue to engage the attention of the Armed Forces.

#### **4.6.5. Changing Attitudes.**

A difficult area to manage when it comes to change management is the problem of stereotypes, biases and attitudes. Jason Dunn (1999), states that despite legislations against role stratification in the Canadian Armed Forces (CF), discrimination still persist because of attitudes. He says "many males in CF still perceive women as alien to the military; hence, everything is done to discourage them" (ibid, 45). My research has also shown that chauvinism is rife in GAF because of traditional views. However, the fact that many men said they were ready to respect the authority of female leaders when placed under them is good starting point in the fight against attitudes. According to Segal and Segal (1983, 165) "research shows that military men have negative attitudes towards the presence and performance of women in gendered units, but attributed this to lack of information about women's abilities in their new role. GAF' exposure to good practices while on peacekeeping operations with personnel of other armies is a good learning point.

#### **4.7. Conclusion**

The general observation regarding women's employment in this research reinforced the functionalist theory on stratification of roles for men and women. It was noticed that patriarchy and traditional attitudes where men are expected to lead and women led were of great influence. The discussion has shown that general views about full integration of females in GAF is not favourable, suggesting that females are not as capable as males to perform all military tasks, especially those related to combat and leadership. As with the case of the SANDF survey, (Heineken, 2002) the motivation for limiting the

roles of women in military activities stems mainly from concerns that operational effectiveness can be compromised because of manpower, discipline, command and control, and mobilisation problems. The work revealed that in spite of this, there is evidence to show that the integration of women in the OAF in the future may not pose many problems as there is a general feeling that given adequate training, women can improve on their capacities to merit full integration. There is however a need for policy re-orientation, building of relevant capacities and institutions, and changing of attitudes to make this work.





## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY FINDINGS CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

The overall objective of the study is to examine the extent of integration of women in the Ghana Armed Forces. As stated in Chapter One, some social scientists have indicated that the integration of women in the military is limited due to concerns for operational effectiveness (Segal and Segal, 2002). In Chapter Two, linked this form of explanation to the functionalist perspective on male dominance which holds that for society to function efficiently, males and females must be differentiated when it comes to assigning roles and functions (Hughes et al, 2002:273). The general observation in the research was that GAF was not ready to fully integrate women in certain jobs because of operational concerns. A point of departure however was that women should engage in Internal Security duties so that they can contribute their quota to national security as they are currently doing for peacekeeping operations. There was also a general optimism that given training, women can be employed in a variety of jobs including combat related ones.

##### 5.1.1 The Nature and Extent of Gender Integration in Ghana Armed Forces

There was a general perception that women were well represented in GAF. This was made against the backdrop that women can now be found in all units of GAF. However, the problem observed was that women were not fairly represented in jobs, as discrimination was noticed when it came to job allocation. Currently, women are by law not allowed into all units, but there was an overwhelming agreement that women should be allowed free access, however not in combat or combat related jobs. A sizeable number of women agreed with the idea of not deploying women in combat roles, but requested that their numbers should be increased in other fields and their roles widened. Even though job discrimination was observed, there was an indication that the Ghana Armed Forces was moving progressively towards gender integration in terms of involving women in tasks traditionally reserved for men; albeit this is



not currently covered under the Act of Parliament establishing the Ghana Armed Forces.

### **5.1.2 Gender Integration and Perceived Effect on Operational Effectiveness**

It was found in the study that as far as the Ghana Armed Forces was concerned, an expanded participation of females in combat related operations was perceived to hinder operational effectiveness. This was because many respondents said women were not physically fit to withstand the stresses of combat and other operational duties, they also contended that women were likely to introduce sexual competition into units that will undermine cohesion, and that discipline as a result of favouritism will be compromised. Pregnancies and monthly menstruation cycles were also cited to affect mobilization and readiness. Ironically, quite a number of women agreed with the fact that women's deployment in the front may undermine operational effectiveness. Women said that they preferred leadership and increased roles in barracks administration during peace time but not war-time. An interesting observation was that, while many male respondents did not want women in combat related jobs, they did not mind women serving on Internal Security (IS) operations. This is an area that can be exploited for the integration of women in combat roles.

