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This paper will explore how WPS is operationalized in the US armed services with specific emphasis on the Army. A study of publications and archival documents, interviews with subject matter experts, and a case study of WPS implementation in the Australian Defence Force helped inform current efforts to operationalize WPS and identify best practices. The paper then introduces a WPS Army Strategic Implementation Plan (WPS ASIP). This plan is an opportunity to provide a critical enabler for the emerging global peace and security context and fulfill the service's legal requirements under WPS.

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MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

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Strategic Implementation Plan**

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

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Executive Summary

Title: Operationalizing Women, Peace, and Security in the Armed Services: Army Strategic Implementation Plan

Author: Major Danielle Villanueva, United States Army

Thesis: This paper will explore how WPS is operationalized in the US armed services with specific emphasis on the Army. A study of publications and archival documents, interviews with subject matter experts, and a case study of WPS implementation in the Australian Defence Force helped inform current efforts to operationalize WPS and identify best practices. The paper then introduces a WPS Army Strategic Implementation Plan (WPS ASIP). This plan is an opportunity to provide a critical enabler for the emerging global peace and security context and fulfill the service's legal requirements under WPS.

Discussion: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) coined the term Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) to encompass a broad array of topics specifically related to the impact of armed conflict on women and girls and the importance of their contributions to conflict resolution and peace building. Follow up resolutions included a range of complex, multi-layered issues such as the representation of women in conflict resolution, gender perspectives mainstreaming, training reformations, and protection of women, girls, and boys from conflict related threats. Eventually, the United States began its own body of founding documents including the most recent Department of Defense Women, Peace, and Security Strategic Framework and Implementation Plan released in June 2020. The plan provided three main defense objectives, which included model and employ WPS within our own formations, promote women's participation for partner nations, and promote the protection of partner nation civilians. The Army is the foremost land service branch of the United States and the largest component of the Department of Defense. As of now, there is not a comprehensive plan for how the Army will operationalize WPS. As we enter a period of complex, multi-domain conflict, the armed services, specifically the Army, must capitalize on every opportunity to build capabilities and increase security.

Conclusion: At the service level, efforts to incorporate WPS are ongoing and mostly focused on professional military education and incorporation into doctrine. A US Army WPS implementation plan is necessary to synchronize efforts across the service to better guide tactical, operational, and strategic decision-making and war fighting. The recommendations given in this paper focus on mainstreaming a gender perspective and seek to bridge the gap between policy and operationalizing WPS. The current evolving nature of war and the threats facing the United States demand a greater emphasis on all war fighting tools beyond hard security tactics and strategies.

DISCLAIMER

THE OPINIONS AND CONCLUSIONS EXPRESSED HEREIN ARE THOSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT AUTHOR AND DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF EITHER THE MARINE CORPS COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE OR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY. REFERENCES TO THIS STUDY SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOREGOING STATEMENT.

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Preface

As a brand new Second Lieutenant in the Engineer Branch, newly graduated from West Point, I arrived in Fort Bragg, North Carolina eager to join my first unit in Iraq. I remember reporting to my unit with two of my classmates who I ended up flying to Iraq with a few weeks later. As we arrived on a warm, 105-degree Iraq day, we were immediately ushered to the Battalion Commander's office where he discussed with us the platoons we would soon be taking over. My two classmates, males, were given "Sapper" platoons and I took over the only platoon I was "qualified" for, which was a "Vertical Construction" platoon. The qualification my Battalion Commander was referring to was that I was a woman and, at that time, the Engineer branch had "male-coded" positions preventing me from leading a platoon in the Combat Engineer Companies. Until that point, I, as a young, naïve leader, had no idea that there were jobs within the branch that were coded positions based on gender and it began these thoughts about limitations to the meaningful contribution of women. Fast forward a few years, and I was selected and qualified to deploy as a member of a Cultural Support Team attached to direct action units in Afghanistan. It was on this deployment that I recognized the different layers of gender and security. My presence, as a woman, allowed greater access to the population helping to provide a clearer security picture at the tactical and operational level. But more importantly, I began to recognize how gender dynamics could potentially have broader security implications. I learned this through one very distinct experience as a CST in Afghanistan. On a capture/kill mission where my job was to secure the women and children on target, I sat across from a woman holding her infant and surrounded by seven other small children, age eight and younger. She was visibly disturbed from coalition force's actions against the military aged males, her husband, and brother. However, the thing she was most concerned about was how she was going

to provide for her eight small children that huddled around her without a male in the household. She looked at me hopeless with tears in her eyes because her status, as a woman in rural Afghanistan, prevented her from working outside the household. It was then that I began asking myself some hard questions. What if we, the US Army, had done a gender analysis or considered gender perspectives when analyzing the perceived threat? If we had taken into account the status of women in a country, could we have better predicted the terrorist threat in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere in the world? Would considering gender at the outset of conflict have contributed to a better plan and execution of stability operations or created a clearer security picture for combat operations? I realized there was some link here between gender and security beyond information gathering or adding more women. As I read the Department of Defense Women, Peace, and Security Strategic Framework and Implementation plan released in June 2020, I noticed a gap between policy and actually operationalizing WPS in the armed services. I still think about the woman in Afghanistan; her face is forever burned in my memory. I hope that in some small way, her and women like her, serve as a reason why the armed services cannot miss the opportunity to incorporate gender perspectives and WPS objectives as a capability needed to counter the complex threats we face as a nation.

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I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Claire Metelits; my second reader, Dr. Kyleanne Hunter; and the other Women, Peace, and Security experts across the DOD whose mentorship and support gave me invaluable guidance in my research and development. I would also like to thank the former and current Gender Advisors, Gender Focal Points, Cultural Support Team members, and members of the Australian Defence Force that have taken the time to share their personal experiences with operationalizing WPS. This paper is dedicated to the women in

Afghanistan and in other parts of the world whose status, role, and contribution in society have too often gone unnoticed. I see you. I hear you. I am taking action.

