

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**A study of the civil-military relations in internal security operations in
GHANA**



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**A STUDY OF THE CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN INTERNAL
SECURITY OPERATIONS IN GHANA**



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DECLARATION

Student's Declaration

I, Jacqueline Delali Galley, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

Signature:.....

Date:.....



Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis/dissertation/project as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

Name of Supervisor: Prof. George Hikah-Benson

Signature:.....

Date:.....

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the cherished memory of my beloved parents, Mr. Clemence Kwasi Galley and Miss Regina Akorli, whose love, sacrifices, and guidance continue to inspire me even in their absence.



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I wish to express my sincere gratitude to all those who contributed to the success of this study. My heartfelt appreciation goes to my supervisor, Prof. George Hikah-Benson, whose guidance and expertise invaluable led to the successful completion of this study. I express my deepest gratitude to my lecturers, Prof Harrison Golo, Dr Linus Nangwele and Prof. David Zuure, for their constructive feedback and unwavering support throughout this research journey. Their guidance was instrumental in shaping this study.

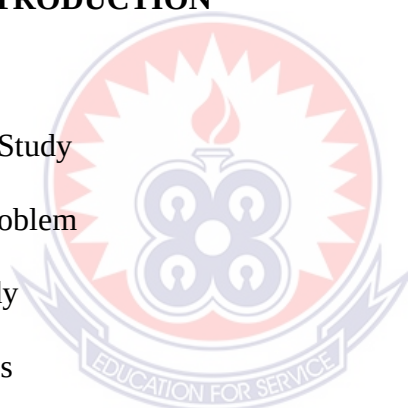
I sincerely appreciate all respondents who willingly contributed their time, insights, and experiences, making this research possible. I am also deeply grateful to the scholars and researchers whose work has provided a strong foundation for this study, guiding and enriching my understanding of the subject.

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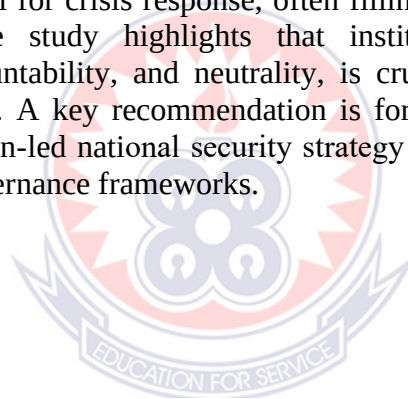
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ABSTRACT

Civil-military relations (CMR) are essential for democratic stability, especially in hybrid regimes like Ghana, where the military plays a significant role in internal security. This study examines how residents of the Greater Accra Region view the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), the nature of civil-military relations, current security challenges, and institutional factors affecting effective CMR. The goal is to understand how public trust, legitimacy, and democratic norms interact within the military's domestic functions. A convergent mixed-methods approach was used, combining quantitative survey data (N = 278) with qualitative interviews (n = 12) involving civilians, governance experts, and security stakeholders. Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics, chi-square tests, and exploratory factor analysis, while qualitative data were examined thematically to support the statistical findings. The research was conducted ethically, ensuring informed consent, confidentiality, and trustworthiness through triangulation and rigorous methods. Results indicate widespread public trust in the GAF's operational abilities. However, this trust is influenced by concerns such as fears of past authoritarianism, perceptions of political neutrality, and expectations of ethical conduct. Civil-military relations are friendly but fragile, based on respect, deterrence, and strategic compliance. The military is seen as vital for crisis response, often filling institutional gaps in policing and governance. The study highlights that institutional legitimacy, built on professionalism, accountability, and neutrality, is crucial for maintaining effective civil-military relations. A key recommendation is for the Government of Ghana to develop a clear, civilian-led national security strategy that defines the military's role within democratic governance frameworks.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter introduces the study by providing the background and rationale for examining civil-military relations in the Greater Accra Region. The chapter outlines the research problem, specifies four objectives, and presents guiding questions to explore public perceptions, the nature of civil-military relations, internal security challenges, and the factors that influence practical cooperation between civilians and the military. Additionally, it outlines the scope of the study, its significance, operational definitions, and provides an overview of the thesis structure. The chapter concludes by justifying the relevance of the study to knowledge development, governance practices, and national policy in Ghana.

1.1 Background of the Study

Globally, civil-military relations (CMR) have become a crucial aspect of security and governance discussions, particularly in democratic nations. The increasing need for cooperation between civilian institutions and military entities has prompted many governments to establish frameworks for positive civil-military relations. As Baciuc (2021) and Bruneau and Matei (2021) highlight, these relations are crucial for the stability of liberal democracies, ensuring that the military remains a professional, non-partisan institution under civilian oversight. The United States and Russia serve as contrasting models of civil-military relations. While a strong democratic control mechanism characterises the U.S. approach, Russia's model reflects a system where military loyalty is woven into centralised political structures (Feaver & Kohn, 2021; Herspring, 2009). Nonetheless, both nations acknowledge the advantages of aligning the military with wider national security objectives through cooperative engagement

with civil society organisations, which helps to reduce tensions and improve security outcomes.

Democratic civilian control over the military has become a key aspect of modern governance. Huntington's (1957) principle of "objective civilian control" has influenced many democracies, emphasising the military's subordination to elected civilian authority while allowing for professional independence. The involvement of the military in national security planning, alongside democratically elected governments, not only ensures accountability but also increases public confidence in both institutions (Owens, 2010; Lambert, 2011).

In Africa, particularly in West Africa, CMR has undergone significant changes since the 1990s. The decline in military coups, the rise of democratisation, and enhanced regional security cooperation reflect a maturing landscape of security governance (Fayemi, 1998; Okoli, 2013). However, fragile institutions and hybrid regimes still pose challenges. Countries such as Nigeria and Mali illustrate how weak civil control, and political interference can lead to military adventurism, while Ghana offers a comparatively stable example of democratic-military coexistence (Siegle & Eizenga, 2020; Tapuka, 2023).

Ghana, since adopting its Fourth Republican Constitution in 1992, has made significant advances in strengthening democratic governance and promoting positive civil-military relations. Multiple peaceful transfers of power, seven successful national elections, and ongoing reforms of judicial and electoral institutions underscore the country's democratic credentials (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010; Ohemeng & Anebo, 2012). The role of the press, civil society, and independent institutions has further increased transparency, accountability, and public participation (Arthur, 2010; Owusu-Mensah & Rice, 2018).

The Ghanaian military, under the oversight of elected civilian leaders, functions within a legal framework that defines its role in national defence and internal security operations. The 1992 Constitution authorises the President, in consultation with the Council of State, to appoint key military officials, including the Chief of Defence Staff and members of the Armed Forces Council. While this centralisation of appointment powers has sparked debate over executive dominance (Prempeh, 2008), it has also helped uphold civilian supremacy in military affairs (Nartey, 2019). Scholars argue that such frameworks, if managed responsibly, provide a stabilising influence on civil-military relations (Turner et al., 2015).

Nonetheless, tensions persist. Internal military deployments, such as those under "Operation Calm Life," to address civil unrest and violent crimes have raised concerns about the militarisation of internal security. When used excessively or without clear accountability measures, these operations can undermine public trust and obscure the distinction between policing and military action (Croissant et al., 2010; Harig et al., 2022). In some instances, military presence has been linked to human rights abuses and the suppression of dissent, attracting criticism from both local and international observers (Wilén, 2021).

In this context, civil-military relations in Ghana should be recognised not only as an institutional framework but also as a lived experience shaped by historical legacies, legal structures, and the socio-political environment. Although the Ghana Armed Forces have mainly avoided direct political interference in the Fourth Republic, the risks of role confusion and institutional overreach remain, especially during periods of political tension, electoral disputes, or social unrest (Staniland, 2008; Whellams, 2007).

Therefore, this study examined civil-military relations in Ghana from the perspective of internal security operations mandated by civilian authorities to uphold constitutional order, maintain peace, and protect democratic institutions. As Sigman (2021) notes, militaries must adapt to evolving security demands while respecting the limits of civilian control. The balance between responsiveness and restraint is vital. Ghana's experience offers valuable insights into how democracies in transitional and developing settings can utilise civil-military cooperation to strengthen national unity without undermining democratic principles.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The publication by Abdullahi, Nungshak, Wika, and Abdul-Qadir (2016) states that the civilian population plays a crucial role through cooperation and other means in promoting internal peace and security. Abdullahi et al. (2016) also argue that a civilian population that lacks a good relationship with the military mainly fails to exercise democratic control over it. Mijah (2007) also posited that building and maintaining internal security require that security institutions in a state enjoy support from ordinary citizens, and that a negative perception of civilians towards security agencies can undermine an otherwise effective internal security mechanism.

Proponents of democracy argue that, through democratic practices in West Africa, conflicts arising from political misunderstandings have been largely reduced (Duerksen, 2019). Conversely, critics, including state actors who are now assuming control of governance in West Africa, lament that democracy has somewhat impoverished the masses to benefit former colonial powers (Duerksen, 2019; Siegle & Eizenga 2020). Critics also believe that coups or military interventions in West Africa have mainly succeeded in undoing political and economic progress, thereby heightening political tensions (Duerksen, 2019). Furthermore, critics contend that

democracy has instead divided the African people, who were once united under chiefs, kings, and military rule (Nwabueze, 2010).

Desch (2019) noted that, in efforts to provide internal security to maintain peace and stability within the state, the military sometimes conflicts with the interests of the general populace, leading to frosty relations between the military and civilians. Desch (2019) also stated that the military occasionally acts beyond expectations and causes harm to civilians, which has often been condemned by the public. The position of Human Rights Watch (2013) indicated that the military in West Africa, for example, has carried out actions that resulted in the deaths of several people in the region in the name of maintaining internal peace. This frequently creates tension between civilians and the military, resulting in a poor perception of the military by the public.

A review of the literature by the current author revealed that while many past studies have examined internal security operations and civil-military relations, there is limited literature on how civil-military relations impact internal security operations in Ghana. Additionally, there have been several instances in Ghana where the military clashed with civilians due to efforts to maintain peace and security in conflict-prone areas, or tensions arose between the military and civilians when the military forced the population to respect the law (Oduro, 2009). According to Aning and Larrey (2021), the military's role in urban spaces like Ashaiman has led to significant tensions and clashes with civilians. A case in point is the conflict between the military and civilians during an internal security operation in Ejura. According to BBC News (2021), the GAF operation, intended to restore order amid protests following the death of social activist Kaaka, involved the use of live ammunition by the military, resulting in fatalities, provoking severe criticism and igniting a national debate about the military's role in crowd control and internal security operations. This incident shed

light on concerns regarding the use of force by security forces and prompted a government investigation. A recent incident, as reported by MyJoyOnline (2023), involved a military raid in Ashaiman following the death of a soldier, which led to widespread reports of civilian torture. These events are believed to foster a negative perception of the military and weaken the relationship between the military and civilians (Aning & Lartey, 2021; MyJoyOnline, 2023).

The gaps identified in the literature, and the reason this study was undertaken, relate to the fact that previous research in Ghana has rarely examined how internal security operations are shaped, particularly concerning the relationship between the military and the civilian population. Ghana has recently experienced several clashes between the military and civilians; however, little attention has been paid to how these relationships have contributed to such conflicts. Furthermore, a positive perception of the military by local residents is recognised to foster a good relationship between the military and the civilian population, and vice versa. However, little research has been conducted to explore how locals perceive the Ghanaian military or to assess the factors that influence civil-military relations in Ghana. The current study aimed to address these gaps identified in the literature.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of the current study is to assess the role of civil-military relations in shaping internal security operations in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana.

1.4 Research Objectives

Specifically, the current study seeks to achieve the following research objectives;

1. To assess the perceptions of residents toward the Ghana Armed Forces in the Greater Accra Region.

2. To examine the nature and dynamics of the relationship between the military and the civilian population in the Greater Accra Region.
3. To explore internal security challenges in the Greater Accra Region within the context of civil-military relations.
4. To identify and analyse the key factors influencing the maintenance of effective civil-military relations in Ghana.

1.5 Research Questions

Specifically, the study will seek to answer the following questions;

1. How do residents in the Greater Accra Region perceive the role and conduct of the Ghana Armed Forces?
2. What is the nature of the relationship between the military and the civilian population in the Greater Accra Region?
3. What internal security challenges exist in the Greater Accra Region, and how do they relate to civil-military relations?
4. What key factors influence the maintenance of effective civil-military relations in Ghana?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study makes important contributions in four main areas: theory, knowledge, practice, and policy, providing both academic and practical insights into civil-military relations in Ghana and similar democratic settings.

1.6.1 Theoretical Contribution

The study advances the theoretical understanding of civil-military relations by placing internal security operations within the larger context of democratic governance. It broadens the application of integration theory, which argues that the legitimacy and effectiveness of civilian control over the military rely on the military's integration into

society and participation in lawful political institutions. By empirically analysing both public perceptions and expert insights, the study deepens the literature on how democratic control of the armed forces operates in hybrid regimes, where democratic norms coexist with deep-rooted institutional legacies of authoritarianism. It also highlights that civil-military legitimacy is not fixed but is continually negotiated through behaviour, communication, and accountability.

1.6.2 Knowledge Contribution

The research addresses an important gap in Ghanaian and West African civil-military studies by providing grounded, evidence-based insights into civilian-military interactions at the local urban level, especially in densely populated, security-sensitive areas like Ashaiman. Unlike studies that primarily focus on national security structures or historical military regimes, this work offers a micro-level perspective on contemporary military involvement in domestic affairs. It examines the complexities of civil-military trust, fear, and institutional cooperation in the daily lives of urban residents, perspectives often absent in existing literature.

1.6.3 Practical Contribution

The study provides practical insights for enhancing the quality of civil-military engagement in internal security operations. The findings emphasise the importance of building mutual trust, operational transparency, and ethical discipline to improve public cooperation and strengthen the legitimacy of the military in civilian environments. The study underscores how restraint, respect for human rights, and community involvement are not only normative expectations but also essential for operational success and long-term institutional credibility.

1.6.4 Policy Contribution

Finally, the research offers strategic recommendations relevant to developing national security policies and civil-military cooperation frameworks. It provides guidance for the Ghana Armed Forces, government agencies, civil society organizations, and oversight bodies on how to strengthen democratic security governance. These recommendations aim to inform policies that prevent military overreach, reduce civilian-military tensions, and promote sustainable peace through inclusive, community-based security approaches.

1.7 Delimitation

This study was limited to the Greater Accra Region, specifically the Ashaiman Municipality, due to its significant history of civil-military engagements. The focus was on evaluating civilian perceptions, internal security issues, and the dynamics of civil-military relations. It did not address military roles in external operations or provide a historical overview beyond current internal security practices. While the findings are specific to this context, they may offer insights relevant to similar urban settings in Ghana.

1.8 Definition of Terms

Civil-Military Relations: Civil-military relations are defined to include the form of relationship that exists between the military as an institution and civil society.

Civil: In this study, civil means the civilian population and non-military actors who interact with or are affected by internal security operations.

Civilian Control: A critical component of democratic governance, ensuring that military power is exercised under the authority of civilian leaders. It relates to the guidelines that govern the defence of the nation. It denotes the supreme authority of civilians over the military.

Internal security operations: They involve coordinated efforts by governmental agencies to address and manage internal threats to public order and safety. It involves acts aimed at maintaining and promoting peace within Ghana's borders by upholding its laws and defending the state against any real or perceived internal security threats.

Military: The institution of armed forces tasked with ensuring national defence and territorial integrity. That is armed establishment that fulfils a special role within the national security framework of guaranteeing the defence of a nation or the territorial integrity of a nation.

1.9 Organization of the Study

The study was organised into five chapters. Chapter One provided an introduction to the topic, including the background of the study, the statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, the significance of the study, and the delimitations and limitations. Chapter Two also reviewed existing literature related to the study area. The research methods were discussed in Chapter Three, while Chapter Four presented the research findings and discussed the results. Finally, Chapter Five offered a summary of the research findings, conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for future research in the area.

1.10 Summary of Chapter

Chapter One provided a comprehensive introduction to the study, establishing the context, rationale, and scholarly significance of examining civil-military relations and internal security in Ghana. It highlighted global, regional, and national developments that influence the military's engagement with civilian populations, particularly within democratic contexts. The chapter outlined the problem statement, emphasising the need for empirical research into the interactions between the military and civilians in conflict-prone urban areas such as Ashaiman. It described the research objectives and

questions, which guide the direction of the study. The importance of the research was discussed in terms of its contribution to theory, policy, and practice. Additionally, the chapter presented the delimitations, research philosophy, and methodological approach, laying a solid foundation for the subsequent chapters.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter provides a comprehensive review of existing literature relevant to civil-military relations and internal security operations in Ghana. It discusses both foundational and current theories that support civil-military relations, such as democratic civilian control, civil-military integration, and public trust in military institutions. The chapter also critically examines key concepts like internal security, perception, legitimacy, and operational accountability within the context of democratic governance. Empirical studies from global, regional, and national perspectives are reviewed to place the study within broader scholarly debates.

2.1 Theoretical Review of Literature

The current study is based on and guided by three main theories: the integration theory, which highlights the importance of integrating the military as an institution into broader society; the institutional theory, as proposed by Feaver (2003); and the classical realist theory.

2.1.1 The Integration Theory

Morris Janowitz, a military sociologist, introduced the integration theory. He concentrated on the professionalism of the military and its evolving roles within society. Morris Janowitz asserts that the military organisation is well-structured and governed by strict rules and self-imposed standards (Janowitz, 1960). With its standards and structures, Janowitz states that the military is expected to remain highly obedient to the rule of law within a state. He also added that the civilian population could only establish complete control over the military if they are well-integrated into society and involved in the process of political decision-making. Janowitz (1960)

further argued that shared social, institutional, cultural, and civilian values should be maintained with the military to prevent it from developing a subculture and becoming a state within a state. Lambert (2009) similarly emphasised the importance of civilian control over the military. The author further contends that security patterns are continuously changing, which necessitates the military's use in policing roles within the state. This, in effect, leads to the deployment of the military for internal security operations, blurring the lines between policing and military functions, as well as between peace and war. Janowitz (1960) therefore believed that the military would increasingly be involved in policing functions in the near future, acting as “the reserved instrument of ultimate legitimate force”.

Janowitz (2017) argues that the military should share and also embrace democratic values present in society and offer the utmost respect to the authority granted to political figures in a state. Janowitz (2017) further states that when the military institution and its leaders accept the democratic values inherent in society, their commitment to achieving the state's political goals increases significantly. Auma-Osolo (1980), however, suggests that respecting the supremacy of political leaders by the military depends on the balance of power between the military and the political class within the state. Auma-Osolo (1980) also notes that in states where democracy appears weak or in an autocratic state, problems may arise—particularly when the military is dissatisfied with civilian leadership or can easily influence political decisions made by the ruling class.

Desch (2008) also noted that, when leaders within the military become engrossed with politics arising from the roles they play internally as well as their importance in promoting the stability of the political environment, the risk of internal military interventions in politics becomes high. Thus, Desch (2008) noted that the more the

military appears to be politicised, the more its desire grows in the attempt to seize political power, especially when they are not highly satisfied with decisions taken by the civilian authority particularly in states where the supremacy of the civilian is not well institutionalised.