### **5.1.3 Underlying Factors Accounting for Low Employment of Women**

It was gathered from the research that the main underlying factor accounting for the low employment of women in GAF was concern for operational effectiveness; and that, the perception held about women regarding their physical and emotional abilities was as a result. The generality of male respondents felt that women were weak, emotionally incapable and physiologically unsuitable for military duties. Some also argued that women will contribute to indiscipline as they will bring sexual competition, with its associated favouritism and nepotism into the Armed Forces. The most pressing concern for male respondents was that manpower for dangerous jobs will reduce as women will take up space in units but cannot be deployed. Women to some extent agreed that increased in their numbers will bring competition



that will favour some of them because of liaison with senior officers. The general feeling however was that women given the necessary training, motivation and institutional support, could perform like men and merit widened roles and increased numbers.

#### **5.1.4 Improving the Status of Gender Equality in GAF**

A sizeable number of respondents did not object to women taking up leadership or widened roles but argued that they must first be trained to the accepted standards. Other suggestions were that the correct legal and policy environment in conformity with the 1992 Constitution regarding gender integration, should be created by GAF for a realistic integration process. Another suggestion was that women should be exposed in order to raise their confidence and competencies. Lastly, it was suggested that attitudinal change on the side of men should take place so that the integration exercise can work.

#### **5.2 Revisiting the Research Questions and Objectives**

The overall objective of the study was to examine whether the integration of women impacted negatively on the military's ability to carry out its core responsibilities, which by extension impact on national security. The study revealed that many respondents perceived an increase in women's numbers to negatively affect operational effectiveness. While women agreed with this position to some extent, they were of the opinion that an increase in their number in certain areas of the Ghana Armed Forces will not overly hurt its effectiveness.

- In examining the first objective which is "the extent of women's representation in GAF", it was realized that while women appeared to be well represented in all units of the GAF, they are not integrated by way of jobs. Women remained tied to their traditional roles of providing support to male jobs; hence, they are not able to contribute their utmost and ascend the leadership ladder.





- The second objective was to examine the impact of integration on operational effectiveness. The study showed that most respondents felt that the impact of women on operational effectiveness will be negative. Respondents did not however object to women serving on Internal Security (IS) operations as the environment for this operation was perceived to be akin to peacekeeping theatres where many Ghanaian female soldiers have served successfully. The caveat however was that women's training must be enhanced to improve proficiency.
- The third objective bordered on the underlying factors that account for the low employment of women in GAF. The main factor was identified to be concern for operational effectiveness, which was expressed in the need to maintain discipline, ensure appropriate manpower levels, provide effective command and control, guarantee task accomplishment and certify the need for quick mobilisation, which it was perceived women will impact negatively on.
- The fourth objective was to suggest ways by which women's status could be improved to facilitate integration. The general opinion was that women's capabilities can be enhanced through training. This, it was suggested, must be positioned within the correct recruitment and employment policy framework and supported by the relevant institutions that promote gender integration. Most importantly however was the need to expose women to occupational challenges so as to enhance their proficiency and alter the perceptions of men regarding their abilities. It was agreed overall that there was a need for GAF to promote gender integration, albeit on a gradual and thought-out scale to prevent any un-meditated consequences.