Introduction

In 2001, predicated on the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS), which called for the full participation of women in peace and security initiatives. UNSCR 1325 and the eight subsequent resolutions provide the “international framework for the implementation of gender perspective in the pursuit of international security and the conduct of peace operations.”¹ This paper will explore how WPS is operationalized in the US armed services with specific emphasis on the Army. A study of publications and archival documents, interviews with subject matter experts, and a case study of WPS implementation in the Australian Defence Force helped inform current efforts to operationalize WPS and identify best practices. The paper then introduces a WPS Army Strategic Implementation Plan (WPS ASIP). This plan is an opportunity to provide a critical enabler for the emerging global peace and security context and fulfill the service’s legal requirements under WPS.

Literature Review

The study of gender and security largely began with the post-Cold War re-evaluation of international relations theory.² Over the course of the next three decades, the field of gender studies has expanded to include positive benefits within the security sector from military and peacekeeping effectiveness to broad security outcomes.

The relationship between gender and the military evolved through a gradual, albeit swift, progression of scholarship beginning with feminist international relations theories and empirical approaches to women’s participation. The scholarship further evolved into a small body of work that evaluates how women improve the effectiveness of military and peacekeeping organizations.

Finally, more recent scholarship explores the relationship between broader security outcomes and military actions.

Feminist International Relations Theory

The root of WPS lies in feminist IR theory that emerged in the 1980s. Cynthia Enloe's *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases* (1989) began a series of intellectual studies focused on how the international system relies on masculinity and femininity and the, often overlooked, work of women.³ J. Anne Tickner's "Man, the State, and War: A Gendered Perspective on National Security" emphasizes the importance of considering war and conflict through a gendered lens accounting for the experience of all people, specifically women.⁴ The scholarly work of Jean Elshtain explores the different roles of women in war from "Beautiful Souls" or innocent non-combatants to their service as Soldiers and how these gendered dimensions shape politics and problem solving as a state.⁵ Collectively, feminist IR theory seeks to illustrate that women and gender construct a clearer picture of international politics and, subsequently, peace, war, and conflict.

Quantitative Analysis

Moving to a more quantitative analysis, scholarship explores empirical data about women's participation and outcomes in the field of international relations and security. In Valerie Hudson's "What Sex Means for World Peace," she emphasizes that the situation and security of women in a country is often the best indicator of how likely that country is to be involved in conflict.⁶ Her empirical results lead to the conclusion that human security (namely the security of women) is linked to national and international security.⁷ The scholarly work of Mary Caprioli evaluates gender equality and state aggression providing analytical data linking the degree of gender equality and women's role in the state to the likelihood of the state to use

force during an interstate dispute.⁸ This body of scholarship introduces the idea and provides analytical data that meaningful participation of women and gender equality can have further implications for conflict.

Operational Effectiveness

Beyond, feminist theory and quantitative analyses, much of the scholarly writings and research on WPS focus on how its principles increase operational effectiveness and unit functionality. A number of works in this vein look at women's involvement in UN peacekeeping missions, for example. The Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) was the first military organization to consider gender perspectives.⁹ DPKO, partnered with the Division for the Advancement of Women, conducted a comprehensive study of peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Namibia, and South Africa. The study demonstrated that women on peacekeeping teams improved access and support for local women, made men more reflective and accountable, increased capability, and decreased conflict and confrontation.¹⁰ Subsequent studies have shown that when 30% of mission personnel are female, local women more quickly join the peace effort, increasing the effectiveness of peace agreements and leading to better stability of the state.¹¹ A stable state is less likely to harbor terrorists, violate human rights, and require intervention from the international community.

Scholars supporting gender inclusion within the armed forces similarly conclude an increased credibility. One such scholar, Sahana Dharmapuri refers to increased credibility as providing a greater opportunity to build trust and mitigate violence among the local population.¹² A well-known example is the all-female police units from India deployed in a peacekeeping capacity in Liberia. These women police are seen as more approachable and make the key victims of conflict-related violence feel safer.¹³ In addition, the presence of women peacekeepers

deterred sexual and gender-based violence and was viewed as more attuned to the needs of the local populations.¹⁴

Furthermore, scholars cite the creation of female engagement teams (FET) and cultural support teams (CST) in Afghanistan as an example of increased unit effectiveness through enhanced information gathering.¹⁵ FETs, CSTs and similar programs were used to engage and search a previously under-utilized portion of the population developing a better understanding of local conditions and increasing force protection of troops in the area of operations.¹⁶ Retired US Navy Admiral William McCraven noted that the inclusion of CSTs enabled greater access and action to the local population, boosting traditional military information support as well as medical and civil affairs activities contributing to mission effectiveness.¹⁷

When discussing operational effectiveness and gender, peace, and security, there is danger in marginalizing women to stereotypical roles, proliferating the idea that only females performing in these roles can contribute to mission success. For example, there are essentializing assumptions that women peacekeepers or those in the armed forces are inherently best placed to gather information from or protect female civilians.¹⁸ These assumptions risk limiting the potential for meaningful contribution and do not increase women's participation "beyond gender stereotypes and "add women and stir" calls for parity."¹⁹

Societal Outcomes and Military Actions

The last area of scholarship and the most recent to emerge examines the relationship between military action and broad security outcomes. In "Through a Gender Lens: The Need for Robust Research into Diversity and Military Effectiveness," Jeannette Haynie argues that leaders must use every tool at their disposal to inform a clearer picture of security and develop assumptions. She argues that well-developed and effective tactical, operational, and strategic

plans must incorporate diverse perspectives, specifically a gender lens, at every level of leadership. Finally, Haynie suggests that gender is still largely dismissed as irrelevant to “real” security, ignoring the established links between diversity and outcomes.

Along the same lines, in “A Cornerstone of Peace: Women in Afghanistan,” Kyleanne Hunter argues that the military must fully embrace and capitalize on its internal diversity to effectively engage with partner nations and leaders at all levels must fully understand “the linkages between the security of women and the security of the state.”²⁰ Hunter connects the full implementation and integration of WPS in the security sector, particularly the armed services, with meaningful security assistance as an essential component for US success in future conflict.