Feaver (2003) observed that modern military officers are noted for an orientation towards the maximisation of influence in modern politics and also in policy decision-making. Feaver (2003) argues further that, as a result of the thorough understanding of the decision-making process in the political terrain, it easily serves as a motivation to those military officers seeking self-interest to take advantage of the weaknesses inherent in civilian leaders' political administrations and consequently intervene to seize power. Although the assumptions attached to the theory by Janowitz hold and are well documented, Feaver (2003) noted that the theory does not address the issues relating to the abuse as well as the excesses of the military as it has been witnessed during several internal security operations which have been undertaken by the military. Using West African countries such as Ghana and Nigeria for instance, the military has always been involved in internal security operations which sometimes witness the use of excessive force and abuse on innocent citizens (Dambazau, 2014)

Salihu et al. (2019) noted that Ghana has witnessed many military interventions and rule for several years and consequently engaged in acts that were considered undemocratic in their exercise of power. During these periods, the military in Ghana, just like many other states across West Africa, tended to militarise the state concerning its culture and professionalism, and this consequently affected their constabulary functions. Odoemene (2012) mentioned that the use of the military for internal security operations breeds military excesses, the promotion of militarism and the violation of citizens' fundamental human rights. Weiss (2012) noted that these

problems often occur because the general orientation of the military is not well suited for the practice of the rule of law. The most outstanding skill of the military is its ability to destroy, debilitate and also inflict dreadful pain on the enemy, hence, accounting for the challenges that are often encountered when the military is deployed for internal operations, especially, when it ought to apply force during the operation (Weiss, 2012). Thus, in states where the use of the rule of law is weak and where the judicial remedy is found lacking, if the military abuses the civilian population, this could create a very frosty relationship between the civilians and the military and could reduce the legitimacy enjoyed by the military institution.

The current theory of integration was found relevant and as such, was adopted as a guide in the present study because, the theory helps to put into a better perspective, how the relation between the military and the civilian population within the study area could be shaped through a better integration of the military into the culture of the society or state. Thus, with the integration theory, the study was guided as to how civil-military relations are shaped to promote a good public perception towards the military within the study area. In effect, the theory puts to proper perspective the extent to which a good perception of the military could be realised through the respect of the rule of law by the military institution. Ensuring that the military is integrated into society, rather than being isolated and operating as a separate entity from the state or society, a good relationship between the military and the civilian population could be built and maintained.

2.1.2 The Institutional Theory

Military establishments operate within social settings and will, therefore, need the support of society and its elements (Janowitz, 2017). Thus, the institutional theory tends to focus on the roles of social, political and economic systems within which

these military institutions operate to perform their assigned tasks of defending a state against internal and external aggressions. According to Meyer and Rowan (1977), institutional theory deals with the deeper as well as the more resilient aspect of social structure. The institutional theory, in the opinion of Whellams (2007), is more concerned with the processes through which social structures such as societal norms, rules, values, and certain routines in society become well established and stand as authoritative. Thus, regulate the social behaviour that persists within the society.

Institutional theory as captured in Feaver's (2003) book on "Armed Servants" indicates that politicians, who are civilians and who are democratically elected and given the mandate by the people to govern are clothed with the power and authority to issue orders and that professional military personnel are expected to have such orders executed, since they have been employed to implement defence and security policies as designed by the state through civil servants. The military as a force institution may advise the civil authority on orders that are against the security of the state (Feaver, 2003). The application of the institutional theory in civil-military relations holds that when politicians give orders to the military, there are four options that the politician deploys. He added that politicians either decide whether to monitor the fulfilment of the orders or whether shirking of responsibility by the military requires and deserves punishment.

The principles of the theory hold that, certain factors determine the choice of an option from the four available options to the politician, including, the cost and the payoff associated with the monitoring; the gap that exists between the military and civilian preferences for policy, as well as the cost and the payoff involved in punishing the shirking of responsibilities by the military when it is detected (Feaver, 2003). The analysis of Feaver (2003) also touched on the criteria that affect the level

of cooperation that exists between the civilian and the military. He argues that, today's security environment is a transformed one, and as such, it ought to be considered whether or not, civilian leaders see it as a worthwhile exercise in playing an oversight role over the military, and whether or not, the opinions and views of leaders of the military are in tandem with those held by civilian leaders, as well as how likely the military institution rate the possibility of having them punished for any form of disobedience by the civilian leader.

The theory, as stated by Feaver, holds that civilians are in the category of having the last word and have the right to be wrong. In the case of the military, Feaver stated that, it must identify military risks and, in the process, develop appropriate measures to deal with these identified risks, but that civilians are clothed with the right to assess and decide whether the risks as identified by the military are acceptable to society or not. Military institutions are in the position to describe the risks, but the civil servant is the one that determines whether or not the state is indeed in danger, and if that is the case, determine how the danger can be dealt with. For instance, Feaver argues that the military is responsible for deciding on what resources are needed to perform their defence role, but the civilian leader is clothed with the power to decide on what price the state is ready to pay for such defence armament as suggested by the military. This leaves a gap in terms of resources needed by the military to achieve its mandate of the defence of the state. Therefore, the military is limited in the exercise of its role in the defence of the state. The military, in the quest to remain professional, lives according to the tenets of military professionalism, which stresses the subordination of the military to democratic civilian authority, allegiance to the state and commitment to political neutrality and an ethical institutional culture (Huntington, 1957; Ouédraogo, 2014).

The weakness of this theory, however, is that Feaver failed to lay out a positive plan that will promote an effective oversight over the military in getting the institution and leaders to take the punishment of responsibility shirking seriously. Another criticism of the theory by Feaver pertains to the fact that the proponent of the theory simplified the relationship between the military and the civilians by reducing the actors in the web to just two actors, which defeats the reality of having numerous actors within the civil-military relations web.

In the publication of Frynas (2005), the author maintains that institutions operating within a society/community are required to conform to established norms, routines and traditions and that these institutional principles affect both the internal and external environments of the institution as long as the institution remains part of the society. Scott (2013) mentioned that the institutional theory takes the dimension of introducing a unique approach which allows for the study of social, economic and political dynamics in societies within which organisations operate. Scott (2013) further stated that institutions create the rules that govern the game in a society and that; all institutions, including the military institution, must operate within the framework of these rules set through institutional structures.

The current study also found the institutional theory useful in guiding the current study as the theory establishes the grounds for which established social behaviours are created and thus requires that the military operate within these social behaviours created through a social structure and in effect, take orders from the civilian leader. The military, as noted earlier, does not operate in a vacuum, but the military institution operates within a society which harbours both civilians and the military. In effect, the military is required to operate with the rule of law, and as such, operate within the tenets of the constitution of the state. The constitution of Ghana, for

instance, mandates the military to be under the control of a civilian president and, consequently, take orders from the civilian president. This also means that the military is expected to work within the institutional and state governance framework as prescribed by constitutional instruments in Ghana to have the state run smoothly. The theory in this regard was found to be a useful guide since the theory impresses on the military to act within political, economic and social frameworks, which are noted as acceptable in society. When the military operates within state-established frameworks, it ensures adherence to the rule of law, which upholds individual civilian rights. This approach will likely reduce conflicts between the military and the civilian population. With the military acting within such frameworks, the relationship between the military and the civilian population is expected to be impacted positively, and consequently, have the general public develop a positive perception about the military in return.

2.1.3 The Classical Realism Theory

The classical realist theory holds a pessimistic view about human nature and reactions, and thus, suggests that human beings are not inherently benevolent, but that they sometimes act out of self-interest due to fear, or aggression (Hartmut, 2010). Classical realist thinkers hold the position that, in the field of international relations, classical realism is a paradigm which is deployed to justify certain predictions regarding human affairs and to advance policy positions to regulate such human affairs (Hartmut, 2010). Proponents of the theory argue that human nature is cynical, and this has led the realist to conclude that states interacting at the international level are mainly concerned about power and that states are mainly noted as the only relevant actors under this theory (Morgenthau, 1948).

The position of the classical realist is that the absence of a central authority clothed with the responsibility to maintain peace is a source of worry since a natural drive for obtaining power will motivate violence among humans (Chutao, 2023). In the work of Tomas Hobbes, it was elaborated in *Leviathan* to the effect that, “*in the nature of man, we find three principal causes of quarrel. First, competition; secondly, diffidence and thirdly, glory*” (Lebow, 2021). Furthermore, the author noted that “*during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war*”. Thus, the natural drive for power being harboured by humans as witnessed in recent military takeovers, especially in French West Africa, is common and even exists in states (Smith, Dunne & Kurki, 2020). This justifies the position of literature, suggesting that personal interest on the part of some elements within the military folk in French West Africa accounts for the struggle and capture of political power from democratically elected governments who were chosen through the electoral processes of states.

Hans Morgenthau, a well-known classical realist, also mentioned that politics on the international and domestic scenes are all geared towards the struggle for power; the desire to dominate, which remains an element of human associations (Monten, 2006, p. 10). With anarchy, powerful states and individuals can do whatever they want without negative consequences to them (Morgenthau, 1948; Monten, 2006). Thus, in the opinion of Thucydides, “the strong do what they will; the weak do what they must” (Viotti & Kauppi, 2012). The authors further argue that the penchant of the strong doing what they want, and the weak doing what must be done, creates security challenges due to a lack of trust to leave one alone in the event of another having the power to take what belongs to another without having to face any form of consequences from an established authority.

Critics of the theory, however, mentioned that the generalisation and assumption that the nature of human beings propels a drive for power had failed to take into consideration the fact that genuinely peaceful people also exist. Also, the theory overlooks the increase in peace within and between countries. Furthermore, critics of the theory posit that a theoretical framework which asserts a catholic or universal motivation behind human actions ought to be looked at again, since there is no strict or definite human nature that pushes specific actions of humans (Chutao, 2023).

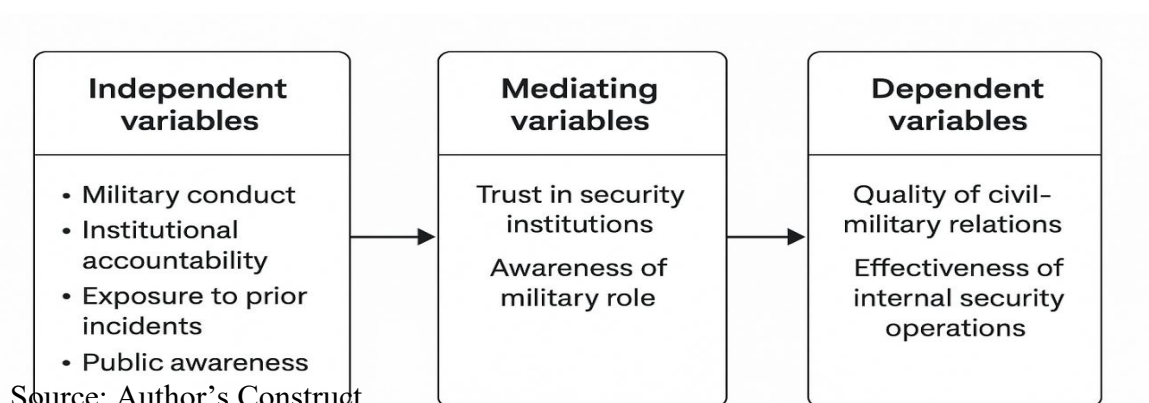
The use of the classical realism theory in the current study was justified, and thus, stemmed from the fact that, with this theory, the researcher was able to relate the findings to why the military sometimes refuses the orders of civilian rulers, thereby creating a poor civil-military relation within a state. One of the classical assumptions of the classical realism theory is that human beings are not inherently benevolent, but that they sometimes act out of self-interest due to fear or aggression. This suggests that the military, in its efforts to demonstrate power and show the civilians “where power lies”, may act not in the interest of the state in certain situations, but out of self-interest, and this may throw into jeopardy, the good relationship that exists between the civilian population and the military. The quest to show its dominant power sometimes leads the military to act in a way that puts the civilian population in harm's way, which is sure to create a frosty civil-military relationship and, consequently, create a bad and poor perception of the military.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

This study is based on a solid conceptual framework that combines both foundational and current theories in civil-military relations, democratic civilian oversight, and internal security operations. The framework captures the complex and multidimensional nature of civil-military interactions in Ghana. It offers a clear

analytical structure to analyze how these interactions influence public perceptions and affect the effectiveness of internal security management (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework Showing Analytical Structure of Military-Public Interactions.



The framework draws on classical civil-military relations theories, especially the works of Huntington (1957) and Janowitz (1960). Huntington's theory of objective civilian control states that professionalising the military and separating it institutionally from politics improves national security and democratic governance. Janowitz, by contrast, stresses the social integration of the military into society, advocating a constabulary model where the armed forces operate in close alignment with democratic values and civil society. These core arguments are supported by more recent conceptualisations, particularly Bruneau and Matei's (2008) model of democratic civilian control, which highlights oversight, effectiveness, and efficiency as key components of a healthy civil-military balance in democracies. This conceptual lens is particularly relevant to Ghana, where the military is increasingly involved in internal security operations, ranging from counter-terrorism to disaster response and urban surveillance. Such engagements, while constitutionally sanctioned, often blur the boundaries between civilian law enforcement and military intervention. This study conceptualises civil-military relations as the interactional space where public trust,

accountability, institutional performance, and democratic legitimacy converge. The nature of this relationship, whether cooperative, conflictual, or neutral, has direct implications for internal security outcomes and public confidence in state institutions. The conceptual framework suggests that military conduct, especially during internal operations, is crucial in shaping public perception. Actions seen as excessive, unaccountable, or disrespectful can undermine public trust and cause friction between the armed forces and civilians. Conversely, professional, restrained, and transparent behaviour is more likely to foster positive attitudes among civilians and promote cooperation in security matters. These perceptions are influenced by how visible the military is in urban areas, the level of public knowledge about the military's constitutional role, previous incidents involving military personnel, and the existence or lack of accountability mechanisms. These dynamics are not one-way. Perceptions of the military shape public behaviour, such as willingness to cooperate with military-led initiatives, report suspicious activities, or engage in community-based peacebuilding efforts. The mediating role of civic trust in state institutions further complicates this relationship, as historical grievances and socio-political narratives may heighten or lessen individual and collective responses to military engagement.

Within this framework, the dependent variables include the overall quality of civil-military relations and the perceived effectiveness of internal security operations. A set of independent variables, such as the conduct of military operations, the level of institutional accountability, and public exposure to prior incidents, influences these. Mediating variables, including trust in security institutions and awareness of military roles, act as filters through which the independent variables exert their influence. This framework facilitates a multidimensional investigation by integrating quantitative perception measurement with qualitative exploration of underlying dynamics. It thus

supports a mixed-methods approach in the study, enabling the triangulation of perspectives from both the general public and security practitioners. It is further strengthened by empirical and contextual evidence from recent Ghanaian experiences, particularly high-profile incidents such as the military interventions in Ejura and Ashaiman. These cases underscore the real-world consequences of strained civil-military relations, including public backlash, institutional criticism, and demands for reform. As noted by Aning and Lartey (2021), the success of military operations within domestic contexts depends not only on tactical achievement but also on perceived legitimacy and adherence to democratic norms.

2.3 Civil-Military Relations

The concept of civil-military relations has been a focus for various disciplines, including sociology, political science, and history. Nielsen and Snider (2009) stated that the forms of relationships studied by sociologists, political scientists, and historians concern the type of relationship that exists between military institutions and the society they serve; between governments and their agencies and the military; and between managers or leaders in the military and the military as an organisation. In a country like Ghana, the military is tasked with mobilising resources to defend the nation against external threats or foreign influence. Members of the military are officially responsible for defending the country, wearing prescribed uniforms and operating within a chain of command (Albrecht & Ohl, 2016). Brooks (2019) noted that although the primary role of the military is to protect the State from external threats, they are also involved in maintaining internal peace. Brooks (2019) further observed that the military participates in repressive actions, which are predominantly state led.

The observation and practice of democracy by states and their actors provide reassurance to citizens regarding equality, good governance, and accountability to both the state and its citizens (Gyimah-Boadi, 2021). Democracy, as described in the study of Sakpane-Gbati (2011), involves granting power of the state to the general population, or the people of the state. Bell and Sudduth (2017) noted that, in most democratic states, civilian populations, led by political elites, possess control over the military stemming from democratic elections that elect a civilian president to oversee both the military and the civilian population. Bruneau (2013), in a related study, observed that civil leadership focuses on how an individual assumes office and is also concerned with their status after being promoted to such an office. Bruneau (2013) further stated that a civilian assumes the office of head of state through established institutional processes, contrasting with situations of extra-legal coups d'état where the military seizes power through interventions. In these extra-legal military interventions, military leaders at the helm of power may still be considered civilians when they decide to relinquish their uniforms and delegate command in the military. Morency-Laflamme (2018) explained that, in scenarios of extra-legal regimes, often called military regimes, the military leadership governs the state while in uniform, and the civilian population is absent from this form of governance.

Svolik (2012) argues that the definition of a civilian or military leader could be tackled from the perspective of functional roles played by the respective leaders. Svolik (2012) posited that civilian leaders or political leaders; whether they assumed power through a coup, or wear uniforms, occupy the highest office of the state and are responsible for policy formulation and implementation, as well as the performance of executive functions that see to the wellbeing of the citizenry. Svolik (2012) however noted that leaders in the military are deemed responsible for the daily management of

the operations of the military in its core functions of defending the state against internal and external aggressions. Lagasse and Saideman (2017) noted that every regime in a state has civilian and political leaders in the governance affairs of the state.

Marinov and Goemans (2014) stated that many scholars hold the assumption that the military and its leaders are exceptional and that they possess some uniqueness in terms of their concepts as well as empirical analysis, and consequently, are classified as different actors from other forms of leadership in a state. Marinov and Goemans (2014) noted that such assumptions emanate from the complexity of roles being played by the military institution and its leaders in both a regime and the security of the state. Lee (2015) noted that the military is considered both a regime and the chief protector of the state. He added that the military forms the state's last resort to defend against internal threats or opponents and that they ought to repress armed rebels and even civilian protests when the need arises to maintain internal peace and security.

Kurlantzick (2018) noted that, although the military defends a state against external armed opponents, it can also pose a major threat and a source of insecurity within the state. He argued that the military might redirect resources intended for national defence to overthrow a democratically elected government or undermine the state's security by deliberately underperforming at the battlefield, resulting in losing to the state's enemies. Harkness (2016) suggested that relations between civilians and the military are often problematic, emphasising that it is crucial for states to ensure the military and its leaders remain subordinate to civilian control and that the military performs effectively in armed conflicts.

Bruneau (2013) observed that, with a submissive military institution and its leaders, conflicts between the military and the civilian population, including the political class and ordinary citizens, are significantly reduced. The author believes this fosters a good relationship between the military and the civilian populace, thereby enhancing internal security.

2.4 Internal Security

The publication of Nkwede (2013) noted that state security stems from two perspectives: internal and external. Nkwede (2013) further explained that, from the external perspective, it involves safeguarding a state's borders and defending against external threats or aggression. The author also highlighted that internal security relates to promoting freedom, or, put differently, ensuring the absence of tendencies that could create division within and threaten the peaceful coexistence of a state and its institutions. Iweze (1990) therefore limited the definition of internal security to include the entire balance of a state, which must be maintained and preserved to support the state's performance in fulfilling its roles and responsibilities, without interruptions deemed unnecessary from any quarters.

Harig, Jenne and Ruffa (2022) argued that internal security is maintained through the government's efforts to coordinate necessary actions that will preserve the equilibrium or, in cases of civil unrest or disturbance, enable prompt control and restore normality. Harig et al. (2022) further noted that states have had to handle disturbances from students, religious, ethnic, and political groups, and that the government, through security agencies, should be capable of restoring normality to prevent the escalation of tensions that could destabilise the security of the state.

Egbefo and Salihu (2014) opined that internal security is concerned with the promotion of internal freedom devoid of threats. The authors suggest the capabilities of the state government to build and preserve an environment considered conducive and promote economic enhancement of the general population and thus comes without any intrusion from any individual or group. Egbefo and Salihu (2014) noted further that it is sometimes impossible to have a state without an interruption. However, the authors hold that, in the event of an interruption in the internal security position of the state, the government should be able to intervene swiftly to foil such disturbances through its security agents to diminish any negative impact the disturbances may have on the citizenry of the state. In the view of Albrecht, Edu-Afful and Aubyn (2021), internal security helps keep peace within the borders of every given state or any other self-governing designated territory. This, thus, generally involves upholding the national laws and defending against any threats emanating from internal sources that will disturb the peace of the territory. The implication is that internal security is majorly concerned with ensuring peace and order within the borders of a sovereign state by ensuring that the security of the state within is strongly promoted and enhanced for protecting lives and property.