### **5.3 THESIS CONCLUSION**

This study reveals that, full integration of women in GAF is perceived to have negative effect on operational effectiveness. The idea that women can complement men's efforts in the military is not fully perceived, reinforcing the

functionalist explanation of male dominance and stratification of roles. A number of issues emerged from the study. First the question regarding the extent to which the Ghana Armed Forces integrates female personnel. It was found that in terms of numerical representation, there is an attempt to improve the situation, however the Armed Forces lagged behind other security services in this regard probably because of the combat nature of their job. Concerning employment of women and leadership roles, the general view was that given equal training women could perform like men; and as gathered from the study, most male respondents were willing to subordinate to women in leadership roles provided they gained it by merit and were competent. The research revealed that male-dominance or gender stratification of roles exists in the Ghana Armed Forces and this was based on the notion that women will not live up to expectations when called upon because of physical and physiological limitations, fear and lack of motivation. A significant observation however was that, while many male respondents did not want women at the frontline, they did not oppose their deployment in IS operations, which is ground-breaking. On the basis of the foregoing, I deduced that even though concerns regarding women's impact on operational effectiveness have been expressed, GAF is warming to the idea of widening roles for women because of its experiences in international peacekeeping operations.

#### **5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The importance of every research is its ability to contribute to theory, policy-building and the development of society (Yin, 2003). The study is intended to contribute to the development of women in the Ghana Armed Forces. In the light of the foregoing, the following recommendations are made:

- **Legislation.** Legislations are required to compel the Ghana Armed Forces to be gender sensitive. This will bring the institution in line with other state organisations practicing mainstreaming; however, allowances must be made for the Armed Forces because of their peculiar roles.

- **Gender Friendly Policies.** The Ghana Armed Forces also require a policy framework that is friendly to women and conforms to the 1992 Constitution and UN Resolution 1325(200) that promote equality and the deployment of women in peacekeeping operations. Special dispensation for women regarding recruitment, training, welfare and deployment should also be considered.
- **Institutional Structures.** There is a need for the relevant institutional structures to promote gender integration in GAF. In this light, a gender desk is required to monitor and advance the concerns of women in the Armed Forces. This should be staffed with the required qualified personnel to effectively run the office.
- **Logistical and Infrastructural Support.** Attention must be paid to the improvement of facilities that cater for the exclusive use of women in the barracks and in the field. Currently, GAF is unable to recruit more women because of the lack of such facilities. Budgetary allocations must take note of such needs to ensure proportionality.
- **Capacity Building.** Women in GAF should be given more training and responsibilities to improve their capacities. The continuous participation of women on international operations must be encouraged in order to expose them to new practices.
- **Change in Attitudes.** Joint participation with men in exercises and operations such as peacekeeping must be encouraged to expose men to women's abilities to help engender positive attitudes that facilitate the accommodation of women.



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## APPENDIXES

### QUESTIONNAIRE ON GENDER INTEGRATION IN THE GHANA ARMED FORCES.

#### Preamble

The following questions are intended to assess some parameters on Gender Integration in the Ghana Armed Forces. This is purely a social academic research. Please, do not provide any indication of your identity such as name or signature apart from the biographical details required in section A. Feel free to provide your opinion as accurate as possible based on your experience in the armed forces and do not disclose your responses to a third party. This is needed to make the research accurate. You will not be held liable for any statements you make herein. Try as much as possible to express your views on each question. Tick one option from a three or two point scale for each question and provide short explanations where applicable for your choice.

Thank You.

#### Section A: Biographical Data (Tick where appropriate)

1. Sex:      1. Male      2. Female
2. Age: .....
3. Arm of Service:    1. Army    2. Navy    3. Air Force
4. How long have you served in the Military? .....
5. Have you served ever in a conflict/combat situation? 1. Yes    2. No
6. Unit.....

#### INTEGRATION

Srl	Item
1.	Do you think women are well represented in the Armed Forces? 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/>
2.	If no what accounts for this? ..... .....
3.	Do you think women are discriminated against in the allocation of jobs: 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/>
4.	Do you think women should be allowed into all units of the Armed Forces? 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/>