Consistent throughout the scholarly work on women, peace, and security is the argument that women and gender belong in, and enhance, the study of security. The field of gender and security has rapidly evolved within the last 30 years and the divisions in the literature between theory, quantitative analysis, organizational effectiveness, and broader security implications have and will continue to evolve as studies expand. The division in literature is directly influencing and informing divisions on where and how policy and implementation of WPS is applied and integrated. However, there is a significant gap in literature from the implementation at a policy level to integration into military operations, which this paper explores further.

Background of WPS in the US

Following the publication of international level policy and coinciding with the evolution of WPS scholarship, the United States developed state-level policy and guiding documents. In 2011, President Barrack Obama signed Executive Order 13595 establishing the United States’ National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security. In 2017, the Women, Peace, and Security Act was signed into law, strengthening efforts for the meaningful participation of women in

conflict prevention and peace building. The law ensures Congressional oversight of how the United States promotes and implements women's meaningful participation in conflict prevention and resolution. The United States released a national strategy on WPS in 2019 outlining four primary lines of effort:

1. Seek and support the preparation and meaningful participation of women in conflict related decision-making.
2. Promote the safety and protection of women's and girls' human rights.
3. Adjust US international programs to improved outcomes in equality for, and the empowerment of, women.
4. Encourage partner nations to adopt policies to improve the meaningful participation of women.²¹

To achieve the goals outlined across the four lines of effort, the DOD released the WPS Strategic Framework and Implementations Plan (SFIP) in June 2020. The SFIP organizes WPS implementation along three defense objectives that include modeling and employing WPS, promoting partner nation women's participation, and promoting the protection of partner nation civilians. The SFIP further dissects each objective and provides intended effects. Following the release of the SFIP, DOD issued a memorandum outlining the guidance for implementation that included a series of data calls to document progress. The data call requires DOD entities to report on a series of indicators supporting the defense objectives outlined in the SFIP. The indicators include the number of high-level commitments on WPS led by DOD, the funding expended in support of WPS objectives, the number of public statements by high level officials on WPS, the number of doctrine changes to support WPS, and the number of training curricula that integrates

WPS. The memorandum calls for DOD entities to include lessons learned to further refine metrics and best practices on operationalizing WPS.

To date, none of the services have implemented collective, systematic plans; most of the services and their affiliated Professional Military Education (PME) institutions are implementing individual WPS strategies, led largely by individual change agents in leadership positions. For example, the Army War College recently signed a charter on WPS, which officially seeks to integrate WPS principles into its curriculum. The Marine Corps Command and Staff College spearheaded a WPS community of interest, which also recently passed a charter and is currently exploring curriculum modifications to include gender analysis and perspectives. The Navy War College recently created the position of WPS Chair to better assimilate WPS topics into PME and coordinate among different Communities of Interest. Though each of the services has taken initiatives to meet the SFIP objectives, the actions vary and lack standardization.

In order to analyze how military services operationalize WPS, a study of existing data in publications and archival data was conducted . Additionally, seven semi-structured interviews, three Gender Advisors, one Gender Focal Point, and three Cultural Support Team members, were conducted to help inform a comprehensive WPS implementation plan. Interview participants were selected based off on their background and experiences as gender advisors or cultural support team members. The interviews were 30-40 minutes long and were recorded via note-taking. Interview participants were found through contacts at the United Nations Department of Peace Operations. Finally, a case study of WPS implementation within the Australian Defense force using publications and two semi-structured interviews help inform WPS best practices.

Operationalizing WPS in the Armed Services

I use the Defense Objectives outlined in the 2020 DOD WPS SFIP as a framework to discuss current WPS implementation efforts in the US Armed Services. It is important to note that since the Armed Forces do not currently have a codified “WPS program,” much of the information has been provided through a series of semi-structured interviews with subject matter experts and through analysis of existing data.

Defense Objective One

Defense Objective One states “the Department of Defense exemplifies a diverse organization that allows for women’s meaningful participation across the development, management, and employment of the Joint Force.” The SFIP goes on to specify that the DOD should model and implement the WPS principles it encourages in partner nations and to continue to model and advocate for meaningful participation of women. Across the services, different initiatives are underway or have been started to support Defense Objective one.

To address the modeling portion of Defense Objective one, the Armed Services have focused on increasing the number and capacity of women within the ranks. A majority of these initiatives focus on what this paper will refer to as *structural barriers* – items or systems that inhibit career progression or lead to decreased retention of women. The most notable initiative is the 2015 lifting of the ban on women in combat and the integration of women into those previously closed combat arms billets. Additionally, the services have taken a number of administrative measures that consider the recruitment and retention of women such as primary and secondary caregiver leave, enhancing deferred deployment options for birth mothers, modifying grooming and hairstyle policies, and re-evaluating child-care options in light of the COVID-19 pandemic. The 2020 Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services

(DACOWITS) annual report provides a comprehensive summary of recommendations on matters and policies relating to the recruitment of servicewomen in the US Armed Forces and is used to inform policy changes that the services have made in the past.²² While recognizing that continued analysis and revision of policy related to structural barriers is essential to the meaningful participation of women in the armed forces, the research in this paper will not address structural barriers in recommendations for WPS implementation, but recommends further research on the subject.