Amujiri and Agu (2013) hold the view that a state's internal security also deals with a state's ability to establish and preserve state agencies as well as mechanisms and institutions charged with the responsibility of offering a guarantee for the freedom of citizens from danger. Amujiri and Agu (2013) again stated that a state with strong internal security can protect lives and property, foil insurgency attacks, swiftly intervene and control civil disturbances, prevent thuggery related to political activism, prevent unjustified roadblocks which present a danger to road users, and the ability to control cattle rustling among other key internal security challenges. Aligwara (2009),

in a related study, noted that citizens enjoying safety in their lives and property must remain paramount to the state, and such efforts must always be directed to ensure the maximum security of citizens. The author further noted that security is made to create a safe environment for citizens, and not the other way round, where citizens rather exist for security, and that, without the citizens, security would not be needed; hence, utmost care must be established by the state to provide a safe environment for the public.

Many states across the world have faced internal security issues that have led to a breach of security internally and sometimes thrown the state into turmoil (Oyewole, 2020). In effect, many have been displaced internally, maimed and died as a result of internal disturbances, which often result from chieftaincy disputes, religious differences and land disputes, among many other reasons (BBC, 2009). In this regard, it is of importance to institutionalise measures to ensure that internally, peace is promoted to ensure that lives and properties are safeguarded. Oyewole (2017) also posited that states have mostly been proactive in ensuring that peace always prevails internally since there have been internal clashes that have claimed several lives and destroyed the livelihoods of people as a result of differences that were not resolved before they degenerated into violent clashes.

Oyewole (2017) further mentioned that internal security is significant, and as such, many stakeholders, including the government and its security agencies, have sought to do all within their powers to maintain peace within the state. This, the author argues, is achieved through dialogues between the government, the security agencies, civil society organisations, the local indigenes, including the chiefs and opinion leaders in the various communities. Omotola (2009) argues that, without peace in each state, developmental activities, and economic growth tend to elude the people, and this,

retard the standard of living of the citizenry. Omotola (2009) further mentioned that national development thrives in a peaceful environment, and that, even without external aggressions from external enemies, internal disturbances could retard the development of a sovereign state and hence, lower the standard of living of the citizenry.

Bekoe (2011) also indicated that internal security has been disturbed through elections, especially in developing nations such as Ghana, Nigeria, and Togo, among others. Furthermore, the author noted that internal security had broken down on many occasions, especially during electioneering periods, and this has cost governments millions of dollars to restore peace and rebuild what had been destroyed during the feuding periods where properties and lives were destroyed. In a related publication, Onuoha and Oyewole (2018) mentioned that the development of African states has mainly lagged behind partly due to internal violent clashes that have led to the destruction of properties and lives, where the government needs to commit resources meant for developmental activities rather into resolving internal conflicts between feuding parties, or communities. In effect, a dereliction of duty on the part of the government, the security agencies, and other relevant stakeholders, including civil society organisations and the general citizenry, will cause a destabilisation to the state of internal security, and this could present a challenge to the state and its actors.

The study of Rațiu et al. (2017) posited that the role and actions of the military in today's defence efforts in the protection of the civilian population have shifted and evolved significantly. The military undertakes missions to provide "human security" geared towards prevention and intervention in any form of civil emergency which a community faces within a state. Ratiu et al. (2017) further noted that the military, as a security force, is oftentimes called in to intervene in community security crises in a

state, even though the military was initially established and resourced to defend the state against external aggressions. Metcalfe (2012) also noted that the military in recent periods played significant roles in support of internal security to ensure the building and maintenance of peace and security in a state by ensuring that the general population is safe at all times.

2.4.1 Internal Security Issues and Challenges

With the practice of democracy, the rule of law thrives, and leaders are elected through democratic processes, as well as having the freedom of the citizenry and the media, guaranteed (Sakpane-Gbati, 2011). With the practice of democracy, disputes within and outside a state are significantly reduced to the barest minimum. Hence, promoting peace and security in states and across the world (Gyimah-Boadi, 2021). However, democracy and its practice have had some challenges as military officers constantly jump into the fray to topple democratically elected presidents and sometimes abuse the civilian populace, which creates tensions (Siegle & Eizenga, 2020). The reasons cited for such interventions include excessive corruption and failed campaign promises in the case of politicians. In the case of ordinary citizens, the basis for military intervention includes when civilians disobey their orders, the need for the restoration of peace in conflict communities (Kwan et al., 2020)

African states have begun witnessing military interventions and adventurism as a means of dealing with the weaknesses noted to be inherent in the practice of democratic governance in affected states in West Africa, specifically in French West Africa in recent periods (Tapuka, 2023). Notable among the reasons advanced for the regular interventions of the military, especially in French West Africa, is the apparent failure of democracy and its practice to enhance the economic and political well-being of the affected states and their citizens (Ajayi & Olu-Adeyemi, 2015). The

occurrences of coup d'état, as suggested by proponents, are often spurred by economic downturns as well as underdevelopment in these affected countries. This is evident in those West African states that have witnessed coup d'états in recent periods (Musavengane & Zhou, 2021). Similarly, the occurrence of coup d'états is often due to high poverty levels, which motivate coup plotters to intervene to alleviate this poverty challenge. The perpetrators of the coup d'états believe that state resources have not been properly used by persons who have overseen state resources (Asuelime, 2018). Coup plotters have often cited economic mismanagement due to the poor management of a nation's scarce resources by few personalities in power (Chacha & Powell, 2017).

Dawood (2014) in a study on the causes that promote military intervention in both Pakistan and Bangladesh noted that the occurrence of military interventions in these two countries is triggered by factors such as demonstrating superiority by the military, weakened political institutions, political corruption, vested interest by the military and the legacy of the British army. Prouza and Schmiedl (2021) explained that even though there are factors such as corruption, poverty, mismanagement, and an insatiable quest for power by the military that contribute to internal military interventions, several external conditions also trigger external military interventions in the internal political affairs on the African continent. Such external militating factors that trigger military interventions include but are not limited to social dislocation and the search for raw materials of interest to bodies or countries that intervene in the internal political affairs of African States.

The study by Altaf (2019) also noted that military interventions from both internal and external sources mainly occur as a result of factors that are peculiar to the internal political affairs of a state, or from external influences where foreign states tend to

meddle in the internal political affairs of a sovereign state by helping local troops overthrow democratically elected officials. Altaf (2019) mentioned further that the desire of the military to build and maintain supremacy, as well as to protect its interests, often accounts for the regular interventions witnessed in most developing nations. Onapajo (2022), in a related study, mentioned that the rise in figures of both attempted and successful coups on the African continent is driven by extreme poverty levels, poor development and infrastructure, corruption, and the individual self-centred interest of personnel who get involved in carrying out such activities.

Salihu (2020) noted in a study that civil-military relations in Ghana have been characterised by a chequered history following its first coup in 1966, which saw the overthrow of the first president of Ghana, Dr Kwame Nkrumah. Salihu (2020) further noted that, aside the first coup in Ghana, there have been four other successful coups, thus, the 1969, 1972, 1979 and 1980 coups where military interventions led to the overthrow of ruling governments. Moreover, Addae (2005) posited that relations between the civilian population and the military in Ghana are defrosting, and this has been explained by the fact that there has been nearly no attempt from the military since 1992 to stage an overthrow of a ruling government.

The publication of Nibelli (2021) mentioned that even though Ghana has progressed steadily with its democratic credentials and has consequently enjoyed some level of stability in terms of peace and security, Ghana still faces some challenges with its security, both internally and externally. Nibelli (2021) further noted that, irrespective of the gains achieved in the political and many other fronts in Ghana through the deepening of democracy, security challenges such as those arising from chieftaincy disputes; conflicts emanating from clashes between farmers and herdsmen in some parts of the country; agitations due to the positions of secessionists who want a

separation; extremism, terrorism; violence emanating from political activities; occasional incidence of kidnapping; drug trafficking; having to deal with the increasing activities of vigilantism in the country as well as the issue of environmental security are challenging issues that threaten the peace and stability of the country.

Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpo-Robaro (2013) mentioned that such security, threats raise security alarms in a state, and as such, need a tactful approach to assure citizens of peace and security through the interventions of the security agencies working together to thwart any threat emanating from anywhere. Achumba et al (2013) noted that, when such threats are allowed to fester, it ultimately undermines the stability and the development of democracy within the state. The risk report filed by the Centre for Strategic and Defense Studies (nd) on Ghana noted that the internal security situation in Ghana is relatively calm. The Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) notes that Ghana's situation is presented as fragile but stable. However, there is a rise in crime, vigilante justice, and a growing perception that the military is more reliable than police forces.

Mantey, Owusu-Nimo, Nyarko, and Aubynn (2016) noted that, just like issues of students' agitations, cyber frauds, conflicts arising from ethnic confrontations, political vigilantism, among others, causing significant security threats to the state of Ghana, galamsey (literally "gather and sell") also causes security challenges as the issue of illegal mining has witnessed widespread insecurity across the country. Owusu-Nimo et al (2018) mentioned that the issue of illegal mining is a major internal security threat to Ghana and ought to be given the needed attention before it further escalates out of control. Galamsey sites often become zones of lawlessness where armed groups, illegal foreigners, and youth operate with impunity. Clashes between illegal miners and military/police task forces have sometimes turned violent,

challenging state authority. What makes it more threatening has to do with the fact that, about 3 million Ghanaians, including Chinese nationals are engaged in illegal mining and thus require a more tactful manner of handling this development (Owusu-Nimo et al., 2018).

WANEP (2019) also noted that, Ghana for instance recorded nine incidents of clashes between farmers and herders in Bono, Ahafo, Ashanti, Northern and Eastern Regions of Ghana. In all these incidences, injuries and loss of lives were recorded; the lives of cattle were lost as well, while crops and properties of the affected victims were also lost in the process. WANEP (2019) further noted that, between January and June 2019, seven incidents of clashes between herdsmen and farmers ensued, leading to the loss of lives and properties in similar fashions as reported in previous years. WANEP (2019) stressed these incidents have to be given the needed attention as they signal insecurity in the country.

Idowu (2020) posited that Nigeria, for instance, is currently facing internal security challenges, especially with the case of Boko Haram controlling certain territorial sections of the country and, as a result, taking lives and destroying properties. The author ascribes the lack of effective measures to internally deal with these security threats from such insurgent groups that had disturbed the internal peace of the country. Idowu (2020) further mentioned that states have encountered attacks that were orchestrated internally, including the current happenings in Nigeria and part of Cameroun, suggesting that West Africa has recently experienced a growth in violent terrorism and extremism, which are sometimes the result of internal security challenges.

Bappah (2016) holds the position that terrorism was able to partly succeed in countries such as Nigeria, Mali, and Burkina Faso, among others, because internal differences persisted, which made it easier for such insurgent activities to thrive. Bappah (2016) mentioned further that what often starts as a small difference at the community level, or a minor religious difference, mostly degenerates into significant conflicts that draw insurgent groups like Boko Haram to take advantage of such internal conflicts and visit horror and violence on their perceived enemies. Edu-Afful (2022) mentioned that, but for the timely interventions of the security agencies, including the Ghana Police, the Ghana Military and sometimes, National Security operatives, disturbances which sometimes occur at the community level, and even sometimes, between the civilian population and security agencies would have destabilised the security of Ghana.

Aning (2007) holds the position that, Ghana has witnessed exacerbated and escalating violence which include armed robbery, increased murders, and assaults. This trend has continued into the 2020s, with reports indicating a significant rise in armed robberies involving firearms such as AK-47s (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 2022). This has led to several calls from the general populace to have the situation under control to reduce the extent to which these crimes occur within the country (Aning, 2007). As part of the measures to curb and control these worrying internal security threats, and under the National Security Council (NSC) special powers, the government of Ghana introduced the operations Calm Life in July 2001, and this comprised a joint task force of the police and the military (Albrecht, 2022). The main goal of the joint task force was to constitute police-military patrol operations to combat armed robbery and to bring under control violent crimes in the country.

Due to the changing trends in crime internally in Ghana, coupled with the spread of armed robbery incidence that terrorise innocent citizens and make away with their monies and properties, the operation which was initially designed to control crime in the Greater Accra Region was later expanded to the Ashanti Region, and presently, to all sixteen (16) regions in Ghana (Albrecht, 2022). However, the operations of the joint task force had to be re-launched in 2005 and 2017 due to resource constraints that have hampered the successful implementation of the mandate of the joint unit of the police and the military (Abdallah & Aning, 2022).

Myjoyonilne (2017), reported that president Akufo Addo mentioned that, the trend of crime in Ghana was changing and that, there was the need to re-strengthen the various operational units of the security agencies, especially the joint police-military unit of Operations Calm Life to effectively combat crime internally, and in the process, maintain peace and security of the country. The president indicated that, with the changing security architecture of the country, efforts were equally required to counter security challenges that hamper the country's development. In effect, the role of the Operations Calm Life Unit of the police-military was to be proactive enough to prevent violent escalations that may destabilise the state's internal security.

Edu-Afful and Allotey-Pappoe (2016) noted that Ghana has started experiencing complex crimes that need prompt and proactive responses to bring such crimes under control before they cause a serious threat to the security of the country. In furtherance to this position, Edu-Afful and Allotey-Pappoe (2016) further mentioned that several crimes, including electoral crimes have been on the rise, with the country recording disturbing violent clashes between opposing parties and their supporters, and this has on many occasions, threatened the peaceful co-existence of Ghanaians irrespective of their political colouration. In a bid to control such security challenges, the police,

supported by the military, play their constitutional role to maintain peace and security within the country (Abdallah & Aning, 2022).

Ghana is not only facing increased crimes from electoral violence and mob actions, which in effect need urgent attention, but also, in recent periods, the challenges of the fight against galamsey have been a source of security threat to the state and its inhabitants (Duodu, 2021). The state and its security agencies, including the military, have been charged with bringing under control the menace of galamsey that is causing harm to human life through chemical discharge into water bodies, as well as physical assaults and deaths that have been recorded due to the activities of galamsey in the country. Fertile lands and water bodies have been destroyed through these galamsey activities, which are carried out by persons with parochial interests and consequently pose security implications for the state and persons living around these galamsey areas of the country (Awiah, 2017). Ghana as a state is facing several security challenges, and the issue of galamsey remains at the forefront, in addition to challenges including clashes between herdsmen and local community people, electoral clashes, increased cases of armed robbery, and mob attacks, among others (Aklorbortu, 2018).

2.5 Civilian Perception of the Military about Internal Security Operations

The perception of the military by the public has long been considered in the literature, as it portrays the position of the military in society. Mijah (2007) opines that a good perception of the security agencies promotes and ensures a better security environment for the public. This is critical as it offers legitimacy to the institutions carrying out security operations internally. The perception of citizens regarding the military can vary, and it is influenced by a range of factors, including historical context, socio-cultural dynamics, and individual experiences. Perception, in the view

of Odekunle (2004), deals with the organisation, identification and interpretation of sensory information to represent and understand the information or the environment presented. Myers (1999) noted the definition of perception to include the stage where meaning is attached to a sensation.

The military in Ghana has been largely involved in managing internal security in Ghana for a long while. The literature points to the fact that the relationship between the civilian populace and the military as an institution has been fraught with misunderstandings and mistrust between the parties (Nibelli, 2021). Individuals and whole communities have on many occasions laid complaints that the military had either abused them or had failed in the duty to offer them the needed protection when need be (Nartey, 2019). Nartey (2019) further noted that in many instances, reports have been cited in the media detailing the unprofessional conduct of some men/women in military uniforms, including harassment and the violation of the basic human rights of citizens. In similar fashions, reports have been filed regarding the undisciplined acts of a section of the general populace leading to clashes between the military and communities, or individuals who decided to take the laws into their own hands, and for which the military did not allow them to carry out such activities.

The study by Kpabitey-Teye (2020) noted that, to enhance the public image of the military, it is important to constantly engage with the public, especially when the military high command and the military as a professional institution know that it engaged in acts that were in excess during their operational activities. Kpabitey-Teye (2020) reached this conclusion after sampling 100 respondents for a study, with 50 participants being military officers, while the remaining 50 study participants were Defence civilian staff working with the military. The study further noted that, although the military is not known as experts in public relations in the view of the

civilian employee participants, it nonetheless deploys press releases to diffuse any negative news that tends to bring the image of the institution and profession into disrepute. The military must adopt a proactive media engagement strategy rather than a reactive one to respond to allegations to enhance the public image and perception of the military.

Sedler (2018) observed that the military plays a vital role in maintaining peace and security within a state and, therefore, must foster an image of professionalism. According to Sedler (2018), this can be achieved by consistently using the media as a platform to build a relationship with the public and cultivate a positive image. Oluwasola (2016) contends that a good public image will enhance the acceptance of security agencies responsible for maintaining peace for the benefit of the state. He further notes that security forces in Africa have faced challenges in managing their image due to negative perceptions, stemming from the view that these agencies abuse their power, partly because of the uniforms they wear and the authority they wield. In this context, Khasbazaryn (2004) argued that to rectify a negative public perception of the military, it is essential to engage stakeholders in the operations of security agencies, including the military, to prevent misconceptions. Oluyemi (2020) emphasised that the nature of perception, whether positive or negative, is crucial for the military's effectiveness, as a positive outlook provides both tacit and explicit support.

Hans-Werner (2009) suggests that perception entails the deliberate and conscious efforts to receive, select, process and interpret information by a person using all the senses. Perception in the current study is captured to mean the interpretations as well as the evaluations attached to the military by the public with regards to internal security operations undertaken by the military in Ghana, especially in the Greater

Accra Region of Ghana. This allows for the assessment of study participants' experiences, views, and opinions about the military of Ghana, especially when the military is engaged in internal security operations.

2.6 Determining Factors of Civil-Military Relations

Civil-military relations across the globe are shaped by several factors, including both internal and external influences. Civil-military relations describe the form and nature of the relationship between military organisations and civil societies, military organisations and other government bureaucracies, as well as leaders of the state and the military. As Baciú (2021) argues, a good civil-military relation is characterised by low preferences between the military and political leaders, and the political leadership of the state maintains a dominant power advantage over the military. In effect, the military in a good civil-military relation is answerable to the political leadership at all times.

Several authors have empirically established that, to have a good civil-military relation between the military and other stakeholders, especially between the military and the political leadership and civil organisations, as well as other government bureaucracies, certain factors ought to be in play. Such factors as argued by Baciú (2021) and Ncube et al (2012) include the shape divisions or splits in society; whether there is an imminent threat of civil war in society; the form and nature of political systems within the domestic political space, the publications from the media, and the distribution of wealth within society or country.

Ncube (2012) mentioned that the military may sometimes tend to “disobey” the protocols and intervene in a bid to topple democratically elected governments or disobey orders from the political class, especially in a state or society where the military believes that, the political class in particular are perceived to be acting in a

manner that calls to question, the interest of the state. In furtherance to this argument, the author further posited that the military is a disciplined organisation, hence, any perceived act from the civilian population or civilian governments that tends to jeopardise the interest of the state will surely attract the attention of the military to act in the national interest, thereby damaging any form of good relations that exists between the military and the civilian population.

The work of Janjua (2010) also sought to assess the factors that shape the nature and form of the relationship between military organisations and civilian populations from internal and external points of view. In the estimation of Janjua (2010), civil-military relations are shaped and determined by factors including the strategy of the military in defence of the state, funding availability and sources, the capacity of the government and its various institutions, and the influence of the media and the political system practices within the state. This position was in line with a study conducted by Staniland (2008) where similar findings and conclusions were reached, signalling that, the nature of the relationship between the military and the civilian population is underpinned by several factors including media publications about the military, the political leadership, the form of political system being practised in the domestic political scene, as well as the funding sources of the military.