	<p>YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>If YES give examples</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
10.	<p>Should women be given equal leadership opportunities as men in all military activities?</p> <p>2. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Indifferent</p>
11.	<p>Please give three (3) reasons for your answer in Que above</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
12.	<p>Granted that your leader in combat/conflict operations were a woman, do you foresee any special problems that are likely to emerge just because the person is a woman?</p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/></p>
13.	<p>If yes, briefly state some example</p> <p>.....</p>
14.	<p><b>FOR FEMALES ONLY</b></p> <p>Do your male colleagues often accept, respect and cooperate with you as equal partner to them in all aspects of military operations? (females only)</p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/></p>
15.	<p>Do your female colleagues often accept, respect and cooperate with you as equal partner to</p>





	<p>them in all aspects of peacekeeping operations?(females only)</p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/></p>
16.	<p>Which group in your opinion best accepts, respects and cooperates with you as equal partner to them in all aspects of operations?</p> <p>1. Men <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Women <input type="checkbox"/></p>
17.	<p>If you were given a leadership position in combat operations, who do you think would give you the greatest problems?</p> <p>1. Men <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Women <input type="checkbox"/></p>
18.	<p>Do you think such problems would not emerge if the leader were a man?</p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Indifferent</p>
19.	<p>If yes, kindly explain why.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>

#### OPERATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

Srl	Item
1.	<p>Do you agree that given the same level of motivation, guidance and training, women would perform equally effective as men in Combat and other volatile situations?</p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/></p>
2.	<p>Could the increased involvement of females in the Armed Forces pose some special limitations to its operational effectiveness?</p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/></p>
3.	<p>Do you agree that deploying as many women as men in all military activities could have any good effects on the total operational effectiveness?</p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/></p>
4.	<p>If Yes or No, state what effects it could have.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
5.	<p>Should women be deployed in Internal Security Operations (e.g OPS HALT, CALM LIFE, GONGONG)?</p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/></p>
6.	<p>If the answer is NO, why?</p> <p>.....</p>
7.	<p>Do you view it appropriate for a woman to be in the frontline during volatile situations in</p>



## INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OFFICERS IN THE MILITARY ON GENDER INTEGRATION

### Integration

1. It is being suggested that the number of women in the military should be increased at par with that of men. What is your impression about that? Do you see it as something worth pursuing?
2. To what extent does the Ghana Armed Forces enhance equal opportunities and representation of men and women in all military activities?
3. In your opinion, do you think it is possible for the military to open up all roles in the service to both men and women on equal terms?
4. Looking at modern conflict situations, do you consider physical strength more important in active combat situations than tactics and skills?
5. Do you think women are significantly different from men in acquiring the tactics and skills necessary in fluid or volatile conflict situations?

### Operational Effectiveness

6. In case the military decides to open up all roles and duties on equal terms to both men and women, what likely good effects do you think that could have on the total military effectiveness?
7. In case the military decides to open up all roles and duties on equal terms to both men and women, what likely limitations do you think that could have on the total military effectiveness?
8. Would you suggest that the increased representation of females in the armed forces could pose some limitation to operational effectiveness? Why?
9. Are there any special advantages that you think the increased representation of women in the GAF could bring to the total effectiveness of military operations?

### Leadership

10. Do you think women should be allowed leadership roles in the Armed Forces?
11. What are the identifiable leadership roles relative to conflict situations that women play?
12. How many women are leaders in these positions? What is the ratio of men to women?



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

14. If it is suggested that women should be appointed at random as men to take leadership responsibilities, what would you have to say about that?

15. Do you think such a move could pose some threats to effectiveness? Could you foresee any special advantages these could bring to combat or conflict operations?

16. How would you evaluate the general effectiveness of women in leadership positions?

#### **Women and Combat Activities**

17. What is the general military policy on women in conflict?

18. Could you give a brief history of women involvement in combat activities?

19. If it is suggested that combat/peacekeeping roles should be open to both men and women on equal terms, in which roles do you think this will be

20. What is your impression about women in Internal Security (IS) operations?

21. If women suggest that they could equally deploy in active volatile situations as men, would you have any special reservations on that?

22. Military operations now involve several areas where women are most needed. Could you give an overview of any such situations?

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

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

25. What advantages and disadvantages do you think that could bring?

Thank you.  
*The End*

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