Another way the Armed Services have implemented Defense Objective One is through the use of gender advisors and gender focal points. The combatant commands have championed the use of gender advisors to incorporate gender perspectives and human security considerations into campaign plans, operations, and training. Generally speaking, combatant commands attempt to follow NATO Bi-strategic Command Directive 040-001 guidance as it pertains to Gender Advisors and Gender Focal Points. However, the commands lack internally published guidance or explanation of the structure and training associated with these initiatives. In the absence of a codified Gender Advisor or Focal Point construct, a series of interviews with current and former gender advisors and gender focal points helped paint a clearer picture of roles and responsibilities, current structure, and training requirements. Gender Advisors (GENADs) are personnel whose sole responsibility is to provide guidance to commanders on how to incorporate a gender perspective into operations and missions. A Gender Focal Point (GFP) is often located in subordinate units or staffs and supports the GENAD in operationalizing gender perspectives. The role of a GFP is usually secondary to the primary role the individual has within his/her respective unit or staff sections. The location of the GENAD on the staff vary between different combatant commands with some located in the Operations Section (J3), Strategic Planning and

Policy (J5), or the Civil Military Cooperation section (J9). Three out of four of the gender advisors interviewed stated that the GENAD should have a place on the special staff with direct report authority to the commander. Additionally, former and current GENADs stated that there should be Gender Focal Points within the J3, J5, J9, as well as staff synchronization functions to foster persistent coordination.²³

The training associated with the Gender Advisor and Focal Points varied between the individuals interviewed. Two personnel interviewed had completed a gender operationalization course offered by a combatant command and two individuals had not received any training due to cancellations as a result of the COVID-19 restrictions. The U.S. Army's Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute website provides information on a Joint-Certified Operational Gender Advisor Course to train personnel.²⁴ The article implies that the course was rotating through the combatant commands with a future plan of residing at one location within the United States; however, research did not discover any updated information past December 2018. Additionally, Joint Knowledge Online (JKO) offers training modules on integrating gender perspectives into operations and on the role of gender advisors.²⁵ The specific training and training level expected of the Combatant Command GENADs and GFPs varied greatly between organizations and lacked codified pre-requisites and requirements. In the December 2019 DOD WPS Overview brief, none of the Armed Services indicated integrating a formal Gender Advisor or Focal Point program.²⁶ In the same brief, the Army specified that it would "provide subject matter expertise on WPS principles such as gender integrations, female engagement teams, and gender perspective within Army component support to CCMD theater security cooperation."²⁷

Integrating WPS into various service level PME is another way the services implement Defense Objective One. Specifically, the Naval War College and the Naval Postgraduate School

seek opportunities to incorporate WPS into their curricula and activities. The Marine Corps Command and Staff College offered a 'Gender, War, and Security' Elective in the 2020-21 academic year and is exploring options to incorporate WPS initiatives into exercise planning, war gaming, and the core curriculum. As they have not incorporated WPS across all curricula and activities, at this time, PME institutions continue to develop their integration. In addition to inclusion in PME, the services complete annual training requirements for sexual assault awareness and combatting trafficking in persons with additional training given to deploying troops. However, there are not courses available that are specific to WPS.

The same progress can be seen on including WPS pillars in training exercises at both the joint and service level. The Army has expressed efforts to incorporate WPS into combat training center rotations. WPS was incorporated into a US and Australian joint exercise called Talisman Sabre in 2015, which marked the first appearance of a WPS component in a large-scale joint training exercise.²⁸ In order to mainstream a gender perspective into all levels of planning, the Armed Services must include WPS training objectives into exercises and activities.

During the December 2019 DOD WPS overview brief, the Combatant Commands stated intentions to reference WPS in their respective theater campaign plans. Several Joint Publications (JP) mention gender and women, peace, and security such as JP 1-0, Joint Personnel Support, that includes a section on WPS, or JP 5-0, Joint Planning, which includes gender considerations and highlights the necessity for a gender advisor. The Army is currently updating regulations such as Department of the Army Pamphlets (DA PAM) and doctrinal manuals as they come up for revision.²⁹ Army Doctrinal Publication (ADP) 3-07, Stability, includes a section on WPS that focuses on incorporating objectives from the 2016 WPS National Action Plan where appropriate. Army Techniques Publication (ATP) 3-07.6, Protection of Civilians, and

the Protection of Civilians Military Reference Guide Second Edition emphasizes gender perspectives and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). References to WPS have recently been included, or are in the process of being included, in policy and doctrine at both the joint and service levels. However, most of the doctrine mentioned deals with stability operations or protection of civilians. In order for WPS to be effectively implemented and considered, considerations must be included in the deliberate planning process doctrine and service-level guiding documents.

Defense Objective Two

Defense Objective Two is “women in partner nations meaningfully participate and serve at all ranks and in all occupations in defense and security sectors.”³⁰ The SFIP states that the US will adjust security cooperation programs and work with allies and partners to promote inclusion of women at all levels of defense and security.³¹ Prior to the SFIP release, combatant commands were already considering WPS in their operations.³² In US Southern Command, leaders emphasize women’s participation in the security sector during key leader engagement with strategic partners across South America. In 2018, US Indo-Pacific Command started a Women’s Mentorship Program to share knowledge and empower women in the Mongolian defense and security sector to build capacity and conduct gender analyses in disaster response efforts.³³

At the service level, specifically the Army, an example of promoting women in partner nations is the often-cited use of CST members to train the Afghan Female Tactical Platoon (FTP) supporting the Afghan Special Security Forces (Ktah Khas). An interview with a recent CST member involved in training the FTPs uncovered anecdotal information based on the person’s experience.³⁴ The interviewee observed dwindling support among Afghan and US leadership stating that leadership did not observe training unless there were dignitaries or political personnel

visiting. The interviewee also noted resourcing issues highlighting funding disparities between the FTPs and the Ktah Khas. The establishment of the FTP is one example of many that demonstrates a clear focus of the US Military to promote gender equality and participation of women in partner nation security forces. However, the dwindling support from leaders at all levels, especially as the US looks to leave Afghanistan after current and ongoing Taliban negotiations, highlights gaps and seams in tactical, operational, and strategic level thinking on why WPS matters for security and seemingly treating it as a neglected collateral duty.