Mackubin (2013) argues that there is a strong need for good civil-military relations in societies or states to forestall the occurrences of coups. Mackubin (2013) argues further that, for countries such as the United States of America, it is difficult to experience coups due to how the country had internalised the commitment to civilian control over the military. The author posited further that, the military is embedded in the society or the state, and as such, it is of utmost importance to ensure that, there is a good relationship between the military establishment and the civil government

exercising political control within the state. Thus, for a good relation between these stakeholders, efforts must be aimed at ensuring the allocation of responsibilities and prerogatives between the military establishment and civil government bureaucracies (Mackubin, 2013).

Suzanne (2005) argues that civil-military relations are underscored by the understanding that there is “*Two Hands on the Sword*”, suggesting that the civil hand determines when to draw the sword, while the military hand keeps the sword sharp and wields it during wars against enemies. The author further argues that, for a good civil-military relation, there are mainly three (3) parties to the bargain: the ordinary citizenry, the civil government and the military establishment. In addition, the argument is that, to keep a good relation between the parties, there ought to be periodic renegotiations between the parties, taking into account the political, technological, geopolitical and social changes that take place in society over time. To have a good civil-military relation, the bargain between the parties focuses on five main questions. These are

- How do stakeholders ensure civilian control over the military?
- What forms an acceptable degree of military influence on other organisations or spheres within the society?
- What is the primary purpose of the military involvement?
- What is the form, or pattern civil-military relations require for the success of the military?
- Who serves whom in the case between the military and the civilian population?

In effect, civil-military relations are noted to be a product of a state’s socio-political history, threats inherent in the environment, the degree of strength of civilian political

organisations and institutions, and the ideological self-image of a country's military (Feaver & Kohn, 2001). The implication is that, for a good relationship to exist between the military establishment and civilian organisations or institutions within the state, political organisations are expected to demonstrate strong democratic credentials and be tolerant of opposing political views (Brooks, 2008).

2.7 Empirical Review on the Perception of Indigenes Towards the Military

A study pursued by Abdullahi, NungshakWika and Abdul-Qadir (2016) in Nigeria on the overview of public perception of Nigeria's internal security management of Jos crises starting from 2001 to 2014 suggested that, although the public reveres the security agencies, especially the Armed Forces, it, however, perceives the security Forces to be unjust since they leave out other sections of the violence, as they brutalise the other section, as the public held a suspicion that the military was treating non-Christians with excesses. This conclusion was reached as the study adopted an explanatory research design and approach, and also, relied on data collected from secondary sources.

Sarigil (2015) also conducted a study to gauge public perception towards the military in Turkey. In assessing the opinions and attitudes of the public towards the military, the researcher adopted a quantitative approach and, in effect, made use of a structured questionnaire in the solicitation of the opinions of the respondents who were conveniently sampled for the study. The study found that with a reformed military, which came with institutional and legal reforms of the military establishment, the public held the military in high esteem. The study concluded that the military commands respect from the civilian population due to the institution's discipline. The underlying principle is that the military was noted to mainly undertake activities in the

interest of building and maintaining peace, both internally and externally, and consequently, the institution was noted to command a positive image from the public.

2.7.1 Empirical Review on Civil-Military Relations

Desch (2019), in his book *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*, explores the evolving dynamics of civilian control over the military in the context of changing security environments. He examined the impact of evolving security threats, such as terrorism, cyber warfare, and hybrid warfare, on civil-military relations. According to him, these emerging challenges often blur traditional boundaries between military and civilian realms, requiring a reassessment of how civilian control is exercised. The study further examines the challenges and implications of maintaining effective civilian control in an era characterised by emerging security threats and technological advancements. He emphasised that it is important for civilian leaders to maintain ultimate authority over the military to safeguard democratic principles, protect individual liberties, and prevent military interventions in politics. He argues that civilian leaders should value the expertise and advice provided by the military but also maintain the ability to challenge and question military recommendations to ensure a healthy civil-military dialogue. Desch's work contributes to the understanding of civil-military relations in contemporary security contexts. It highlights the need to adapt civilian control mechanisms to address evolving security challenges and technological advancements to enhance military autonomy and reduce civilian oversight, thereby challenging traditional models of civilian control. There should be a balance between civilian oversight and military expertise in democratic societies and an understanding of the importance of maintaining democratic accountability in civil-military relations.

A study conducted by Olldashi (2002) in the United States of America on civil-military relations in emerging democracies as found in the articles of the Armed Forces and Society suggested that emerging democracies across Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern and Central Europe had certain characteristics in common. The study found that the strength of a country's democracy was correlational to its civil-military relation and that states with strong democratic credentials had good civil-military relations as against states with weak democratic credentials. This conclusion was reached following a content analysis of 20 published articles on how civil-military relations are treated in selected states contained in the articles analysed.

In a related study, Asante (2020) carried out a study in Ghana on democratic civil-military bargains by examining the Ghanaian experience. The study by Asante assessed the basic changes, which include the norms that influence civil-military relations. The study noted that Ghana's civil-military relation was derivative of its institutional change, the diffusion of norms, and the attitudinal change of political stakeholders and those on the civil society front. The study concluded that though some progress was made in Ghana, civil-military relations remain delicate and fragile and hold some uncertainty since the politicians are always tempted to deploy the military to their advantage, especially for electoral fortunes as against the interest of their political opponents. The presence of the military may instil terror in the citizenry, thereby denying them the right to exercise their franchise for fear of intimidation.

2.7.2 Empirical Review on Internal Security Issues/Challenges

A study by Nibelli (2021) sought to ascertain emerging security threats in Ghana. The study adopted a qualitative content analysis approach to examine the factors that pose a threat to the security position of the state of Ghana. Data collected from textbooks,

journals, websites and other important documents used and analysed suggested that Ghana faced several security threats, both locally and externally, although the study took cognisance of the fact that the cherished democratic credentials of Ghana have largely contributed to curbing and controlling some of these threats. The study by Nibelli (2021) found ample evidence suggesting that political vigilantism, farmer-herder conflict, chieftaincy disputes, electoral violence, drug trafficking, environmental security threats, illegal mining, poverty and kidnapping, among others, were some of the internal security threats Ghana faces.

The study by Addae, Opoku, Dagba, and Amankwa (2020) in the context of Ghana aimed to identify the security challenges that undermine the country's internal security, using personnel from the Ghana Police Service as a case study. The research employed a mixed-methods approach, integrating both qualitative and quantitative techniques for data collection and analysis. Furthermore, it utilised both probability and non-probability sampling methods and gathered data through questionnaires and an interview guide. A descriptive analysis was conducted for the quantitative data, while a thematic content analysis was applied to interpret the qualitative data collected. The results indicated that armed robbery, cybercrime, political vigilantism, and chieftaincy disputes, among other issues, are the key internal security challenges facing Ghana.

2.7.3 Empirical Review on Factors that Determine Civil-Military Relations

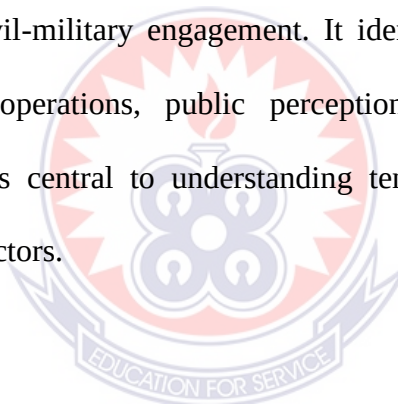
The study by Baciú (2021) sought to ascertain the key factors that determine the form and nature of relations that exist between the civilian population and the military, using Denmark as a study area. To achieve the study's objective and bring to the fore the factors that shape the nature of the relationship between the civilian population and the military, the researcher adopted both quantitative and qualitative approaches

and gathered in-depth data using a guided interview and relied on survey data generated through a self-administered questionnaire. A saturation approach was adopted for the interview, thus, the researcher gathered data up to a point where a saturation was reached, and as such, relied on the data gathered for conclusions drawn in the study. With the quantitative approach, a convenience approach was adopted to reach out to study participants in the course of gathering the data. The findings from the study suggested that civil-military relations were shaped by government and institutional capacity, forms of political parties and the media, funding type to the military, and military strategy options, among other key determinants.

In a similar study, Feaver (1999) sought to assess the factors that determine the form of relations between the civilian population and military establishments. It relied on qualitative approaches in data gathering and analysis. To gain much insight into these factors, the researcher relied on guided interviews, which solicited in-depth opinions from study participants. In all, the researcher interviewed ten (10) interviewees, and thus, found empirical evidence suggesting that civil-military relations are significantly determined based on the nature of dominance of rift within the society; the likelihood of society facing eminent threat internally from civil wars; the nature of the political system that is been practised within the domestic political space, and the extent to which the wealth of the nation had been perceived to be fairly shared. In effect, when the military perceives that, the wealth of the nation had been unequally distributed among the citizenry, but that, the political class are benefitting at the expense of the general populace, there is a likelihood of a frosty relationship between the political class and the military establishment, and this could even lead to military interventions (Feaver, 1999).

2.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter critically examined the body of literature related to civil-military relations and internal security operations, with particular attention to the Ghanaian context. It began by unpacking the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of civil-military dynamics, drawing from foundational perspectives such as Huntington's theory of objective civilian control and Janowitz's integrationist approach. The review also explored how democratic governance, public trust, institutional accountability, and operational legitimacy interact to shape the effectiveness of internal security measures. In addition, the chapter examined empirical studies from global, regional (particularly West Africa), and local (Ghanaian) contexts, highlighting similarities and divergences in civil-military engagement. It identified key factors such as the conduct of security operations, public perceptions, historical grievances, and institutional reforms as central to understanding tensions or cooperation between civilians and military actors.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

3.0 Overview

This chapter describes the research approach and methods employed to study civil-military relations and internal security in Ghana. It details the study's philosophical foundation, research design, sampling techniques, data collection tools, and analysis procedures. The chapter also discusses ethical considerations, validity, and reliability measures that support the study's credibility.

3.1 Research Philosophy

This study was philosophically rooted in pragmatism, a paradigm that emphasises the practical use of research to tackle real-world issues and integrates both qualitative and quantitative methods to yield comprehensive insights. In this research context, pragmatism is particularly suitable because it concentrates on contextual understanding, problem-solving approaches, and methodological flexibility (Biesta, 2010; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The main aim of this study is not merely to explore subjective perceptions or to generalise causal relationships, but to produce actionable knowledge that captures the complex interactions between civilians, the military, and the internal security environment in Ghana. Pragmatism rejects the illusory divide between positivism and interpretivism, recognising that both objective facts and subjective experiences are valid sources of knowledge. This approach is especially important for a topic like civil-military relations, which involves measurable engagement patterns (e.g., frequency of operations, reported conflicts) as well as deeply rooted public sentiments (e.g., trust, fear, legitimacy).

Pragmatism is rooted in the works of scholars such as John Dewey and William James, who advocated for the generation of knowledge that is both relevant to societal needs and directed towards democratic improvement. In a study concerning internal security in a democratising African context, such as Ghana, pragmatism offers a philosophy that prioritises utility, adaptability, and responsiveness to stakeholders. It enables the researcher to combine statistical findings from surveys with nuanced interpretations from interviews, capturing the multi-dimensional nature of security governance (Morgan, 2007).

Importantly, adopting pragmatism also reflects an epistemological pluralism that is essential to contemporary social science research. As Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) note, mixed-method research, rooted in pragmatism, recognises that social phenomena are best understood through multiple perspectives. This flexibility enabled the researcher to engage not only military officials and civilians but also governance experts, resulting in a more comprehensive understanding of the subject. Furthermore, pragmatism emphasises the value-laden nature of this inquiry. The researcher does not claim neutrality but acknowledges that the study aims to produce practically relevant findings that can inform policy, improve civil-military engagement, and foster peaceful coexistence. Pragmatism therefore aligns well with the study's commitment to real-world change, allowing it to offer recommendations based on both empirical evidence and local realities.

3.2 Research Approach

This study adopted a mixed-methods research approach rooted in the pragmatist philosophical tradition. The choice of this approach is carefully motivated by the complex, multidimensional nature of the research problem, particularly the dynamics of civil-military relations and their effect on internal security in Ghana. Relying solely

on either qualitative or quantitative methods would have been insufficient to fully understand both the subjective human experiences and the measurable patterns characterising these relations. As Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) indicate, mixed methods research is especially appropriate for investigating complex social phenomena where neither numerical data nor narrative accounts alone can provide a complete understanding.

The qualitative aspect of the study enables a thorough exploration of perceptions, lived experiences, and sociopolitical undercurrents that characterise interactions between the military and civilians. Interviews with residents, military personnel, and governance experts provide rich, contextual insights that clarify the meanings and interpretations associated with civil-military engagements. This is crucial in contexts like Ghana, where historical, cultural, and institutional nuances influence public attitudes towards the military. Qualitative data allows the researcher to understand not just what people think, but why they think as they do, an essential inquiry in security governance studies (Maxwell, 2013). However, while qualitative methods offer depth, they often lack broad applicability. Consequently, the quantitative component complements the study by enabling the measurement of wider public attitudes and perceptions through structured surveys. Quantitative data can identify trends, examine relationships, and provide statistical validation of hypotheses. In this study, surveys distributed across the Ashaiman Municipality generate empirical evidence on issues such as trust in the military, experiences with internal security operations, and levels of perceived safety. These data facilitate generalisation beyond individual cases, assisting in the identification of patterns across demographic categories, geographic zones, and institutional affiliations (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

The integration of both data types occurs at the interpretive stage, where the researcher triangulates qualitative findings with quantitative trends. This enhances the validity of the conclusions and boosts the explanatory power of the study. As Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) explain, the mixed methods approach allows researchers to “draw from the strengths and minimise the weaknesses” of both paradigms. It is especially valuable for policy-relevant research where both narrative and numerical evidence are needed to inform action. Furthermore, mixed methods reflect the pragmatist philosophy that underpins this research. Pragmatism highlights the research problem and seeks the most effective tools to address it (Biesta, 2010). Instead of adhering to paradigmatic purity, this study adopts methodological pluralism to develop practical, context-aware solutions for improving civil-military relations and strengthening internal security. In doing so, it promotes both theory and practice in the field of security studies.

3.3 Research Design

This study employs a convergent parallel mixed methods research design, which is strategically selected to provide a comprehensive understanding of civil-military relations and internal security operations in Ghana. This design is particularly appropriate for studies that seek to capture both quantitative generalisations and qualitative depth in equal measure. As Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) explain, the convergent design enables the simultaneous collection and independent analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data, which are later integrated to form a more holistic interpretation of the research problem.

The rationale for this design stems from the complex and multifaceted nature of civil-military relations in urban security settings. This phenomenon encompasses both quantifiable indicators, such as public trust, perceived safety, and reported incidents

of military-civilian clashes, and interpretive elements, including local narratives, historical mistrust, and political perceptions. A single-method approach would not sufficiently capture these layered realities. As Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) note, mixed methods designs are particularly beneficial when the research seeks to explore both process and outcome, as is the case with internal security governance. Under the convergent design, quantitative data were gathered using structured questionnaires administered to a representative sample of residents in the Ashaiman Municipality, an urban area with a history of military-civilian tensions. This data enabled the researcher to measure attitudes towards the military, experiences with internal security measures, and the levels of trust or distrust. The qualitative component involved in-depth interviews with selected security experts, civil society leaders, and local opinion influencers. These interviews provided nuanced insights into the sociopolitical factors shaping public perceptions and the institutional behaviour of the Ghana Armed Forces during internal deployments.

This design offers several methodological advantages. First, it improves the validity of the findings through triangulation, where the convergence or divergence of data sources can be systematically examined (Fetters, Curry, & Creswell, 2013). Second, collecting data simultaneously reduces time delays often linked to sequential designs and allows for more immediate integration of results. Third, it enables the researcher to give equal importance to both forms of data, avoiding the common pitfall in mixed methods studies of favouring one paradigm over the other (Bryman, 2006). Importantly, using a convergent design aligns with the pragmatist philosophical foundation of the study, which emphasises methodological pluralism and the application of “what works” to address the research questions best (Biesta, 2010). Pragmatism promotes using diverse evidence sources and values both objective

measurement and subjective interpretation, making the convergent design not only suitable but ideal.

3.4 Study population

The study population refers to the entire group of individuals who possess specific characteristics relevant to the research objectives. According to Saunders et al. (2009), a population includes all possible cases or members of a group that meet designated criteria. Bhattacharjee (2012) adds that the population consists of the whole set of entities, people, groups, or organisations that a researcher aims to analyse scientifically. In this study, the population comprises two main groups directly related to civil-military relations and internal security within the Greater Accra Region of Ghana: (1) personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) involved in internal operations, and (2) civilian residents of the Ashaiman Municipality, where key military installations and interactions with the local community take place.

The Greater Accra Region, although the smallest in land area, is the most urbanised and densely populated part of Ghana, home to the national capital, Accra. It serves as the administrative centre of the Ghana Armed Forces, including the Burma Camp military headquarters and other key operational commands, such as OPS CALMLIFE and OPS HALT, which oversee various internal peace and security operations. Due to the region's strategic significance, particularly in managing urban security threats, the GAF frequently carries out joint and independent missions in high-risk areas, notably Ashaiman, a busy municipality characterised by a high concentration of youth, socioeconomic inequalities, and ongoing tensions with security forces.

The primary target group, military personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces, includes officers and operational staff involved in planning and executing internal security operations within the region. These individuals possess technical and experiential

knowledge of conducting operations, inter-agency coordination, public engagement, and the challenges faced during internal deployments. Their inclusion is vital for understanding institutional perspectives on civil-military collaboration and the evolving role of the military in domestic peacekeeping within a democratic context. The second target group comprises civilian residents of Ashaiman Municipality, a community that has historically experienced high-profile military-civilian confrontations and remains a key focus in discussions on public trust and military accountability. Ashaiman's proximity to major military facilities makes it both a strategic and symbolic location for studying grassroots perceptions of the Armed Forces. Residents' views offer crucial insights into the social legitimacy, acceptance, and public reception of military-led security operations in urban areas.

3.5 Sampling Technique

This study adopted a multi-stage, non-probability sampling strategy tailored to the mixed methods research design. Specifically, purposive sampling was employed for the qualitative strand, while convenience sampling was used for the quantitative aspect. These approaches were selected based on their compatibility with the research objectives and the contextual constraints of accessing military personnel and urban civilian populations within the Greater Accra Region.

In the qualitative phase, purposive sampling was employed to select participants with direct knowledge and experience of internal security operations and civil-military relations. These included officers of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) actively involved in operations such as OPS CALMLIFE and OPS HALT, as well as selected Ashaiman community leaders and local governance experts. The rationale behind using purposive sampling lies in its ability to identify "information-rich cases" (Patton, 2015) that can offer deep insights into complex phenomena. Due to the

operational sensitivity of the military context, access to participants required both deliberate selection and institutional approval, making purposive sampling the most appropriate method for capturing expert opinions and institutional dynamics.

Conversely, in the quantitative phase, convenience sampling was used to recruit civilian residents of the Ashaiman Municipality. This method enabled efficient collection of survey data from individuals who were easily accessible and willing to participate. Convenience sampling is especially useful in urban field settings where population density, mobility, and time constraints impede random sampling methods (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). In Ashaiman, the convenience approach allowed the researcher to engage a diverse range of respondents during peak community activity times (e.g., market days, transport hubs). Although this method limits statistical generalisability, it remains appropriate for exploratory studies examining perceptions, attitudes, and community experiences. The use of these two sampling techniques reflects the pragmatist foundation of the study, which values methodological flexibility and purposefulness (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). Together, purposive and convenience sampling enabled the triangulation of expert narratives with public opinion, aligning with the study's aim to explore civil-military relations from both institutional and grassroots viewpoints.

3.6 Sampling Size

The sample size for this study was chosen based on the requirements of its convergent parallel mixed methods design, which needed enough data to allow both detailed qualitative analysis and broader quantitative generalisation. Consequently, the sample size reflects the different approaches used for each part of the research, purposive sampling for qualitative investigation and convenience sampling for the quantitative survey.