Another example of a potential opportunity to implement and integrate WPS was the Army's development of the Security Forces Assistance Brigade (SFAB) in 2018. The SFAB was created to specialize in train, advise, and assist missions. Members received specialized training needed to advise partner nations.³⁵ While this type of unit seems to be an ideal organization to support defense objective two of the SFIP, a member of 2nd SFAB that participated in the 2019 deployment in support of Combined Security Transition Command – Afghanistan confirmed that the SFAB training did not include the WPS NAP or the 2017 WPS Act. Additionally, the SFAB member, a tactical level leader, did not have any involvement with women in the Afghan defense or security sector and gender perspectives were not a consideration when conducting tactical-level planning with Afghan counterparts. While this is the experience of one individual, the SFAB is the Army's key unit to support the development of a partner nation's military. By not training SFAB members on WPS pillars, the ability to build a partner nation fully committed to WPS is severely crippled. While the Armed Services, specifically the Army, have made significant efforts to support and encourage the participation of women in the defense and security sector of partner nations, there are many opportunities that can provide more meaningful and comprehensive security assistance for US partner nations.

Defense Objective Three

Defense Objective Three is “partner nation defense and security sectors ensure women and girls are safe and secure and that their human rights are protected, especially during conflict and crisis.”³⁶ The SFIP explains that the department will work closely with partner nations’ security sectors to facilitate their ability to ensure the safety of their civilians, especially women and girls. As part of their WPS initiatives, the combatant commands have supported defense objective three in various ways. In the Dec 2019 DOD WPS brief, US Africa Command (AFRICOM) has pledged to execute capacity building with military legal professionals on sexual and gender based violence and human rights and integrate WPS principles into exercises with partner nations. In its premier annual training event, Flintlock 2019, US AFRICOM integrated WPS themes throughout the exercise to promote meaningful participation and to enhance the ability of key partner nations to provide security to their people, especially women and children.³⁷

As previously referenced, all US military service members conduct annual training on combating trafficking in persons offered as an online course that provides awareness on sexual and labor trafficking scenarios.³⁸ While this course does not provide in-depth information on sexual and gender-based violence as it pertains to conflict, the course does raise awareness of issues associated such as human trafficking. However, Joint Pamphlet 3-07, *Stability*, has information about including gender perspectives and highlights war crimes affecting women as a special consideration in the “Protection of Civilians” and “Women in Conflict Resolution” sections. During the 2019 WPS overview brief, the Army pledged to include sex-disaggregated data and gender-specific data and analysis into the Army Threat Integration Center (ARTIC) products. Currently, the military has emphasized defense objective three in a limited capacity

through data collection, doctrine, and training. Planning doctrine is a useful tool to help include and plan for gender considerations in operations. The Army could capitalize and include more broad gender considerations with regards to gender-based sexual violence in planning doctrine at the service and joint levels and include gender dimensions in training operations. In addition, the Army could expand its annual online course to include protection aspects.

The combatant commands have used gender advisors, gender focal points, education and training, and policy and doctrine to incorporate WPS and implement the DOD SFIP with varying levels of success. SMEs at the combatant commands state that leader buy-in is the number one factor that determines how gender perspectives are integrated into strategic and operational level planning and execution. At the service level, efforts to incorporate WPS are ongoing and largely focused on PME and incorporation into doctrine. Most operational and tactical leaders have no knowledge of the US WPS NAP, the WPS Act, or how to incorporate gender perspectives into operations. A US Army WPS implementation plan would help synchronize efforts across the service thereby enhancing operations and mission effectiveness.

WPS Implementation: The Australian Defence Force

In researching how other United Nations member states have implemented WPS in the defense sector, Australia was referenced in scholarly articles as a positive example. Australia's *Defence Implementation of WPS 2012-2018* was published in 2018, giving a few years of practice to analyze and provide lessons learned.

In 2012, Australia launched its national action plan (NAP) on WPS establishing a whole of government approach.³⁹ The NAP specified 24 actions for the Australian government with the Department of Defence having a role in 17 of the actions. The Australian WPS Defence Implementation Plan is coordinated and presented through six lines of effort: (1) Policy and

Doctrine (2) Training (3) Personnel (4) Mission Readiness (5) International Engagement (6) Governance and Reporting.⁴⁰ This case study will briefly summarize each line of effort and report progress.

In terms of policy and doctrine, the Australian Department of Defence has made significant progress updating all key strategic guidance documents with WPS operational guidance. This includes but is not limited to the Defence Corporate Plan, the Defence Business Plan, Defence Planning Guidance, and Australia's Military Strategy 2016.⁴¹ Additionally, Australia has developed operational directives and orders that include a multitude of WPS considerations for current and future operations. Finally, the Australian Defence Force has developed and updated doctrine in support of integrating gender perspectives. An example of new doctrine is the ADF Joint Doctrine Note on Gender in Military Operations.⁴² In addition to doctrine at the joint level, the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) Doctrine Note Series AFDN 1-18, Gender in Air Operations, provides a holistic approach and consideration to gender in enhancing air mission success. Interviews with former ADF GENADs and members of the RAAF provided insight into gender in operations. Subjects expressed that they were better able to incorporate gender perspectives into operations than their army counterparts due to the air force doctrine helping integrate gender into the planning process. Australia's emphasis on policy and doctrine as part of the gender mainstreaming process is commendable; however, much of the changes are at the Department of Defence level with little updates done at the service level with the exception of the Air Force.⁴³

Line Of Effort Two is focused on WPS training of defence personnel. This training includes individual and collective levels. At the individual level, WPS and gender analysis are taught at the Australian Defence College's Australian Command and Staff and Centre for

Defence Strategic Studies Courses.⁴⁴ The WPS agenda and gender concepts are included in pre-deployment training and are taught by an experienced Gender Advisor. Furthermore, interviewees stated that the air force developed an online course that is mandatory for all members, which exposes the work place to gender perspectives in operations. At the collective level, WPS practical scenarios are included in Military Rehearsal Exercises. An example is the incorporation of WPS objectives as a critical part of the exercise Talisman Sabre 15, a biannual bilateral military exercise with US counterparts. UNSCR 1325 was referenced in the training objectives and the scenario included gender-based issues. The exercise personnel and staff received pertinent WPS training and integrated core concepts of WPS into their planning.⁴⁵ During the exercise, twelve gender advisors provided recommendations and consultation.⁴⁶ Additionally, specialized training for Defence GENADs and GFPs are required to operate in those positions, while the ADF operates its own course to provide required training. As of 2018, Australia had 53 women and 48 men trained as GENADs. While Australia has made concerted efforts to incorporate WPS principles into education, it is still missing from most service and entry-level training and education.⁴⁷

The third line of effort focuses on the GENAD and GFP framework and gender balancing efforts. Defence has established 10 GENAD positions at tactical, operational, and strategic levels to advise (Commanders) on gender perspectives.⁴⁸ Gender focal points perform their role as an additional duty and are responsible for integrating WPS principles into their assigned units; however, it is not clear the levels to which these personnel are trained or implemented.⁴⁹ The implementation plan mentions working toward increasing the number of women especially at senior levels and details that one way they are doing so is removing all gender restrictions. Australia's advisor and focal point structure provides a way to normalize gender mainstreaming.

However, the structure may serve as a limitation to the proliferation of gender perspectives and gender mainstreaming. The Defence Implementation Plan does not mention structural or institutional changes associated with gender balancing such as recruiting efforts, retention, parental leave, or child care

Line of effort four is mission readiness, which seeks to integrate WPS considerations and gender perspectives into the operational planning process.⁵⁰ The implementation plan highlights a series of exercises and operations that integrated WPS. The fifth line of effort looks externally at International Engagement on WPS issues with partner nations through seminars, joint training, shared education, and support of diverse infrastructure aimed at building partner capacity. Finally, line of effort six emphasizes the importance of reporting and governance. This last line of effort, however, does not provide measures of performance and measures of effectiveness to enhance reporting.

The Australian Strategic Policy Institute reviewed Australia's implementation of WPS in a recent special report and noted that Australia has shown leadership in advancing the WPS agenda.⁵¹ The report goes on to say that while Australia has made significant advances in the implementation of WPS, significant inconsistencies and resourcing gaps are still prevalent.⁵² The author argues that gender perspectives do not inform Australia's response to international crises, which undermines conflict prevention and stability. The general conclusions offered from two former ADF GENADs on advancing gender perspectives in operations was focused on incorporating gender and WPS principles into planning doctrine to ensure a gendered analysis, to include sex-disaggregated data, is embedded into all aspects of the planning process, especially war gaming. Interviewees also expressed shortfalls in measures of success and measures of

performance due to effects being intangible and require leaders to be able to articulate how WPS affects the outcome of operations.

The ADF WPS implementation plan provides insight and helps inform an implementation plan in the US Military. The ADF's 2014 Defence Implementation Plan provides eight years of lessons learned and exposes areas of greater emphasis and improvement.

US Army WPS Implementation Plan Recommended Framework

There are two main approaches to operationalizing WPS. The first is *gender balancing* which refers to equal representation of men and women and equitable distribution of resources and opportunities. For example, the service's lifting of restrictions to women in combat roles can be seen as gender balancing. The second approach refers to *gender mainstreaming* or the process of integrating and assessing gender implications of tactical, strategic, and operational level mission planning and execution. It is considering women's and men's interests and varying experiences in planning, policy, programs, and assessments at all levels. The two approaches to operationalizing WPS are largely informed by the theoretical underpinnings split between the overall increased participation and the role of women in the security sector and the broader security outcomes influenced by gender considerations. The following recommendations are organized along four lines of effort focused on gender mainstreaming and will seek to inform operationalization of WPS in the US Army.

Line of Effort 1: Seek and support the meaningful participation of women in the military decision making process and across the development, management, and employment of the US Army forces.

End State: Women's meaningful participation in and the incorporation of gender perspectives in the military decision making process will increase and contribute to the US Army's mission effectiveness.

Recommended Planned Actions:

- Develop Gender Advisor and Gender Focal Point billets at the US Army strategic, operational, and tactical commands in order to better facilitate integrating a gendered perspective into operations. The US Army should leverage the training developed by the combatant commands to develop an online training module for GENAD and GFPs that is comprehensive, accessible, and standardized. GENAD and GFP pre-requisites and training requirements should be clearly identified.
- Incorporate WPS pillars, gendered perspective, and gendered analysis into professional military education at all levels. (sample lesson plan in Appendix B)
- Include WPS objectives as part of the combat training center rotations training exercises.
- Mainstream the WPS agenda into Army strategic and operational level policy.
- Include WPS agenda in Army doctrine as the publications are updated. Develop an Army Doctrinal Publication specifically addressing gender in army operations. (sample framework for ADP in Appendix C)
- US Army personnel preparing for deployment will receive additional instruction on UNSCR 1325, requirements under the WPS Act of 2017, and gender perspectives in military operations. (Recommendations for instruction in Appendix D)

Line of Effort 2: Address security related barriers to the protection of human rights of vulnerable populations, safety from violence, abuse, and exploitation, and access to humanitarian assistance.

End State: Vulnerable populations, to include but not limited to women, girls, and boys are protected from violence, abuse, and exploitation and have better access to humanitarian aid.

Recommended Planned Actions:

- Continue to promote and maintain a zero tolerance policy toward sexual misconduct through the Sexual Harassment Assault Response Prevention (SHARP) program. Leaders at all levels remain committed to maintaining an environment of respect for human dignity and free of sexual misconduct.
- Promote and consider respect for gender equality, human rights, and the rule of law through all aspects of military operations and through civil-military cooperation.
- Modify and expand the current *Combating Trafficking in Persons* curriculum to include WPS principles as it relates to protection of human rights with specific emphasis on gender based sexual violence. The annual requirement should include prevention, indicators and warnings, and appropriate responses for Uniformed Military Personnel.
- Pre-deployment training for US Army members will include additional instruction on gender based sexual violence and common security issues and considerations to provide protection to and mitigate risk for vulnerable populations.
- Ensure instruction on security related considerations to protect vulnerable populations and respond to SGBV is considered during advising and assisting operations.
- At the strategic, operational, and tactical level, encourage the promotion of women's involvement and leadership in the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict through engagement with local and international government organizations, the UN, and multilateral security forces.