For the quantitative part, a total of 278 respondents from the Ashaiman Municipality participated in the survey. These participants were chosen using convenience sampling, which was considered suitable given the urban and mobile nature of the Ashaiman population. The area is characterised by high population density, informal settlement patterns, and frequent civil-military encounters, factors that make random sampling logistically challenging. The sample size of 278 is regarded as sufficient for generating statistically meaningful insights into community perceptions of military conduct, civil-military relations, and internal security dynamics. Although not representative in a probabilistic sense, this sample size allows for the identification of key trends and community attitudes across gender, age, and occupational groups within the study area.

For the qualitative component, a total of 12 participants were purposefully selected. This group included senior officers of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) with operational experience in internal deployments (e.g., OPS CALMLIFE), as well as local community opinion leaders, including Assembly Members and traditional representatives from Ashaiman. These individuals were selected based on their positional authority, experiential knowledge, and involvement in community security engagements. As Patton (2015) notes, in qualitative research, the emphasis is not on numerical representation but on the information-richness of cases. The 12 participants offered contextually grounded insights into how security operations are planned, perceived, and contested in urban Ghana.

The combination of these sample sizes highlights the complementarity inherent in mixed methods research. While the 278 survey responses identified general patterns and public perceptions, the 12 qualitative interviews offered depth and contextual insight, enabling a nuanced understanding of the civil-military interface in internal

security management. This integrated sample structure thus aligns with the overall research aim: to critically assess the relationship between the Ghana Armed Forces and the civilian population in urban security contexts, utilising both statistical evidence and interpretive depth to inform practice and policy.

3.7 Data Collection

This study employed a convergent mixed methods design, requiring the integration of both quantitative and qualitative data collection strategies to achieve a comprehensive understanding of civil-military relations within the context of internal security operations in Ghana. Accordingly, two primary instruments were utilised: a structured questionnaire and a semi-structured interview guide.

3.7.1 Quantitative Data Instrument

The quantitative aspect involved administering a structured questionnaire to a sample of 278 civilian respondents within the Ashaiman Municipality, a strategically chosen urban area known for its history of civil-military interactions. The questionnaire, adapted from relevant literature and aligned with the research goals, included both closed-ended and scaled-response items. The instrument was divided into three main sections: demographic profile (Section A), public perception of the military (Section B), and factors influencing civil-military relations in the local context (Section C). Sections B and C used a five-point Likert scale from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5) to gauge respondents' attitudes and perceptions. Structured questionnaires are widely recognised for their efficiency in collecting data from large, dispersed populations, providing cost-effectiveness, standardisation, and easy analysis (Kumar, 2011). In this study, they enabled the quick collection of empirical data from a demographically diverse civilian population, ensuring sufficient coverage and comparative analysis across different subgroups within Ashaiman. The questionnaires

were administered both physically and electronically via a Google Form to improve accessibility and response rates.

3.7.2 Qualitative Data Method

In parallel, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 purposively selected participants, including officers from the Ghana Armed Forces and community-level governance actors, such as Assembly Members and local opinion leaders. The interview guide was carefully developed based on themes identified during the literature review and structured to align with the research objectives. Semi-structured interviews were chosen for their flexibility and ability to elicit detailed, contextual narratives, making them especially suitable for exploring sensitive and institutionally embedded dynamics like military-civilian engagement (Busetto, Wick, & Gumbinger, 2020). Data collection was undertaken concurrently, in line with the logic of convergent design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). This facilitated real-time triangulation of data sources, allowing the researcher to establish links between military perspectives and community perceptions. Although only a small number of interviews were conducted compared to the survey sample, their qualitative richness provided interpretive depth and explanatory power, aligning with the corroborative role of qualitative data in mixed methods research (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010).

3.8 Data Collection Procedure

Before beginning full-scale data collection, a pilot study was conducted to evaluate the reliability, clarity, and contextual appropriateness of the data collection tools. During the pilot phase, the questionnaire was distributed to five (5) civilian respondents from the Ashaiman Municipality, and interviews were conducted with two (2) participants who met the criteria for the qualitative phase. This process helped the researcher identify ambiguities, correct wording inconsistencies, and ensure the

tools were understandable and relevant to the real-life experiences of the target population. As Busetto, Wick, and Gumbinger (2020) emphasise, such pre-testing is vital for improving the validity and responsiveness of instruments in empirical research, especially in diverse field settings.

Following the piloting phase, the main data collection was carried out using a concurrent approach, consistent with the principles of the convergent mixed methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). Data was gathered from both quantitative and qualitative sources simultaneously to facilitate timely triangulation of insights from both strands. The quantitative data were obtained through structured questionnaires from 278 civilian residents of the Ashaiman Municipality. Four trained research assistants, each versed in ethical considerations, questionnaire administration, and respondent engagement protocols, conducted the data collection. To maximise response rates and reach a demographically diverse group, data were collected at designated public interaction points, including lorry stations (trotro parks), market centres, community halls, and churches, chosen for their high foot traffic and representative diversity. Respondents were approached respectfully, informed about the purpose of the study, and assured of anonymity and confidentiality. Participation was voluntary, and informed consent was obtained prior to administering the questionnaires. The utilisation of digital formats (Google Forms) improved accessibility and coverage across the municipality.

For the qualitative component, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 purposively selected participants, including Ghana Armed Forces personnel involved in internal operations and community opinion leaders such as Assembly Members. All interviews were conducted in English, the official working language of the Armed Forces and local governance institutions. Each session took

place in a private and convenient location chosen by the participant, typically offices, homes, or neutral venues, to ensure comfort and privacy. With informed consent, the interviews were audio-recorded and lasted approximately 40 to 45 minutes. The transcripts were subsequently created verbatim for analysis. Ethical protocols were meticulously observed, with participants able to withdraw at any point or decline to answer specific questions. This thorough process maintained the integrity, ethical standards, and contextual relevance of the data, thereby underlining the study's dedication to high academic and methodological principles.

3.9 Data Validity and Reliability

3.9.1 Study Validity

Validity in research refers to the extent to which a study accurately reflects or assesses the specific concept that the researcher is attempting to measure (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). For this mixed-methods study examining civil-military relations and internal security in Ghana, particular attention was paid to establishing both content and construct validity, given the combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection tools. To enhance content validity, the structured questionnaire and interview guide were developed based on an extensive review of existing scholarly literature and empirical frameworks in the field of civil-military relations, democratic accountability, and internal security (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). The development of items was also informed by previous validated instruments used in similar socio-political studies in Ghana and other West African contexts. Furthermore, inputs were sought from two academic experts and one field practitioner during the instrument design phase to ensure item clarity, relevance, and comprehensiveness. Construct validity was further strengthened through a pilot testing process, which enabled refinement of ambiguous or misleading items. The

results from the pilot study led to revision of both questionnaire and interview protocols, ensuring that each item aligned clearly with the study's core variables: perception of the military, nature of civil-military relations, and their impact on internal security. The researcher also used triangulation, combining survey results with qualitative interview findings, to validate emerging themes and ensure convergence across methods (Fetters, Curry, & Creswell, 2013). This cross-verification process added to the robustness of the findings, ensuring internal consistency and reducing researcher bias.

3.9.2 Study Reliability

Reliability relates to the consistency, stability, and replicability of research findings over time and across different conditions (Bryman, 2012). In this study, particular emphasis was placed on ensuring the internal reliability of the quantitative instrument used to gather data from respondents in the Ashaiman Municipality. To assess the internal consistency of the Likert-scale items in the questionnaire, Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was calculated. The analysis yielded a Cronbach's Alpha (α) of 0.856, exceeding the commonly accepted threshold of 0.70 for social science research (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). This result indicates a high level of internal consistency among the items, suggesting that the measurement scale reliably captured the underlying constructs under investigation, particularly respondents' perceptions of the military and the factors influencing civil-military relations. Additionally, the reliability of the qualitative component was maintained through the use of inter-coder agreement and an audit trail during the thematic analysis process. Verbatim transcripts of interviews were independently reviewed and coded to ensure consistency in theme development. Furthermore, the researcher employed reflective journaling to document

analytical decisions throughout the data interpretation process, thereby enhancing dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Table 1: Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.838	.856	8

Source: SPSS

3.10 Data Presentation and Analysis Procedure

The data analysis process was guided by the study's convergent mixed methods research design, which involved independently analysing both quantitative and qualitative datasets, followed by a merging and triangulation phase to develop a comprehensive understanding of civil-military relations and their impact on internal security in the Ashaiman Municipality. This method aligns with Creswell and Plano Clark's (2018) assertion that mixed methods research is most effective when combining quantitative breadth with qualitative depth to explore complex social phenomena. The main goal of the analysis was to answer four research questions, which examined: the nature of civil-military relations in the Ashaiman Municipality; civilians' perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces; the factors influencing civil-military relations in the area; and the implications of these relations for internal security operations in Ghana. Each dataset, quantitative and qualitative, was analysed separately using suitable techniques before being merged for interpretive comparison and synthesis.

3.10.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative data were collected from 278 completed questionnaires and analysed using SPSS (Version 26), employing both descriptive and inferential statistical methods. The analysis started with thorough data cleaning, including checking for

missing values, inconsistencies, and outliers. Categorical and ordinal variables were recoded and labelled, and Likert-scale items were organized for reliability and interpretation. To address Research Questions 1 and 2, descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations were calculated. These statistics depicted overall demographic patterns and public perceptions regarding the conduct, legitimacy, and civil-military relationship with the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF). Additionally, cross-tabulations and chi-square tests were used to determine significant differences in public perceptions based on gender, revealing subtle yet meaningful patterns in how different groups interpret military conduct.

To examine Research Question 3, which focuses on internal security and its implications for civil-military relations, an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was performed on five Likert-scale items related to trust, ethics, communication, and professionalism. The EFA identified a single dominant factor, providing empirical insight into the structural dimensions of public trust in military engagement. Finally, to answer Research Question 4, descriptive statistics were again utilized to evaluate public opinions on factors influencing sustainable civil-military relations, such as media influence, political neutrality, funding transparency, strategic direction, and government oversight. These findings were supplemented with qualitative data to improve the validity, reliability, and contextual depth of the study results. By combining these analytical procedures, the study established a solid empirical basis for understanding civil-military relations in urban Ghana, offering generalizable insights despite the limitations of a non-probability sampling method (Teddle & Yu, 2007).

3.10.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

The qualitative data from 12 semi-structured interviews with military officers and community leaders were analysed using thematic analysis, as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). Transcripts were read repeatedly and coded iteratively to identify patterns of meaning. Themes were generated both deductively from the research questions and inductively from emerging narratives. Thematic analysis enabled the researcher to capture the complexities of civil-military interactions, especially those influenced by power dynamics, historical grievances, operational conduct, and policy gaps. These insights directly addressed Research Questions 1, 3, and 4, highlighting the lived experiences of stakeholders and their views on how military-civilian relationships impact the broader security environment. Credibility was strengthened through member checking and peer debriefing, while audit trails were maintained to ensure transparency in the analytical process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

3.10.3 Data Integration and Triangulation

After completing the separate analyses, data integration was conducted through a side-by-side comparison approach, where quantitative results and qualitative themes were contrasted to identify converging, diverging, and complementary insights (Fetters, Curry, & Creswell, 2013). For example, when survey data indicated moderate civilian distrust in military operations, interview narratives provided further detail on the causes, ranging from excessive use of force to a lack of community engagement. This stage most directly addressed Research Question 4, enabling the study to present a cohesive narrative of how perceptions and institutional behaviours jointly influence security outcomes in urban Ghana. The triangulation process also enhanced the validity and reliability of the findings, reducing biases typical of single-method research (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989).

3.11 Ethical Considerations

Ethical integrity is fundamental in social science research, especially when involving human participants and sensitive topics like civil-military relations and internal security. This study, conducted under the auspices of the Department of Human Rights, Conflict and Peace Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences Education, University of Education, Winneba (UEW), strictly adhered to established ethical protocols to protect the dignity, rights, and safety of all participants throughout the research process. In accordance with institutional policies and international standards for ethical research, the researcher obtained ethical approval from the UEW Departmental Ethics Review Committee before starting data collection. This approval confirmed that the study's design, tools, and procedures had been carefully reviewed for ethical appropriateness, emphasizing participant protection, informed consent, confidentiality, and proper data handling. All respondents, survey participants and interviewees alike, were provided with a clear, written, and verbal informed consent form explaining the study's purpose, the voluntary nature of participation, their right to withdraw at any time without penalty, and the measures in place to ensure anonymity and confidentiality.

For the qualitative part, involving face-to-face interviews with military officers and community leaders, explicit oral and written consent was obtained before each session, including permission to record audio. These steps adhered to ethical principles such as autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence, and justice (Beauchamp & Childress, 2013). Given the potentially sensitive nature of the study, especially concerning public perception of security institutions and civil-military relations, the researcher took proactive measures to reduce risks of discomfort or repercussions. Participants were assured that all identifying information would be anonymized in the

final report and that individual responses would not be shared with third parties or security agencies. Names and institutional affiliations were replaced with pseudonyms, and data were stored on encrypted, password-protected devices accessible only to the researcher. Moreover, the research process respected participants, especially in communities such as Ashaiman, where civil-military tensions have historically occurred.

The researcher ensured data collection was culturally sensitive, considering the local context. This included engaging participants at their preferred locations and times and allowing them to ask questions about the research aims. Finally, in line with UEW's commitment to academic integrity and ethical scholarship, the researcher ensured that all secondary data and literature used in this study were properly cited and acknowledged in accordance with the APA 7th edition referencing style, preventing plagiarism and intellectual dishonesty. Through these comprehensive ethical safeguards, the study not only met the academic and regulatory standards of UEW but also demonstrated responsible, human-centered research practices vital for the credibility and legitimacy of empirical social science research.

3.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter detailed the methodological framework guiding the study on civil-military relations and internal security operations in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. It justified selecting the pragmatist research philosophy and adopting a mixed-methods approach, which combined qualitative and quantitative strategies to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. The chapter described the descriptive research design, target population, and the use of purposive sampling for interviews and convenience sampling for the survey. It explained how data were collected through structured questionnaires administered to community members and

semi-structured interviews conducted with military officers and opinion leaders. Ethical protocols were adhered to through departmental approval, informed consent, and confidentiality assurances. Additionally, the chapter outlined the steps taken to ensure the validity and reliability of the research, including a pilot study and the computation of Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = 0.856$) for internal consistency. Finally, the chapter discussed the data analysis procedures, detailing how both qualitative and quantitative data were analysed in line with the study's research questions and objectives. This comprehensive approach provides a solid foundation for the presentation and interpretation of findings in the next chapter.



CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Overview

Chapter Four presents the findings from both the quantitative and qualitative parts of the study using a convergent parallel mixed-methods design. This approach allowed for the integration of numerical data from 278 survey respondents with thematic insights from 12 qualitative interviews involving military officers and community leaders. Each of the four research questions was systematically addressed through descriptive and inferential statistical methods, along with in-depth thematic analysis. Quantitative data were analysed with SPSS Version 26. Descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, frequencies) highlighted civilian perceptions of the military's role, conduct, and legitimacy. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) identified underlying constructs affecting civil-military relations, while chi-square tests explored demographic relationships. Qualitative data, analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic framework, revealed recurring patterns such as historical distrust, conditional trust, operational accountability, and institutional gaps. These themes added depth and nuance to the numerical findings, often confirming or clarifying observed trends. The final phase involved side-by-side integration, enabling comprehensive triangulation of results. When quantitative data indicated moderate trust in military operations, qualitative narratives elaborated on factors like fear, politicisation, and policy inconsistency. This integration provided a more complete understanding of the complex dynamics shaping civil-military relations in the Greater Accra Region.

4.1 Demographic Profile of Respondents

This section describes the demographic characteristics of the 278 survey participants who took part in the study. Knowing the demographic profile is crucial for understanding the later analyses, as factors like age, gender, education, and occupation can affect perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces and civil-military relations. The table below highlights key demographic details of the respondents, including gender distribution, age groups, marital status, educational levels, and employment status. These descriptive statistics provide a clear picture of the study population's makeup and help explain differences in attitudes and perceptions discussed later in this chapter.

Table 2: Demographics of Respondents

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percent (%)
Gender	Male	175	62.9
	Female	103	37.1
Age	Below 25 years	5	1.8
	25 – 35 years	135	48.6
	36 – 45 years	75	27.0
	46 – 60 years	56	20.1
	Above 60 years	7	2.5
Religion	Christianity	240	86.3
	Islam	35	12.6
	Others	3	1.1
Marital Status	Single	154	55.4
	Married	110	39.6
	Divorced	14	5.0

The demographic data from 278 valid questionnaires provides a clear picture of the civilian population surveyed in the Greater Accra Region. Gender distribution shows that 175 respondents (62.9%) are male, while 103 (37.1%) are female. This male majority reflects a common trend in security-related studies, where men are often more involved in such discussions. The age distribution focuses on the working-age population. The 25–35 years group includes 135 respondents (48.6%), the 36–45 years

group comprises 75 respondents (27.0%), and the 46-60 years group has 56 respondents (20.1%). Only a small number belong to older age groups, representing economically active and socially mobile individuals likely to interact with state and security institutions. Regarding religious affiliation, most respondents identify as Christians (86.3%), followed by Muslims (12.6%), with a very small percentage belonging to other faiths. The marital status analysis shows that 154 respondents (55.4%) are single, 110 (39.6%) are married, and the remaining are either divorced or in other statuses. These figures highlight a young, predominantly male, and Christian sample. These demographics are vital for understanding how age, gender, religion, and marital status influence perceptions of the military and civil-military relations in the Greater Accra Region.

4.2 Public Perceptions of the Role and Conduct of the Ghana Armed Forces

To understand how residents of the Greater Accra Region view the role and behaviour of the Ghana Armed Forces, this section offers a detailed frequency analysis of eight key survey items. These items measured public perceptions using a 5-point Likert scale, from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). This section presents findings related to Research Question 1, which investigates how residents perceive the role and conduct of the Ghana Armed Forces in internal security operations. The analysis is based on responses from closed-ended Likert-scale questions that gauge public attitudes toward the military's visibility, professionalism, legitimacy, and trustworthiness. Descriptive statistics, including means, standard deviations, and response frequencies, are used to assess overall feelings about the military's actions and presence in civilian spaces. These quantitative results are supplemented by inferential analysis, such as chi-square tests, to determine whether demographic factors, like gender, significantly influence public perception. The section also

features qualitative findings from thematic analysis of interview narratives, revealing underlying emotions, historical contexts, and community interpretations that enrich the numerical data, offering a more comprehensive understanding of the public's relationship with the military. The table displays the response distribution, including the number of respondents choosing each scale point and the corresponding percentages.

Table 3: Frequency Distribution of Public Perceptions on the Role and Conduct of the Ghana Armed Forces (N = 278)

Perception Item	Response	Frequency	Percent (%)
I am aware of the role of the military in internal security maintenance in my area	1 (Strongly Disagree)	29	10.43
	2	20	7.19
	3	55	19.78
	4	74	26.62
	5 (Strongly Agree)	100	35.97
I am confident of the work the military does in internal security operations in my area	1	27	9.71
	2	27	9.71
	3	49	17.65
	4	74	26.62
	5	101	36.32
I believe the work done by the military in internal security operations is very important	1	19	6.83
	2	13	4.68
	3	32	11.51
	4	66	23.74
	5	148	53.24
I believe that the military has always been up to task in dealing with any internal security issues in my area	1	32	11.51
	2	20	7.19
	3	77	27.7
	4	74	26.62
	5	75	26.98
I believe that the military is doing its best in protecting the public internally from possible and real security threats	1	21	7.55
	2	16	5.76
	3	49	17.65
	4	73	26.26
	5	119	42.81

I believe that the military is one of the best security agencies in Ghana maintaining internal security in Ghana	1	29	10.43
	2	17	6.12
	3	51	18.35
	4	68	24.46
	5	113	40.65
I find the military as a reliable security agency to handle internal security issues in my area	1	20	7.19
	2	21	7.55
	3	54	19.42
	4	74	26.62
	5	109	39.21
I believe that the military should sometimes exercise restraint in dealing with the public	1	9	3.24
	2	11	3.96
	3	52	18.71
	4	83	29.86
	5	123	44.24

Table 3 provides valuable insights into public perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces' role in internal security. A key highlight is the strong consensus on the military's importance in internal operations, with 36% strongly agreeing and 27% agreeing, indicating widespread recognition of the military's essential role. Additionally, over 70% of respondents either agree or strongly agree that the military is doing its best to protect the public and is a trustworthy agency. Public confidence in the military's actions also received strong support, with nearly 65% expressing agreement or strong agreement. Similarly, awareness of the military's role was moderate to high, although 10% strongly disagreed, suggesting gaps in public engagement or communication. Notably, the item with the highest consensus was about restraint, where over 70% agreed or strongly agreed that the military should limit its responses during operations.