Line of Effort 3: Adjust US Army internal programs to improve outcomes in women's equality and empowerment.

End State: WPS agenda and a gender inclusive approach to conflict resolution are mainstreamed across the US Army strategy, capability, and budget planning.

Recommended Actions:

- Incorporate WPS strategy mandate and goals outlined in the 2020 DOD SFIP and apply a gender analysis in the development of future policies, programs, and actions.
- Establish a US Army WPS program coordinator and an Army WPS core working group responsible for coordinating overall implementation of the Army's strategic implementation plan. The group will facilitate learning and best practices on WPS within and outside of the service.
- Review and strengthen WPS integration in Army planning, programming, budgeting, and execution.
- Develop and strengthen Army training and resources on WPS concepts, themes, and objectives.
- Encourage senior Army leaders to support high level engagement on gendered perspectives and WPS related concepts during strategic level coordination.
- Provide support and encourage participation in WPS focused seminars, conferences, and working groups.
- Develop, strengthen, and better promote the Army Mentorship Program to include resources and training that encourage leaders to mentor beyond the chain of command and beyond gender similarities.

Line of Effort 4: Encourage partner nations to promote and increase WPS related matters in the international security arena.

End State: Targeted partner nations make measurable progress to incorporate WPS related policies and practices that improve the security environment of women and promote the meaningful participation of women in the security sector.

Recommended Actions:

- Leverage bilateral and multilateral opportunities to enhance and integrate WPS such as exercises, operations, and training.
- Apply WPS considerations in providing security force assistance. Seek opportunities to meaningfully engage in the recruitment and retention of women in the defense sector and with women in their security environment to include conflict prevention and resolution and violence against vulnerable populations.
- Support the development and implementation of WPS policies at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of partner nations' defense sectors.

Conclusion

WPS policy and implementation has fluctuated between a focus on gender balancing and mainstreaming a gender perspective. The recommendations given in this paper focus on the latter and seek to bridge the gap between policy and actual integration of WPS principles into US Army operations. The current evolving nature of war, expanding a wide diversity of conflict ranging from conventional war to urban terrorism and insurgency, demand a greater emphasis on operationalizing and implementing WPS. Gender relations have a profound impact on state security and conflict and a gendered perspective greatly contributes to the examination and understanding of all aspects of a society and further influences the aims of military operations.

Gender considerations further clarify the existing threats and violence the military will have to address in and beyond those presented in traditional warfare. Operationalizing WPS is not a “silver bullet,” but it can contribute to the military’s support of a whole-of-government approach to US far-reaching political goals of democratization, stabilization, economic growth, and proliferation of respect for human rights and rule of law.⁵³

Research Recommendation

Structural barriers that hinder the meaningful participation of women in the US Army are a critical focus area for future research related to WPS strategy. During research collection, the cultural issue of military masculinity was often cited as a large barrier to gender mainstreaming. Further research on aspects of military culture that inhibit equity and inclusion and ways to mitigate this is recommended. Lastly, further development of the assessing, monitoring, and evaluation process is necessary to assess progress of the WPS ASIP.

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Appendix A: Basic Definition of Key Concepts and Terms

Gender refers to the roles, responsibilities, and expectation of men and women that are generated in familial dynamics and societal culture. Gender dynamics change over time and vary between societies and cultures. Gender is influenced by social differentiation such as age, political status, class, race, and ethnicity. Gender is not biologically determined and the dynamics associated can change over time.

Sex refers to the biological differences between men and women determined at birth

Gender Mainstreaming in the US Army encompasses the process of integrating and assessing gender implications of tactical, strategic, and operational level mission planning and execution. It is considering women's and men's interests and varying experiences in planning, policy, programs, and assessments at all levels across the service.

Gender Balancing refers to equal representation of men and women and equitable distribution of resources and opportunities.

Gender Analysis explores and studies the different roles, experience, and needs of men and women and facilitates the strategic use of findings.

Gender Perspectives is the assessment and consideration of gender impacts on opportunity and societal roles and interaction.

Sex Disaggregated Data is data collected and displayed separately for men and women.

Empowerment is the process of gaining authority, power, confidence, and control to perform various acts or duties autonomously.

WPS Strategy seeks to increase women's meaningful participation in all aspects of state civic life by ensuring they are empowered, equipped, supported, and protected through enhanced

empowerment and equality. Women can contribute to conflict prevention and resolution and increase peace-building capacity.

Appendix B: Recommendation for WPS integration into PME

It is recommended that US Army PME institutions develop a phased approach to incorporating WPS in curriculum. First, at pre-commissioning and primary levels lessons should focus on building a foundational knowledge of WPS with an introduction to policy and strategy. Additionally, primary level instruction should focus on integrating and operationalizing gender at the tactical level. Second, at the intermediate level, education should build on WPS foundational knowledge and provide further instruction on conducting a gender analysis. In addition to the lesson plan below and if time allows, a scenario driven exercise where students provide a gender analysis is recommended. Gender should be incorporated into operational level planning. Last, senior level PME should focus on integrating WPS principles into strategic level planning.

Intermediate Level PME Sample Lesson Plan

Lesson Title: Gender and Conflict

Revision Date: 4 Oct 20

“Adding a gender perspective has the potential to transform the traditional military paradigm by including and creating an increased understanding of the importance of non-traditional security issues.”

-Robert Egnell in “Gender Perspectives and Military Effectiveness”

1. Introduction

Women and peace have been associated throughout history largely based on the assumption that women are more emotionally empathetic and inherently non-violent. More modern research has moved beyond women as symbols and actors of peace and has sought to establish the role of gender perspectives in peace and security. One particular study found that the participation of women in all aspects of peace negotiations led to a 20 percent increase in the probability of the peace agreement lasting longer than two years and a 35 percent increase in the probability of a peace agreement lasting fifteen years.

In 2001, predicated on the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) which called for the full participation of women in peace and security initiatives. UNSCR 1325 and the eight subsequent resolutions provide a framework for the

implementation of gender perspective in the pursuit of international security. The UN resolutions include a range of complex, multi-layered issues such as inclusion of gender in all facets of peacekeeping operations, the representation of women in conflict resolution, gender perspectives mainstreaming, training reformations, and the recognition and protection of women, girls, and boys from conflict related threats. Most of all the resolution calls for gender equality and urges the international community to take the necessary steps to put the plan into action.¹

In 2011, President Barrack Obama signed Executive Order 13595 establishing the United States' National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security. In 2017, the Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017 was signed into law strengthening efforts for the meaningful participation of women in conflict prevention and peace building. The law ensures Congressional oversight of how the United States would promote and implement women's meaningful participation in conflict prevention and resolution. Furthermore, the United States released their national strategy on WPS in 2019 outlining four primary lines of effort.

1. Seek and support the preparation and meaningful participation of women in conflict related decision-making.
2. Promote the safety and protection of women and girls' human rights.
3. Adjust US international programs to improved outcomes in equality for, and the empowerment of, women.
4. Encourage partner nations to adopt policies to improve the meaningful participation of women.¹

To achieve the goals outlined across the four lines of effort given in the National Strategy, the Department of Defense released the WPS Strategic Framework and Implementations Plan (SFIP) in June 2020. The SFIP organizes WPS implementation along three defense objectives that include modeling and employing WPS, promoting partner nation women's participation, and promoting the protection of partner nation civilians.

In connecting gender and operational effectiveness, scholars note that considering gender can lead to increased credibility and security and an increase in information gathering capability. The enhanced information gathering obviously leads to the increase of force protection providing information that can lead to the findings of weapons, explosive devices, or high value targets. However, beyond increased force protection, scholars have recognized that the situation and security of women in a country is often the best indicator of how likely that country is to be involved in conflict.¹ Empirical results lead to the conclusion that human security (namely the security of women) is linked to national and international security. Better security leads to a more stable state and decreased likelihood of harboring terrorist, violating human rights, and requiring intervention from the international community. US national security is dependent upon "stable, prosperous, and democratic societies abroad."¹ Women's participation, gender inclusion, and gender perspectives are necessary to maintain stable societies and increase force protection in the armed forces.

2. Student Learning Objectives

- a. Understand how gender can shape the way we examine conflict.
- b. Apply a gender analysis to conflict prevention and resolution.
- c. Gain an appreciation for how gender perspectives can affect military effectiveness.

3. Student Requirements

| Event | Prep Time |
|---|-----------------|
| <p>Required Reading/Viewing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Christine Chinkin, Mary Kaldor, and Punam Yadav. "Gender and New Wars." <i>Stability International Journal of Security and Development</i> 9, no.1 (2020), pp. 1-13. (10 pages) Robert Egnell, "Gender Perspectives and Military Effectiveness". <i>Prism</i>. vol 6, no 1 (2016), Institute for National Strategic Security, National Defense University, 1, pp. 73-87. (14 pages) https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Gender-Perspectives-and-Military-Effectiveness.pdf Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. "Mainstreaming Gender in Conflict Analysis: Issues and Recommendations." <i>Social Development Papers: Conflict Prevention & Reconstruction</i>, no 33 (2006), pp 1-9. (9 pages) http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/449571468144266512/pdf/351500Mainstreaming0gender0WP3301Public1.pdf Mackenzie, Megan (2009) "Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone" <i>Security Dialogue</i> 18(2): 241-61. | 53 pp |
| <p>Supplemental Reading</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conciliation Resources (2015), Gender and Conflict analysis toolkit for peacebuilders, available at www.c-r.org/resources/gender-and-conflict-analysis-toolkit-peacebuilders (intro - ch2 - 15 pages) Harris, Colette, "Gender analysis of Conflict: Why is it important?" Saferworld. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sI2AZdl-2O8(4:07 min) | 15 pages + 4min |

4. Issues for Discussion

- What is the significance of considering gender when studying conflict?
- What roles may masculinity and femininity play in conflict?
- How may military operations change or become more effective when gender is considered?
- How could the Confederacy have gained the support of Britain? Or, were Union diplomatic actions too powerful?
- How can a gender analysis affect conflict resolution and prevention

5. References:

- Laura Sjoberg (2014) "Where are the Women?" *Gender, War, and Conflict*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 23-50.
- Sahana Dharmapuri, "Just Add Women and Stir", *Parameters* (Spring 2011), Army War College, 57. https://genderandsecurity.org/sites/default/files/Dharmapuri_-_Just_Add_W_Stir.pdf.

- c. United States. United States Strategy on Women on Women, Peace, and Security. Washington D.C., 2019, 6.
- d. Valerie Hudson. 2012. "What Sex Means for World Peace," Foreign Policy, April 24, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/04/24/what-sex-means-for-world-peace/>
- e. Women on the Frontlines of Peace and Security, Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2014, 22.

Appendix C: Sample Outline for *Gender in Army Operations* Army Doctrinal Publication

Gender in Military Operations

Introduction

Background

Definitions and Context

Operational Planning and Execution Considerations

 Staff Planning Considerations

Gender Analysis

 Introduction

 How

 Documentation and Application

Reporting Requirements and Legal Obligations

Key Principles

Roles and Responsibilities

 Commander

 Operations Officer

 Gender Advisor

Annexes

Gender Analysis example and considerations

Recommended MOE/MOPs

Appendix D: Recommended Additional Education Requirements for Deploying and Advising Personnel

The Joint Knowledge Online (JKO) course Improving Operational Effectiveness by Integrating Gender Perspective (J3TA-MN1292) is designed to provide an introduction to integrating gender perspectives in military operations and is recommended for all deploying personnel.

The JKO course Gender Perspective (J30P-MN900-03-11) provides an understanding of UNSCR 1325 and provides ways to incorporate gender issues in advising operations. This course is recommended for personnel deploying in a security force assistance capacity.