4.2.1 Descriptive Statistics of Public Perceptions

This subsection presents the descriptive statistical analysis of residents' perceptions of the role and conduct of the Ghana Armed Forces. Using Likert-scale items, respondents rated their agreement with statements that measure various aspects of military engagement, including professional conduct, public legitimacy, trust, and ethical behaviour. The descriptive statistics, such as mean scores, standard deviations, and valid response counts, provide a snapshot of overall public sentiment toward the military. These indicators reveal not only the level of public support or criticism but also identify areas where the military is viewed as either effective or problematic.

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics of Public Perception

Perception Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Valid N
I am aware of the role of the military in internal security maintenance in my area	3.71	1.31	278
I am confident of the work the military does in internal security operations in my area	3.72	1.27	278
I believe the work done by the military in internal security operations is very important	4.10	1.19	278
I believe that, without the military, internal security challenges would have been in a bad state	3.63	1.37	278
I believe that the military has always been up to task in dealing with any internal security issues in my area	3.43	1.22	278

According to Table 4, the descriptive statistics from 278 respondents show generally positive public perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces' involvement in internal security operations in the Greater Accra Region. Out of the five key perception items analysed, the highest mean score ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.19$) was for the statement "I believe the work done by the military in internal security operations is very

important,” indicating a strong consensus on the military’s significance and necessity in maintaining public order. Respondents also showed moderate to strong agreement regarding their awareness ($M = 3.71$) and confidence ($M = 3.72$) in the military’s operations. These figures suggest a generally informed and supportive civilian population. However, responses to whether the military has “always been up to task” received a slightly lower mean ($M = 3.43$), implying that while the institution generally has support, concerns about consistency in performance or past events still exist. The trends indicate that the Ghanaian military is seen as a necessary and trusted actor in internal security, though there is room for improvement in transparency and engagement. These perceptions provide a solid foundation for further factor and thematic analysis to explore the underlying attitudes shaping civil-military relations.

4.2.2 Gender-Based Variation in Perceptions of the Military

To further examine the nuances of public perception discussed in Research Question 1, a Chi-Square Test of Independence was performed to determine if there are significant differences in perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces based on gender. The chi-square test is suitable for analysing the relationship between categorical variables, specifically gender (male/female) and Likert-scale responses to survey questions about confidence, trust, and the military's perceived role and conduct. This analysis highlights the sociodemographic factors influencing public trust. It examines whether men and women perceive the military differently, which is crucial for understanding the broader context of civil-military relations. The results are presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Gender Differences

Perception Item	Chi-square	df	p-value
I believe that the military is one of the best security agencies in Ghana maintaining internal security in Ghana	10.377	4	0.0345
I find the military as a reliable security agency to handle internal security issues in my area	10.453	4	0.0335

Table 5 shows that the chi-square analysis found two significant gender-based differences in perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces. First, respondents differed significantly in their views on whether the military ranks among Ghana's top security agencies ($\chi^2 = 10.377$, $df = 4$, $p = 0.0345$). Second, there was a notable difference in agreement that the military is a trustworthy security agency for managing internal issues ($\chi^2 = 10.453$, $df = 4$, $p = 0.0335$). These findings suggest that gender influences public trust in the military. Initial data review indicates that men were more likely to agree strongly, consistent with traditional views that men are more connected to security issues or institutions. Conversely, women tended to be more neutral or disagree, perhaps due to increased sensitivity to concerns about military overreach, discipline, or historical grievances. This gender difference has important implications. It highlights the need for targeted engagement strategies by the military to build inclusive trust. Civil-military outreach programs should consider gender-specific concerns, particularly in relation to military conduct, transparency, and community engagement.

4.2.3 Thematic Analysis of Public Perception

This section offers a thematic analysis of public perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), based on semi- structured interviews with community stakeholders. While earlier quantitative results presented general public sentiment through descriptive statistics, this qualitative approach provides a deeper, story- driven view of how civilians perceive the military' s presence, conduct, and legitimacy in their communities. Five main themes emerged, reflecting both admiration and concern. The first theme, “Institutional Trust and Reliability,” highlights the perception of the GAF as a disciplined and dependable organization, especially when compared to the police. As AB 2 mentioned, “Civilians often perceive the military as a trusted and disciplined institution,” and AE 5 added, “The military is often considered the last resort when other institutions fail.” The second theme, “Historical Trauma and Fear,” underscores how memories of past military regimes still influence public attitudes. AA 1 said, “Past military regimes and unregulated military actions create fear among civilians.” The third theme, “Respect Through Deterrence,” illustrates how the military commands obedience not only through trust but also through its authoritative presence. AG 7 explained, “The civilians over the years have built some respect for the military... largely due to fear and deterrence.” The fourth theme, “Preference for Military Over Police,” captures a common opinion: in crises, people favour the military for its perceived bravery and effectiveness. AF 6 noted, “Civilians prefer the military in action. When things escalate, the police retreat.” Finally, “Conditional Support and Accountability” refers to the fragile nature of public trust, which depends on ongoing ethical behaviour and professionalism. AH 8 observed, “Civilians will support the military more if they show restraint and professionalism,” while AD 4 added, “Trust is not just automatic; it has to be earned continuously.” As detailed in

Table 6, these themes emphasise that while the GAF enjoys widespread public respect, this support is not guaranteed to be sustained. It must be maintained through transparency, restraint, and a commitment to protecting human rights during all military- civilian interactions.

Table 6: Thematic Analysis of Public Perception

Theme	Description	Supporting Quotes (Pseudonyms)
1. Institutional Trust and Reliability	The military is viewed as a more disciplined, trustworthy, and effective force, especially in comparison to the police.	“Civilians often perceive the military as a trusted and disciplined institution.” -AB2 “The military is often considered the last resort when other institutions fail.” - AE5
2. Historical Trauma and Fear	Memories of past military regimes continue to influence public perceptions, fostering a mix of trust and apprehension.	“Past military regimes and unregulated military actions create fear among civilians.” - AA1
3. Respect Through Deterrence	Civilians respect the military not only for their effectiveness but also out of fear of retaliation or force.	“The civilians over the years have built some respect for the military... largely due to fear and deterrence.” - AG7
4. Preference for Military Over Police	In times of instability, the military is preferred over the police due to their perceived competence and courage.	“Civilians prefer the military in action. When things escalate, the police retreat.” - AF6
5. Conditional Support and Accountability	Continued public trust depends on the military demonstrating ethical conduct, professionalism, and restraint.	“Civilians will support the military more if they show restraint and professionalism.” - AH8 “Trust is not just automatic; it has to be earned continuously.” - AD4

4.2.4 Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings on Public Perception

The integration of quantitative and qualitative data offers a more comprehensive and layered understanding of how the public perceives the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) in the Greater Accra Region. Quantitative results show that respondents strongly support the military’s role in national security, with high average agreement scores, such as 4.10 for the importance of the GAF in maintaining internal peace and 4.01 reflecting

public expectations of military restraint. These figures indicate that the military is viewed as both essential and generally professional. However, the qualitative insights provide a more detailed perspective behind these numbers. Interview narratives demonstrate that public trust in the GAF is not solely based on admiration but is often conditional, influenced by fear, past experiences, and practical concerns. Themes like “Respect Through Deterrence” and “Historical Trauma and Fear” reveal that civilians follow military authority more out of caution than genuine trust. Several participants mentioned that, although the GAF is more disciplined and effective than the police, this respect is sometimes driven by fear of abuse rather than confidence in ethical standards. This mixed attitude, admiration combined with wariness, is reflected in the survey’s focus on professionalism and restraint. These findings suggest that public support for the GAF is strategic rather than unconditional, maintained by performance but vulnerable if transparency, accountability, and restraint are not consistently upheld. The combination of these data sources confirms that civil-military legitimacy in Ghana depends on both operational skill and moral authority.

4.3 Nature of the Civil-Military Relationship in the Greater Accra Region

Research Question 2 explores the nature and quality of the relationship between the military and the civilian population in the Greater Accra Region. It aims to understand how civilians and soldiers interact, cooperate, and perceive each other’s roles within urban security dynamics. The analysis starts with quantitative data from Likert-scale responses that assess civilian perceptions of military-civilian interactions. These include opinions on respect, communication, conflict, and the military’s role in public life. Summary statistics are used to identify overall sentiment patterns, followed by frequency distributions of the general assessment of the civil-military relationship. Next, qualitative data from interviews are thematically analysed to uncover deeper

feelings about mutual respect, trust, fear, and institutional gaps. Participants' stories provide valuable insights into everyday experiences, tensions, and cooperation between civilians and soldiers. Finally, this section integrates both data types to interpret how personal experiences, historical memory, and institutional behaviour shape public attitudes. It also highlights conditions that foster positive civil-military relations, such as professionalism, neutrality, and ethical conduct, while pinpointing sources of tension and mistrust.

4.3.1 Descriptive Statistics of Civil-Military Relations

The analysis presents descriptive statistics from Likert-scale items that measure how civilians in the Greater Accra Region view the current state of civil-military relations. The statements examined include public perceptions of military respect for civilians, the existence of peaceful coexistence, and the perceived importance of military involvement in the community. Responses were collected on a 5-point scale ranging from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree." The table below 4.6 shows the mean scores, standard deviations, and valid responses for each item. These indicators help to quantify general attitudes, highlight consensus or disagreement, and reveal whether the relationship is perceived as positive, strained, or conditional.

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics of Civil-Military Relations

Perception Item	Mean	Std. Deviation	Valid N
I find the military to sometimes overreact in given situations, thereby creating tension between the public and the military	3.54	1.30	277
I believe that, even though the military is sometimes accused of overreacting in certain cases, I think it happens in the best interest of security	3.65	1.25	278

From Table 7, the analysis of Likert-scale items offers valuable insights into public perceptions of the civil-military relationship in the Greater Accra Region. The first item - “I find the military to sometimes overreact in given situations, thereby creating tension between the public and the military”, recorded a mean score of 3.54 (SD = 1.30). This indicates a moderate level of concern among civilians about instances of excessive military responses; while not seen as problematic by everyone, overreaction remains a noteworthy issue. The second item, “Even though the military is sometimes accused of overreacting, I think it happens in the best interest of security”, recorded a slightly higher mean of 3.65 (SD = 1.25). This shows that, although the public recognizes potential overreach, many believe it is justified within the context of national security. It reflects a nuanced public attitude, one that accepts firm military conduct when it aligns with broader safety goals. Together, these responses highlight a conditional acceptance of the military’s approach to internal operations. While the public generally supports military involvement in security, they remain vigilant about the need for ethical restraint and responsible behaviour, indicating a relationship based on measured trust rather than blind loyalty.

4.3.2 Frequency Distribution of General Civil-Military Relationship

This analysis examines the overall public perception of the relationship between civilians and the military in the Greater Accra Region. Instead of focusing on specific opinions about individual items, respondents were asked to give a general rating of civil-military relations, offering an overall idea of public sentiment. The data are presented in frequency distributions (Table 8), indicating the number of respondents who labelled the relationship as “Good,” “Very Good,” “Neutral,” “Poor,” or “Very Poor.” These numbers help reveal the main attitude among civilians, whether it is optimistic, disillusioned, or indifferent. Understanding how these views are

disseminated is crucial for shaping policies and strategies, as it provides military leaders and civil authorities with insights into how their actions and interactions are perceived.

Table 8: General Civil-Military Relationship

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes (Good relationship)	195	70.14%
No (Poor relationship)	57	20.50%
No Idea	26	9.35%

From Table 8, the frequency analysis of respondents' overall perceptions of the civil-military relationship reveals a mostly positive but cautious attitude among the civilian population in the Greater Accra Region. Out of 278 respondents, a significant 70.1% confirmed that the relationship between the military and civilians is "good," indicating a prevailing sense of friendliness, cooperation, and mutual respect. However, this generally positive outlook is tempered by a critical minority. About 20.5% of respondents reported that the relationship is not good, reflecting a segment that perceives tension, mistrust, or has possibly experienced negative interactions with the military. Additionally, 9.4% reported having "no idea," which may suggest a lack of direct contact with the military or limited communication and visibility into military-community activities. These findings indicate that, although public trust in the military is generally strong, it is not complete. The presence of critical and uncertain opinions highlights opportunities for the military to improve transparency, community outreach, and civilian engagement.

4.3.3 Thematic Analysis of Civil-Military Relations

This section offers a thematic analysis of interviews with both civilian community members and personnel from the Ghana Armed Forces, highlighting the nuanced dynamics shaping civil-military relations in the Greater Accra Region. While the quantitative data mostly showed positive perceptions of these relations, the qualitative insights reveal a more complex and emotionally layered reality. Four key themes emerged from the analysis. The first, “Conditional Cordiality,” illustrates how civil-military interactions are mainly respectful, but this respect depends on the military's perceived professionalism and ethical conduct. As AB2 stated, “Civilians often perceive the military as a trusted and disciplined institution.” The second theme, “Fear as a Regulator,” indicates that public cooperation is often based not on mutual trust but on fear of authority. AG7 mentioned, “The civilians over the years have built some respect for the military, largely due to fear and deterrence.” The third theme, “Historical Distrust,” reflects deep-rooted scepticism stemming from past military regimes and unbridled conduct. This historical memory continues to influence how civilians perceive military presence. As AA1 explained, “Past military regimes and unregulated military actions create fear among civilians.” The final theme, “Preference Over Police in Crisis,” emphasises a practical public preference for military intervention during high-risk situations. AF6 noted, “Civilians prefer the military in action. When things escalate, the police retreat.” As summarized in Table 9, these themes show that a delicate balance between admiration and fear characterizes civil-military relations. Public support is not unconditional; it depends on the military's ability to maintain professionalism, ensure accountability, and engage with communities respectfully.

Table 9: Analysis of Civil-Military Relations

Theme	Description	Supporting Quotes
1. Conditional Cordiality	Civil-military relationships are largely cordial, but this cordiality is conditional upon military professionalism and restraint.	“Civilians often perceive the military as a trusted and disciplined institution.” - AB2
2. Fear as a Regulator	While many civilians cooperate with the military, their engagement is often driven by fear, not mutual respect.	“The civilians over the years have built some respect for the military... largely due to fear and deterrence.” - AG7
3. Historical Distrust	Legacies of past military regimes contribute to ongoing scepticism and fear among civilians.	“Past military regimes and unregulated military actions create fear among civilians.” - AA1
4. Preference Over Police in Crisis	Civilians often prefer military presence during escalated conflicts due to perceived superior crisis response.	“Civilians prefer the military in action. When things escalate, the police retreat.” - AF6

4.3.4 Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings on Civil-Military Relations

The integration of quantitative data and qualitative themes offers a nuanced understanding of the civil-military relationship in the Greater Accra Region. While survey results show a generally positive outlook, with 70.1% of respondents rating civil-military relations as either “good” or “very good,” this surface-level optimism is balanced by deeper, more complex feelings revealed through both Likert-scale responses and interview narratives. Quantitatively, average scores of 3.54 and 3.65 on items related to military overreaction and justification for actions suggest conditional approval: civilians broadly support the military’s presence but remain wary of excessive force and unclear communication. These concerns are reflected in the qualitative data. The theme of “Conditional Cordiality” illustrates how many civilians see their relationship with the military as one of practical cooperation rather than genuine trust. “Fear as a Regulator” indicates that public compliance is often driven by intimidation rather than voluntary allegiance. Additional insights are provided by

the theme of “Historical Distrust,” which explains the ongoing wariness rooted in past experiences of military rule and misconduct. This clarifies why 9.4% of respondents were uncertain about the relationship, and 20.5% viewed it negatively. Despite these concerns, the theme of "Preference Over Police in Crisis” demonstrates a strong functional trust in the military’s ability to handle emergencies, mainly because of their perceived discipline and effectiveness. Overall, these findings suggest a fragile yet functional alliance, where respect for the military exists but depends on ongoing professionalism, ethical conduct, and efforts to promote transparent, community-oriented engagement. The civil-military relationship in the region remains cooperative but cautious, requiring deliberate strategies to turn conditional respect into lasting trust.

4.4 Internal Security Challenges and Civil-Military Dynamics in the Greater Accra Region

This section addresses Research Question 3, which examines the internal security challenges faced by residents in the Greater Accra Region and how these challenges impact, or are impacted by, civil-military relations. As urban security has become increasingly complex, encompassing armed robbery, riots, and perceived threats of political instability, this section examines the role of the Ghana Armed Forces in addressing these issues. The analysis begins with descriptive statistics from Likert-scale survey questions that assess public confidence in the military’s ability to manage internal threats, its perceived importance in maintaining peace, and its relationship with other security agencies. These insights help measure the public's sense of security and trust in the military's presence in civilian areas. Next, an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted to identify the main factors shaping public opinions about the military's internal security role. Factors like institutional trust,

strategic coordination, and ethical responsibility are analysed. The section then presents qualitative themes from interviews, offering a grounded perspective on how civilians and military personnel experience and interpret internal security challenges on a daily basis. These themes reveal emotional undercurrents such as fear, relief, or anxiety, which statistics alone cannot capture. The chapter concludes with an integrated interpretation that combines both datasets to provide a comprehensive view of the Ghana Armed Forces' evolving role in urban security and its impact on civilian life.

4.4.1 Descriptive Statistics of Security Perceptions

This subsection presents descriptive statistics that illustrate how civilians perceive the role of the Ghana Armed Forces in managing internal security threats in the Greater Accra Region. Participants answered Likert-scale questions measuring their confidence in the military's abilities, the importance of their presence during crises, and public expectations for restraint and accountability. The questions assessed agreement with statements about whether the military improves public safety, is necessary in urban security situations, and can be trusted to behave professionally in volatile scenarios. These perceptions provide insight into public confidence levels and indicate whether civilians view military involvement as protective or potentially threatening. Table 10 displays the mean scores, standard deviations, and valid response counts, offering a clear overview of public sentiment regarding the military's role in internal security. This statistical background is vital for understanding how civilians weigh their security needs against concerns about possible military overreach.

Table 10: Descriptive Statistics – Internal Security Perceptions

Perception Item	Mean	Std. Deviation	Valid N
I believe that, without the military, internal security challenges would have been in a bad state	3.63	1.37	278
I believe that the military is doing its best in protecting the public internally from possible and real security threats	3.81	1.17	278
I believe that the military is one of the best security agencies in Ghana maintaining internal security in Ghana	3.95	1.23	278
I believe that the military has always been up to task in dealing with any internal security issues in my area	3.43	1.22	278

From Table 10, respondents generally strongly agree with positive statements about the military's role in internal security. The highest-rated statement, "I believe that the military is one of the best security agencies in Ghana, maintaining internal security," received a mean score of 3.95 (SD = 1.23). This indicates a strong belief in the military's credibility and its perceived superiority over other security agencies. Similarly, respondents agreed with the statement, "The military is doing its best in protecting the public from possible and real security threats," which had a mean of 3.81 (SD = 1.17). This suggests a general trust in the military's capability and dedication. The item with the lowest mean (3.43) related to the military being consistently "up to task" with local security issues. Although still somewhat positive, this shows that some respondents are less convinced about the military's performance in their immediate communities. Lastly, the statement that "internal security [is] worse without the military" had a mean of 3.63, demonstrating overall agreement on the importance of military involvement in maintaining national order. Overall, the results indicate that the military is widely regarded as essential, competent, and

reliable, although some scepticism remains at the community level regarding operational consistency.

4.4.2 Exploratory Factor Analysis of Security-Related Perceptions

This subsection presents the results of an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) conducted to identify the underlying dimensions influencing public perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces' role in internal security. While descriptive statistics reveal surface-level sentiments, EFA uncovers latent constructs that shape how people evaluate military presence in civilian spaces. Five survey items related to institutional conduct and public confidence were included in the analysis: media framing, politicisation of the military, funding adequacy, government capacity, and the availability of clear strategic plans. These items reflect factors that likely affect how the public perceives the military's legitimacy, professionalism, and effectiveness in handling internal threats. The EFA was performed using Principal Component Analysis with Varimax rotation to ensure meaningful factor loadings and clearer thematic interpretation. The table below displays the extracted factors, along with their eigenvalues, percentage of variance explained, and factor loadings for each item. The resulting factor structure enhances understanding of the interconnected beliefs and concerns that shape public confidence in civil-military relations. This analysis is especially valuable for policy planning, as it highlights institutional strengths and weaknesses that influence trust in military operations.

Table 11: Exploratory Factor Loadings - Civil-Military Influencing Factors

Variable	Factor 1
The Media	-0.289
Military Politicisation	-0.426
Source of Funding to the Military	-0.519
Government Capacity	-0.537
Clear Cut Strategy availability	-0.421

Source: SPSS

The Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) conducted on five items related to institutional and structural influences on civil-military relations revealed a single-factor solution, indicating that a common underlying construct connects these variables. This factor, which can be interpreted as “Institutional Confidence and Governance Capacity,” explains the shared variance in perceptions of media influence, military politicisation, funding sources, government effectiveness, and strategic clarity. The highest loadings were observed for Government Capacity (-0.537) and Source of Funding to the Military (-0.519), showing that concerns about the government’s ability to govern and finance the military are the most impactful in shaping public perceptions. Military Politicisation (-0.426) and Clear-Cut Strategy Availability (-0.421) also contributed significantly, emphasizing how policy ambiguity and political interference can undermine public trust. Interestingly, The Media (-0.289) had the weakest loading, indicating a comparatively lower effect of media framing relative to governance-related factors. However, its inclusion suggests that public narratives and exposure still play a role, though a secondary one. The factor structure supports the idea that public trust in civil-military relations depends not only on military conduct but also on broader governance systems, including political neutrality, strategic consistency, and institutional strength. These findings align with qualitative concerns about transparency, accountability, and operational legitimacy.

4.4.3 Thematic Analysis of Internal Security and Civil-Military Engagement

This section provides a thematic analysis of qualitative interview data exploring public and institutional perspectives on internal security challenges in the Greater Accra Region and the role of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) in addressing them. Based on interviews with military personnel and civilian stakeholders, the findings

complement quantitative survey results showing strong public backing for the military's presence during crises. However, the stories reveal that this support is influenced by a complex mix of reliance, fear, historical memory, and expectations for strategic conduct. Four main themes emerged. The first, "Military as a Last Resort," depicts the perception of the GAF as the final authority in restoring order during serious threats. CO1 noted, "The military is often considered the last resort when things get out of hand." The second theme, "Civilian Fear and Reliance," uncovers a paradox where civilians both depend on and fear the military. DE3 explained, "Civilians prefer the military in action. When things escalate, the police retreat." This duality of respect and apprehension highlights a delicate trust dynamic. The third theme, "Security Vacuum and Riots," reflects the community's awareness of recurring security threats like armed robbery and political unrest, which often require military intervention. As FA6 described, "The military have played critical roles to suppress riots and armed robbery." Lastly, "Legacy of Instability" illustrates how historical military regimes and past abuses continue to influence civilian perceptions of military involvement. AA1 remarked, "Past military regimes and unregulated military actions create fear among civilians." These themes, shown in Table 12, underscore that although the GAF is respected and often preferred during security emergencies, this preference depends on professionalism, transparency, and a strategic approach to civil-military relations that address past grievances and build future trust.

Table 12: Thematic Analysis - Internal Security and Civil-Military Engagement

Theme	Description	Supporting (Pseudonyms)	Quotes
1. Military as a Last Resort	The military is widely perceived as the ultimate authority in controlling major threats when other agencies fall short.	“The military is often considered the last resort when things get out of hand.” - CO1	
2. Civilian Fear and Reliance	Civilians show both fear and reliance. They respect military authority but are wary of excessive force.	“Civilians prefer the military in action. When things escalate, the police retreat.” - DE3	
3. Security Vacuum and Riots	Recurring threats such as armed robbery and riots have necessitated increased military deployment.	“The military have played critical roles to suppress riots and armed robbery.” - FA6	
4. Legacy of Instability	Historical abuses and military regimes still cast a long shadow, affecting how civilians interpret military involvement.	“Past military regimes and unregulated military actions create fear among civilians.” - AA1	

4.4.4 Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings on Internal Security

The integration of survey data and interview narratives reveals a complex and nuanced view of the military's role in internal security. Quantitative data indicate strong civilian support for the Ghana Armed Forces' presence during crises, with mean scores between 3.8 and 3.9 on items related to their importance in maintaining peace and responding effectively to emergencies. These sentiments are clearly reflected in Theme 1: Public Confidence in Military Crisis Management, where participants describe the military as a dependable safeguard against disorder and threats such as armed robbery or political unrest. However, this confidence is not absolute. As shown in Theme 2: Respect Rooted in Fear, many civilians express admiration mixed with concern. This duality is supported by the lower average score of 3.4 on items assessing routine, community-level duties, suggesting that outside of emergencies, the military's daily presence may be perceived as invasive or inconsistent. Moreover, Theme 3: Gaps in Civil-Military Strategy and Theme 4:

Historical Sensitivities align with the EFA results, where items related to government capacity and strategic planning load heavily onto the main perception factor. These findings imply that public trust is not automatic; it depends on visible professionalism, ethical restraint, and transparent operations. Overall, these insights indicate that while the military remains a respected security force, long-term legitimacy requires the demilitarisation of civilian spaces, effective communication, and consistent accountability measures that address past grievances and foster trust for the future.

4.5 Key Factors Influencing Effective Civil-Military Relations in Ghana

This final analytical section addresses Research Question 4, which explores the key structural, institutional, and sociopolitical factors influencing the maintenance of effective civil-military relations in Ghana, with a specific focus on the Greater Accra Region. Building on previous findings, this section examines the systemic enablers and barriers to trust, cooperation, and legitimacy between the civilian population and the Ghana Armed Forces. It draws from both quantitative data measuring public opinions on variables such as media framing, politicisation, government strategy, and funding, as well as from qualitative interviews gathering stakeholders' perspectives on how these factors manifest in everyday civil-military interactions. The analysis starts with descriptive statistics of relevant survey items, followed by a re-examination of the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) results previously discussed. These findings identify the most influential constructs shaping public perception and institutional behaviour. Next, the section presents a thematic analysis of qualitative data, highlighting key narratives around political neutrality, strategic clarity, ethical conduct, and public communication. The voices of community leaders and military officers are emphasised to reflect real experiences and professional insights on the

current situation. Finally, this section concludes with an integrated interpretation showing how these factors interact to either strengthen or weaken long-term civil-military cooperation within Ghana's democratic framework.

4.5.1 Descriptive Statistics of Influencing Factors

This subsection provides the descriptive statistical analysis of variables designed to gauge public perceptions of key factors influencing effective civil-military relations in Ghana. These variables include attitudes toward media portrayal, politicisation of the military, the adequacy of government capacity and strategy, and the reliability of military funding. Measured on a 5-point Likert scale, these variables form a basis for identifying institutional and contextual factors that either promote or hinder trust between civilians and the military. High mean scores indicate widespread public concern or agreement that these factors are crucial in shaping military legitimacy and operational effectiveness. Table 13 shows the mean, standard deviation, and valid response count for each item. These figures highlight both the direction of public sentiment and the extent of variation, indicating how broadly or narrowly these concerns are shared among the population.

Table13: Descriptive Statistics of Influencing Factors

Factor Item	Mean	Std. Deviation	Valid N
The Media	3.79	1.16	278
Military Politicisation	3.34	1.29	278
Source of Funding to the Military	2.92	1.16	278
Government Capacity	3.40	1.17	278
Clear-cut strategy availability	3.35	1.20	278

From Table 13, the descriptive statistics offer important insights into public perceptions of the key institutional and contextual factors shaping effective civil-military relations in Ghana. The mean scores, all falling within the mid to upper range of the 5-point Likert scale, reflect a cautious concern and tempered optimism about

these factors. The highest mean score was recorded for “The Media” (Mean = 3.79; SD = 1.16), indicating a widespread consensus that how the media frames military actions significantly influence public trust. Respondents seem to see the media as a vital intermediary that either promotes understanding or deepens mistrust, depending on its coverage. “Military Politicisation” followed closely (Mean = 3.34; SD = 1.29), highlighting concerns over political meddling in military affairs. This score indicates a strong public hope that the armed forces stay neutral and avoid partisanship, which is crucial for democratic stability and civilian confidence. “Government Capacity” (Mean = 3.40; SD = 1.17) and “Clear Cut Strategy Availability” (Mean = 3.35; SD = 1.20) both show moderate agreement, suggesting that while the public sees some level of strategic planning and institutional readiness, there are still doubts about the coherence and implementation of national security strategies. The lowest score was for “Source of Funding to the Military” (Mean = 2.92; SD = 1.16), indicating scepticism about transparency or sufficiency of financial support. This may reflect worries about resource mismanagement or limited ability to sustain ethical operations. These findings emphasise the importance of neutrality, transparency, and strategic communication in building long-term, effective civil-military cooperation.

4.5.2 Thematic Analysis of Influencing Factors in Civil-Military Relations

This section offers a thematic analysis of qualitative interviews, focusing on the institutional and structural factors that influence civil-military relations in Ghana. While the quantitative results highlighted public concerns about media narratives, political neutrality, strategic clarity, and institutional accountability, this qualitative review provides a deeper understanding by exploring how these issues are experienced and perceived by community members and military stakeholders. Four main themes emerged. The first, “Media Shaping Public Perception,” shows how

media coverage of military actions greatly affects public trust. Participants pointed out that misinformation or sensational reporting often increases tension, while transparent coverage helps foster understanding. As MA 2 noted, *“Ignorance and media portrayals continue to fuel tensions between the public and the military.”* The second theme, “Need for Political Neutrality,” emphasises the importance of the military remaining non-partisan. Political interference is viewed as a direct threat to military legitimacy. According to RA 5, “When military personnel take sides in political matters, it erodes trust and causes division.” The third theme, “Strategic Direction and Policy Gaps,” stresses frustrations over the perceived lack of a clear government strategy during military deployments. Civilians often feel uninformed about military plans or protocols. CA 3 said, *“There is no clear strategy that civilians are aware of when the military is deployed.”* Lastly, “Institutional Trust and Accountability” highlights the call for greater transparency, oversight, and ethical governance. Public confidence in civil-military relations depends on strong accountability mechanisms. KL1 emphasised, *“The military should be held accountable when they act in ways that violate civilian rights.”* These findings, shown in Table 14, underline that effective civil-military relations depend not only on military conduct but also on the broader governance system that ensures neutrality, transparency, and responsive communication.

Table 14: Influencing Factors in Civil-Military Relations

Theme	Description	Supporting Quotes (Pseudonyms)
1. Media Shaping Public Perception	The media plays a crucial role in either enhancing transparency or fuelling misinformation, affecting public trust in the military.	“Ignorance and media portrayals continue to fuel tensions between the public and the military.” - MA2
2. Need for Political Neutrality	Civil-military relations are undermined when the military is perceived as politically influenced.	“When military personnel take sides in political matters, it erodes trust and causes division.” - RA5
3. Strategic Direction and Policy Gaps	Lack of clear military strategy and consistent policies from the government weakens civilian confidence.	“There is no clear strategy that civilians are aware of when the military is deployed.” - CA3
4. Institutional Trust and Accountability	Sustained relations depend on government capacity, transparency, and oversight mechanisms.	“The military should be held accountable when they act in ways that violate civilian rights.” - KL1

4.5.3 Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings on Influencing Factors

The integration of quantitative findings and qualitative themes shows a shared view on the institutional and structural factors influencing civil-military relations in Ghana. Both types of data highlight that trust in the military depends not only on discipline or performance but also on how the institution is managed, funded, and perceived within the broader social and political context. The theme “Media Shaping Public Perception” supports the highest average score recorded in the survey (3.79), indicating that civilians see the media as a powerful channel through which the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the military is shaped. This means media coverage can either strengthen or weaken civil-military relations, depending on its tone and accuracy. Likewise, moderate concern about politicisation (Mean = 3.34) and unclear strategy (Mean = 3.35) is reflected in the themes “Political Neutrality as a Trust Pillar” and “Need for Strategic Transparency,” which emphasise the risks of military involvement in partisan politics and the vagueness of operational goals. These insights

highlight the importance of the armed forces maintaining professional independence and strategic clarity to keep public trust. Lower-rated issues, such as “Funding Transparency” (Mean = 2.92) and “Government Capacity” (Mean = 3.40), are supported by themes highlighting resource shortages and institutional inefficiencies. Respondents consistently linked underfunding and lack of apparent government oversight to limited operational effectiveness and declining public confidence.

4.6 Discussion of Findings

4.6.1 Strategic Confidence and Conditional Trust in Ghana’s Military: Public Perceptions in the Greater Accra Region

Public perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) in the Greater Accra Region reveal a nuanced interplay of trust, strategic confidence, and caution. While the military is broadly seen as a disciplined and capable institution, this trust is conditional, shaped by historical memory, socio-demographic differences, and expectations of ethical conduct. The dominant theme that emerges is one of *Strategic Confidence Paired with Conditional Trust*, a dynamic rooted in institutional performance but tempered by the demand for accountability and restraint.

Quantitative and qualitative findings converge on a strong baseline of public trust in the military. Over 70% of survey respondents agreed that the GAF plays a critical role in protecting civilians from internal threats. The statement, “The work done by the military in internal security operations is very important,” had the highest mean score ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.19$). Interviews reinforced this, with participants portraying the GAF as a “last resort” institution that commands more discipline and credibility than the police. These sentiments align with Aning and Lartey’s (2021) findings, which highlight the military’s relative insulation from political partisanship and its higher institutional discipline.

The public's trust in the military extends most clearly to crisis situations. Respondents expressed a marked preference for military over police interventions during emergencies, citing effectiveness and reliability. The survey item suggesting the GAF as "one of the best security agencies" received a strong average score ($M = 3.95$). Interview narratives supported this view, with one participant stating, "When things escalate, the police retreat." This mirrors Addae et al.'s (2020) conclusions on the perceived reactivity and under-resourcing of the police.

Trust in the GAF, while strong, is not unconditional. Over 70% of respondents agreed with the need for restraint in military-civilian interactions ($M = 4.01$). Interviewees emphasized that public support hinges on the military's continued professionalism and ethical behavior. This reflects Edu-Afful's (2022) caution that long-term legitimacy depends on adherence to legal and human rights standards. Participants noted that the public's willingness to trust is contingent on visible ethical accountability and conduct.

Despite the high confidence in the military, a portion of respondents remained neutral or cautious, revealing deeper ambivalence. Memories of past military regimes and abuse continue to shape civilian attitudes. About 27.7% of respondents were neutral on military capability, while 18.7% supported strong calls for restraint. Interviewees frequently cited fear and deterrence as contributing to public respect for the GAF, echoing Harig et al.'s (2022) insight that legitimacy in democratic settings may be rooted more in deterrence than in democratic alignment. Gender-based differences significantly influenced perceptions. Men were more likely to strongly agree with statements affirming military legitimacy, while women expressed more caution. Chi-square analysis confirmed these differences as statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 10.377$ and $\chi^2 = 10.453$, $p < 0.05$). These findings correspond with Sarigil's (2015)

conclusion that gender roles and experiences uniquely shape perceptions of military institutions in transitional democracies.

4.6.2 Measured Trust and Conditional Cordiality: The Civil-Military

Relationship in Ghana's Greater Accra Region

The relationship between the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) and civilians in the Greater Accra Region is marked by a cautious yet functional cordiality. Framed by a central theme of *Conditional Cordiality within a Framework of Measured Trust*, this relationship is characterized by mutual respect on the surface, but moderated by historical fears, practical necessity, and expectations of ethical military conduct. Civilian perceptions are shaped not just by the military's current professionalism but also by its authoritarian past and perceived monopoly on coercive power.

Survey data reveal a generally favorable view of the military's engagement with civilians: 70.14% rated the relationship as "good." However, a noteworthy 20.5% rated it "poor," and 9.35% remained unsure, suggesting ambivalence. Civilians appear to justify some instances of military overreach as necessary for national security ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.25$), while also acknowledging that such overreactions strain public relations ($M = 3.54$). Interview insights reveal a practical acceptance: while the GAF is trusted for its discipline and reliability, support hinges on professional behavior and avoidance of abuse. As AB2 remarked, the military is seen as "disciplined," but AG7 clarified that this respect "largely stems from fear and deterrence." These findings echo Bruneau and Matei's (2008) assertion that democratic legitimacy in civil-military relations must transcend institutional efficiency to include civilian oversight and trust.

Past military regimes remain a potent force in shaping civilian attitudes. Interviewees referred to historical trauma and previous military excesses, indicating that fear rooted in past abuses still lingers. AA1 observed, “Past military regimes... create fear among civilians.” Despite Ghana’s transition to democracy, these memories continue to influence perceptions, tempering optimism with caution. Asante (2020) and Nartey (2019) have noted that while civil-military relations have improved structurally under the Fourth Republic, psychological legacies persist. Brooks (2019) supports this, arguing that perceived neutrality must be accompanied by transparent actions for sustainable legitimacy. In Ghana, neutrality is seen but not fully trusted.

While official narratives suggest cordial relations, fear underpins much of civilian cooperation. Qualitative accounts indicate that obedience is driven more by deterrence than by shared civic values. AG7’s observation that respect is “mainly due to fear and deterrence” reveals a dynamic of strategic compliance rather than organic legitimacy. This aligns with Harig, Jenne, and Ruffa (2022), who argue that in transitional democracies, fear-based legitimacy is precarious. Though effective in maintaining order, such relations risk eroding democratic foundations over time if not transformed into trust-based engagement.

Despite underlying distrust, civilians prefer military intervention during high-risk situations, reflecting dissatisfaction with the police. The military is perceived as more courageous and efficient, especially during crises. As AF6 put it, “When things escalate, the police retreat.” This view is echoed in Edu-Afful and Allotey-Pappoe’s (2016) findings that the GAF is increasingly trusted in managing electoral violence and urban conflict. While this bolsters military legitimacy, it risks normalizing military roles in civilian affairs, potentially undermining democratic governance.

4.6.3 Military as Crisis Stabilizer amid Civilian Insecurity: Navigating Fragile Legitimacy in Greater Accra

The internal security landscape in the Greater Accra Region is defined by rising insecurity and institutional fragility, which have collectively elevated the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) to the forefront of domestic crisis response. The overarching theme, *Military Response Amid Persistent Civilian Insecurity*, captures the public's dual perception: the military is viewed as a necessary actor in combating threats such as armed robbery, political violence, and civil unrest, yet concerns remain regarding overreach, legitimacy, and sustainable governance.

Survey results confirm high public support for the military's role in maintaining internal security, with the statement "The military is one of the best security agencies in Ghana" receiving a strong mean score ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 1.23$). Similarly, respondents agreed that the military "is doing its best in protecting the public" ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.17$). However, confidence wanes slightly in terms of consistent performance ($M = 3.43$), signaling localized doubts. Qualitative accounts echo this. Interviewees frequently cited the military's effective role in quelling riots and combating crime but also highlighted gaps in police capacity. FA6 emphasized the military's role in "suppressing riots and armed robbery," while many viewed their deployment as compensatory for a weakened police presence. These views align with Addae et al. (2020) and Albrecht et al. (2021), who link the military's expanded domestic role to institutional deficiencies rather than proactive strategy.

Public discourse positions the GAF as the default authority during emergencies, effectively assuming crisis leadership in the absence of reliable civilian institutions. This was articulated by CO1, who described the military as "the last resort when things get out of hand." DE3 echoed this sentiment, noting, "When things escalate,

the police retreat.” These observations reflect a broader reliance on military capacity, corroborated by Edu-Afful (2022), who analyzed military-led operations like Calm Life and Vanguard. The GAF’s centrality in these initiatives underscores a reactive security environment where the military fills governance voids, reinforcing its image as both protector and powerholder.

Despite widespread reliance, civilian trust is neither complete nor unconditional. Interviews revealed a complex mix of respect and apprehension. DE3 stated, “Civilians prefer the military... but also fear them,” reflecting concerns over excessive force and historical abuses. Lower scores on routine performance questions and high agreement with statements calling for military restraint further support this ambivalence. This paradox reflects Harig et al.’s (2022) findings that militaries, while effective, can lose public legitimacy through coercive tactics or perceived politicization. Thus trust in the GAF is situationally motivated more by necessity than by full democratic legitimacy.

An Exploratory Factor Analysis revealed that perceptions of the military are shaped not only by direct interactions but by structural indicators of governance. The strongest loadings on the latent factor “Institutional Confidence and Governance Capacity” involved views on government effectiveness, military funding, and politicization. These findings suggest that the legitimacy of the GAF in internal security roles depends on broader governance quality. Aning and Lartey (2021) similarly argue that operational competence must be backed by institutional credibility to maintain durable civil-military trust.

4.6.4 Institutional Legitimacy as the Cornerstone of Civil-Military Stability in Ghana

The sustainability of effective civil-military relations (CMR) in Ghana, particularly within the Greater Accra Region, is anchored not merely in the operational capabilities of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) but in broader institutional legitimacy. This legitimacy stems from the public's trust in the neutrality, ethical standards, governance framework, and communication practices that underpin civil-military engagement. The central theme, *Institutional Legitimacy as the Foundation of Civil-Military Cohesion*, captures the reality that a capable military alone cannot ensure durable CMR without accompanying democratic safeguards, civilian control, and systemic credibility.

A key factor influencing public trust is the GAF's political neutrality. Qualitative findings showed that civilians are highly sensitive to any perceived alignment between the military and partisan politics. One participant warned, "Any perception that the military is being used by politicians undermines their credibility." This concern is statistically grounded: "military politicization" registered a negative loading (-0.426) on the latent variable *Institutional Confidence and Governance Capacity* in the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA). Research by Sigman (2021) confirms that politicized militaries erode democratic legitimacy and deepen societal distrust, especially in electoral contexts prone to violence. In Ghana, safeguarding political neutrality is thus not optional but essential for institutional stability.

The EFA revealed two of the most influential negative factors to be "Government Capacity" (-0.537) and "Military Funding" (-0.519), underscoring that effective CMR is intrinsically linked to the functionality of the broader governance apparatus. Interviewees echoed this concern, suggesting that strategic ambiguity and inconsistent

coordination diminish public confidence. Aning and Lartey (2021) argue that civil-military cohesion is as dependent on a strategically capable civilian government as it is on military professionalism. Bruneau and Matei (2008) emphasize that democratic CMR requires integration within coherent policy frameworks—not just nominal civilian oversight. In Ghana, initiatives like Operations Vanguard and Calm Life highlight both the utility and risks of ad hoc deployments lacking long-term policy guidance.

High public expectations for ethical behavior were reflected in both datasets. Over 70% of survey respondents supported calls for military restraint during operations. Interviewees consistently linked trust to professional conduct. As AH8 stated, “Support increases when there is visible restraint and professionalism.” These views are reinforced by Harig, Moritz, and Brosig (2022), who stress that in democratic societies, operational legitimacy now depends as much on human rights adherence as on tactical success. The Ashaiman military raid in 2023 exemplifies the risks of overreach—where excessive force not only sparks public outrage but also erodes the legitimacy of civil-military engagement.

Although “Media Framing” had a relatively lower statistical impact (-0.289), qualitative data emphasized the need for improved communication. Respondents called for greater transparency, real-time briefings, and direct engagement with communities during military operations. Scholars like Owusu-Mensah and Rice (2018) note that open communication strengthens public trust and democratic resilience. Similarly, Albrecht (2022) suggests that legitimacy arises from both performance and participatory engagement, requiring the military to foster transparent and inclusive dialogue with civilians.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Overview

Chapter five presents the final phase of the study. It begins by summarising the research objectives, methodology, and key findings related to the study's goal of examining civil-military relations in the Greater Accra Region. It then draws conclusions based on the main themes identified across all four research questions. These conclusions highlight the current state, challenges, and opportunities for improving civil-military relations in Ghana. The chapter also offers practical recommendations for key stakeholders, including the Ghana Armed Forces, government agencies, and civil society, with the aim of increasing public trust, boosting institutional professionalism, and promoting democratic accountability. The chapter ends by proposing areas for future research that can expand on the findings of this study.

5.1 Summary

This study examined civil-military relations within the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, focusing on understanding public perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), the nature of interactions between civilians and military personnel, internal security challenges, and the key factors influencing effective civil-military relations. The motivation for the study came from the increasing public visibility of the GAF in domestic security roles and recurring concerns about military-civilian tensions, especially following incidents involving alleged military excesses. These events raised important questions about the evolving role of the military in Ghana's democratic space and its impact on state legitimacy, public trust, and internal security management. The study had four primary objectives: (1) to assess how residents in the

Greater Accra Region perceive the role and conduct of the military; (2) to explore the nature of civil-military interactions; (3) to identify key internal security challenges and how they relate to civil-military relations; and (4) to determine the factors influencing effective civil-military relations in Ghana. These goals aimed to provide empirical insights to strengthen the normative and operational bases of democratic civil-military engagement.

The theoretical foundation was based on the Civil-Military Relations (CMR) framework, particularly as outlined by Bruneau and Matei (2008), who argue that democratic control of the military must include effectiveness, control, and legitimacy. This theory served as the lens through which the empirical findings were analysed and understood. Methodologically, the study used a convergent mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative data from survey questionnaires with qualitative insights from semi-structured interviews. This method allowed for data triangulation, enriching the analysis and deepening the understanding of complex civil-military dynamics. Participants were selected using purposive and stratified sampling from diverse demographics across the Greater Accra Region. To ensure the trustworthiness of the results, the study adhered to established criteria of credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability. Triangulation of data sources, and respondent validation were employed to boost reliability. Ethical considerations were strictly followed. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, anonymity was maintained, and participation was voluntary. The study also complied with institutional ethical standards and received the necessary approvals before data collection began.

5.2 Key Findings

The study findings are presented and organised according to the four research objectives as follows:

Objective 1: To assess how residents in the Greater Accra Region perceive the role and conduct of the Ghana Armed Forces

1. The majority of residents view the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) as a vital and credible institution in internal security management.
2. Over 70% of respondents agreed that the military is effective in protecting the public from threats, both real and perceived.
3. Participants generally rated the military higher than the police in terms of professionalism, discipline, and crisis response.
4. However, perceptions of the military are not unconditionally positive; support is often shaped by concerns over ethical conduct, past abuses, and calls for restraint in public engagements.
5. Qualitative data revealed a preference for the military during crises but underscored that this support is rooted in pragmatism, not necessarily full trust.

Objective 2: To explore the nature of the relationship between the military and the civilian population in the Greater Accra Region

1. The relationship is largely described as cordial but conditional, marked by a combination of respect and underlying fear.
2. While most participants acknowledged improvements in civil-military relations since Ghana's return to constitutional rule, historical memories of military authoritarianism continue to influence perceptions.

3. Fear of military retaliation or abuse still regulates civilian interactions, even when overall public respect for the institution is high.
4. Gender differences emerged, with women generally expressing more neutral or critical views compared to men, particularly concerning trust and ethical conduct.

Objective 3: To identify the internal security challenges in the Greater Accra Region and how they relate to civil-military relations

1. Commonly cited security threats include armed robbery, political violence, rioting, and youth-led disturbances.
2. The GAF is perceived as the most reliable actor during emergencies, often stepping in when police capacity is insufficient.
3. The military's crisis-response role has improved public confidence but also blurred the lines between civilian and military jurisdictions.
4. Persistent insecurity in urban areas has increased public reliance on the military, which, while functional, risks overexposing the military to civil domains.

Objective 4: To determine the key factors that influence the maintenance of effective civil-military relations in Ghana

1. Political neutrality of the military emerged as a critical factor influencing public trust and confidence.
2. Effective governance, particularly the state's capacity to coordinate and fund military operations transparently, plays a central role in sustaining civil-military cooperation.
3. Ethical conduct and human rights accountability by the military were strongly linked to the legitimacy of military engagement in internal security.

4. Public communication and community engagement were identified as essential tools for improving transparency and reducing mistrust.
5. Exploratory Factor Analysis revealed that institutional confidence is weakened by perceptions of military politicisation and inadequate government capacity.

5.3 Implications of the Findings for Theory and Practice

The findings of this study have important implications for both the theoretical understanding of civil-military relations and their practical management in democratic contexts.

5.3.1 Theoretical Implications

The study was grounded in the Civil-Military Relations (CMR) framework, specifically Bruneau and Matei's model, which emphasises three main dimensions: effectiveness, control, and legitimacy. The findings strongly support this framework within the Ghanaian context. Legitimacy emerged as a vital factor, with public support for the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) depending on perceptions of professionalism, neutrality, and ethical conduct. This highlights that military effectiveness alone is insufficient in a democratic society without societal legitimacy. The link between governance capacity and public trust demonstrates how civilian institutions and military perceptions are interconnected, emphasising the importance of viewing civil-military relations as a systemic interaction rather than separate entities. The persistent influence of historical memory and fear in civil-military dynamics underscores the need for theoretical models to consider not only current institutional structures but also the historical and cultural legacies that shape public attitudes. Consequently, the study expands existing theory by confirming that legitimacy in civil-military relations is both earned through conduct and shaped by

collective memory, which underscores the importance of ongoing transparency and ethical behaviour.

5.3.2 Practical Implications

The findings are also highly relevant for policymakers, military leaders, and civil society actors working to strengthen democratic stability and public safety in Ghana. First, the political neutrality of the military must always be maintained. Any signs of partisanship could undermine public trust and delegitimise the military's role in democratic governance. Second, effective government coordination and clear strategic planning are essential. A lack of defined policies or weak inter-agency collaboration can reduce public confidence and lead to sporadic military involvement in civil issues. Third, the study highlights the importance of increased military-community engagement. Proactive communication, outreach, and education campaigns can clarify the military's role and ease public fears, especially after crises. Fourth, human rights training and accountability measures should be strengthened within the GAF to ensure operational effectiveness while sticking to ethical standards. This will also help build long-term trust with civilians. Lastly, the study recommends that internal security reforms be comprehensive, including empowering civilian police agencies so that military deployment is only used in exceptional and clearly defined situations.

5.4 Conclusion

Based on the study findings, the following conclusions are drawn in alignment with each research objective:

1. On public perceptions of the Ghana Armed Forces, the study concludes that the GAF is largely viewed as a disciplined and capable institution, especially in managing crises and ensuring internal stability. However, public support is conditional and shaped by expectations of professionalism, restraint, and

accountability. The military's perceived superiority over other security agencies stems more from its operational effectiveness than from deep-rooted public trust.

2. Regarding the nature of civil-military relations, the study found that the relationship is generally friendly but built on some fear and historical caution. While civilians respect the military's role, memories of past military regimes and isolated cases of abuses influence public opinions. Respect, therefore, coexists with caution, indicating that civil-military relations in Ghana are functional but delicate.
3. Regarding internal security challenges, the findings confirm that the Greater Accra Region continues to face ongoing threats, including robbery, riots, and political disturbances. In these situations, the GAF is seen as the most dependable responder. However, excessive dependence on the military for civil duties risks making their domestic deployment routine and blurring the lines between military and civilian authority.
4. Regarding the factors that support effective civil-military relations, the study finds that political neutrality, ethical behaviour, strategic clarity, and strong civilian oversight are vital. Public trust in the military is closely linked to good governance and how nonpartisan, accountable, and committed to democratic values the military appears to be.

5.5 Recommendations

Based on the conclusion drawn, the study recommends the following:

1. The Ghana Armed Forces must uphold political neutrality, enforce human rights standards, and engage in community outreach to strengthen public trust and operational legitimacy.
2. The Government of Ghana / Ministry of Defence should develop a clear national internal security policy, ensure adequate and transparent funding for the military, and strengthen civilian oversight mechanisms.
3. The Ghana Police Service should strengthen their capacity and operational readiness to lessen dependence on the military for civilian law enforcement tasks.
4. Civil Society Organisations should oversee military behaviour, promote accountability, and spearhead public education campaigns on civil-military roles in a democracy.
5. Parliament and oversight bodies must strictly enforce constitutional limits on military deployments and ensure transparency through public reporting on civil-military engagements.
6. The general public should responsibly engage with the military, report misconduct through proper channels, and support lawful and transparent security governance.

5.6 Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to the Greater Accra Region, which may not fully reflect regional differences in civil-military relations across Ghana, especially in rural or conflict-prone areas where military-civilian interactions might vary significantly. Direct engagement with active-duty military officers was restricted due to institutional protocols, limiting the ability to gather firsthand perspectives from within the Ghana

Armed Forces and relying instead on civilian interpretations of military behaviour. Because civil-military relations are sensitive, some respondents may have muted their opinions to avoid perceived political repercussions, which could affect the honesty and authenticity of survey and interview responses.

5.7 Suggestions for Future Research

Future studies should expand beyond the Greater Accra Region to include other areas, especially the northern and border regions, where military-civilian interactions may be influenced by different security, cultural, and political factors. This would enable a more nationally representative understanding of civil-military relations in Ghana. Future research should seek institutional approval to engage both active-duty and retired military officers. This approach would provide a more balanced view of civil-military dynamics by including the experiences, motivations, and institutional limitations of the Ghana Armed Forces. Additionally, researchers could use anonymous digital surveys, focus group discussions, or ethnographic methods to reduce social desirability bias and foster more honest and critical reflections from participants.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a postgraduate student of the University of Education, Winneba, and currently undertaking a study on an examination of civilian-military relations in internal security operations in Ghana with the Greater Accra Region as a case study. This will enable the researcher to accomplish her research objectives on the internal security issues in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, as well as assess the perception of residents about the Ghana Armed Forces in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. Your assistance is therefore needed in responding to the following questions below to assist the researcher achieve the objectives of the study.

SECTION A: RESPONDENTS' BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Please tick [☐] where appropriate and fill in where necessary

1. Gender:

Male [☐]

Female [☐]

2. Age

18 - 24 years [☐]

25 - 35 years [☐]

36- 45 years [☐]

41– 60 years [☐]

61 years and above [☐]

3. Religion:

Christianity [☐]

Islam [☐]

Traditional [☐]

Others [☐]

4. Marital Status

Married [☐]

Single [☐]

Divorced [☐]



SECTION B: PERCEPTION TOWARDS THE MILITARY

The response is arranged in a five (5) Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 corresponding to 'strongly disagree,' 'disagree,' 'neutral,' 'agree,' or 'strongly agree' respectively.

Measurement	1	2	3	4	5
I am aware of the role of the military in internal security maintenance in my area					
I am confident of the work the military does in internal security operations in my area					
I believe the work done by the military in internal security operations is very important					
I believe that, without the military, internal security challenges would have been in a bad state					
I believe that, the military has always been up to task in dealing with any internal security issues in my area					
I believe that the military is doing its best in protecting the public internally from possible and real security threats					
I believe that the military is one of the best security agencies in Ghana maintaining internal security in Ghana					
I find the military as a reliable security agency to handle internal security issues in my area					
I find the military to sometimes overreact in given situations, thereby creating tension between the public and the military					
I believe that, even though the military is sometimes accused of overreacting in certain cases, I think it happens in the best interest of security					
I believe that, the military should sometimes exercise restraint in dealing with the public					

SECTION C: FACTORS THAT DETERMINE CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

In your opinion, do you believe that, there has been a good relation between the military and civil population?

Yes

No

No Idea

If yes, do you have the opinion that, such a relationship is shaped by certain factors?

Yes

No

No Idea

In your opinion, which of these factors determine the relations between the military and the civil population in Ghana?

The media and its contents about the military

Military Politicisation

Source of Military Funding

Government Capacity

Clear Cut Strategy

All of the above

Factors

This section of the question is to assess the factors that determine the nature of relationship between the civil population and the military in Ghana. The responses are arranged in a five (5) Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 corresponding to 'strongly disagree,' 'disagree,' 'neutral,' 'agree,' or 'strongly agree' respectively.

Factor	Measurement				
The Media	1	2	3	4	5
Military Politicisation					
Source of funding to the military					
Government capacity					
Clear cut strategy					

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW GUIDE
UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA
INTERVIEW GUIDE

**RESEARCH TITLE: CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN INTERNAL
SECURITY OPERATIONS IN GHANA: A CASE STUDY OF THE GREATER
ACCRA REGION**

Researcher: Jacqueline Delali Galley

Purpose: This interview examines how residents view the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), the dynamics of civil-military relations, the military's role in handling internal security issues, and the main factors affecting practical civil-military cooperation in the Greater Accra Region.

Demographic Information

- Gender:.....
- Age:
- Religion:.....
- Level of Education:
- Marital Status:
- Occupation:

SECTION A: Perception of the Military's Role and Conduct

1. How would you describe the role of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) in ensuring internal security?
2. Do you think the military's involvement in internal security operations has been generally effective? Why or why not?
3. What are your personal views about the professionalism and conduct of the military during civilian interactions?
4. Have your perceptions of the military changed over time? What influenced those changes?
5. In your view, is public trust in the military based more on respect, fear, or both?

SECTION B: Nature of Civil-Military Relations

6. How would you describe the relationship between civilians and the military in your community?
7. Are there factors, social, historical, or political, that influence this relationship?
8. Do you think civilians feel comfortable engaging with the military during times of peace or crisis? Why or why not?
9. Are there significant differences in how men and women perceive or engage with the military?
10. Do you believe there is enough transparency in military actions that involve civilians?

SECTION C: Internal Security Challenges

11. What are the most pressing internal security threats currently affecting your area (e.g., armed robbery, political unrest, illegal mining)?
12. Which security agency do you feel is best equipped to handle these issues—and why?
13. Do you think the military's involvement is a reflection of police or governance gaps?
14. How do these security challenges affect your daily life and sense of safety?
15. Have you observed any changes in community behavior due to military presence?

SECTION D: Institutional and Structural Influences

16. How important do you think political neutrality is to the legitimacy of the military?
17. Do you believe the military is sufficiently held accountable when there are excesses or abuses?
18. What role should the government and civil society play in shaping military operations?
19. Do you feel the military receives adequate resources and guidance to perform internal roles effectively?
20. How does media coverage influence your perception of the military?

SECTION E: Recommendations for Civil-Military Improvement

21. What steps do you think could strengthen civilian trust in the military?
22. How can the military better engage with local communities to build lasting relationships?
23. What strategies should be adopted to prevent fear-based compliance and instead promote genuine collaboration?
24. Do you have any experiences or suggestions you would like to share regarding civil-military cooperation in your area?

Thank you for participating in this important study. Your insights will contribute significantly to the understanding and improvement of civil-military relations in Ghana.