TEACHING GENDER IN THE MILITARY

A Handbook

Lena P. Kvarving and Rachel Grimes, "Why and how gender is vital to military operations"
in PfPC SSRWG and EDWG, *Handbook on Teaching Gender in the Military* (Geneva: DCAF and PfPC, 2016).

Why and how gender is vital to military operations

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CONTENTS

1. Introduction

Would you do it? Would you make the effort to study a new perspective if you knew that you could achieve greater situational awareness than you ever had before? Would you make the effort to learn about this perspective knowing it was relevant to all social interaction, including war and conflict, if you knew you could improve your unit's chance of success, improve the lives of many and make sure they would be better protected and able to participate in shaping their own future?

These are all essential questions related to teaching gender to the military, and ideally should serve as motivation for learners to learn, change and evolve. A gender perspective should be an inherent and necessary part of a comprehensive approach to military operations. It is not only the right thing to do, it also helps us do things right. In this chapter we consequently focus on why a gender perspective has become an important goal and a tool in military operations, and why this has national as well as international implications.

We begin the chapter by presenting a definition of gender and gender perspectives in military operations, before discussing the changing nature of war and conflict and how it has led to creation of the women, peace and security agenda through United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325.[2] Finally we discuss why gender perspectives are relevant internally in military organizations and what the implementation of a gender perspective looks like at the strategic, operational and tactical levels of national and international military operations.

2. Gender and gender perspectives

Usually the term "sex" is used to describe fixed biological differences and is something you *are*, while "gender" is a term used to define the flexible and changeable socially constructed roles and attributes you learn through socialization processes and perform in society as both women and men. In other words, gender is something you *learn*. Without wishing to refute Goldstein's[3] claims that the terms are mutually interdependent (in other words, our conception of gender influences biological discourses on sex and vice versa), being aware of the distinction between sex and gender is especially helpful when we want to understand our own and other social norms and behaviours. The definition of gender supports the understanding that gender and culture can be changed, and that the different roles we hold in society will affect and be affected by other social factors like access to justice, economy, healthcare, education and security. The following opening statement from a Swedish general at a conference on gender mainstreaming in the Swedish Armed Forces[4] is a great example of how expectations and cultural assumptions related to gender roles and performances change over time.

> *In the beginning of the last century an aggressive and loud debate arose regarding women being given the possibility to work in the Governmental sector. The argument was that the wrists of women were too weak to write through several layers of carbon paper.*
>
> Lieutenant-General C.-G. Fant

It is a common belief that the topic of "gender" only refers to women and women's issues. This is a misconception, however, as gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of both men and women (and other genders[5]), and the relationships, norms and expectations of and between groups of men and women. To have a gender perspective thus means being aware of these differences and observing, analysing, understanding and taking into account the limitations and possibilities of *all* the diverse social roles individuals have in different cultures and societies. It means to learn based on your observations, analyse how your actions and goals will affect and be affected by these gender roles and adapt your actions accordingly. Understanding gender roles is in no way equivalent to supporting or accepting them. On the contrary, it is an increased awareness of and focus on the unequal situation of the different genders.

> *Appalling abuses are still being committed against women. And these include: domestic violence, dowry murders, coerced abortions, honour crimes, and the killing of infants simply because they are born female. Some say, all this is cultural and there's nothing you can do about it. I say it's criminal and we all have an obligation to stop it.*
>
> Madeleine Albright[6]

Discussions around gender and gender perspectives are not new, but increased attention to the nexus between security (especially human) and development has led to greater support for universal human rights and demands for equality in areas such as access to justice, education and healthcare. As a result, the need to address gender inequality has been placed firmly on the international agenda in both political and military circles. War and conflict affect men, women, girls and boys differently, and military operations conducted in areas with very different cultures and gender roles, especially where there are also high levels of sexual violence or other forms of abuse and repression, have made it obvious that gender perspectives are an integral part of the so-called "comprehensive approach" to civil-military crises.

Within the context of the comprehensive approach, striving for gender equality and incorporating gender perspectives are seen as both a goal (the right thing to do) and a means to effectiveness (doing things right). These binary objectives are paramount, and will be discussed further under the umbrella of the women, peace and security agenda. However, the essence of gender is that it is dynamic and changeable over time due to changing values and other socio-economic factors. This is important for military forces to remember when integrating a gender perspective into activities aimed at bringing about a better, more just and equal world on behalf of their people and their government.

Box 1.1 Sex versus gender

Sex: Biological differences, something we are.

Gender: Socially constructed differences, something we become and are expected to be and perform – learned and changeable roles adopted as a result of interacting with other people in various cultures and societies.

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3. The changing nature of conflict and the importance of a gender perspective in military operations

In modern democratic societies a military operation is never an end in itself. Rather, violence can only be used as a last resort to reach a political aim when all other non-violent avenues have been exhausted. The use of lethal force and advanced weapons systems on behalf of a population can only legally be authorized within a very narrow set of circumstances. Needless to say, this demonstrates why vigorous investigations into the conduct of the armed forces, their ethics and their ability to work towards reaching the political aim with a minimal use of force are an inherent part of a democratic state. Extraordinary caution is used to make sure that the armed forces exercise their duties in an effective and legal way.

It is indisputable that since the end of Cold War and the catastrophic events of 9/11 the character of armed conflict has changed. Historically civilians have often been caught up in the morass of conventional war, but they are an alarmingly regular feature in today's conflicts. As General Rupert Smith explains, "war amongst the people" is becoming routine.[8] In fact, while research on the First World War suggests that "soldiers accounted for around 95% of victims, in more recent conflicts this ratio has been inverted, with non-combatant civilians now accounting for the vast majority of victims, being displaced, exiled, attacked, tortured, killed or disappearing".[9] In applying a gender perspective to this shift, the Peace Research Institute Oslo concluded that while "men die more frequently than women in direct armed conflicts… more women than men die in post-conflict situations of the indirect causes of war".[10] While men and some boys are sent (sometimes forcefully) to the battlefield in disproportionate numbers, many women and girls are left with the simultaneous burdens of managing the home, growing or providing food, earning an income and caring for children, the elderly and the wounded. This means they are often the first to be affected by any breakdown of infrastructure.[11]

Box 1.2 Gender in theories of international relations and war studies[7]

Many of the recent legal and policy developments related to gender, peace and conflict, such as the provisions of the eight UNSCRs on women, peace and security, stem from critiques by gender theorists of some of the mainstream theories in international relations and war studies. For example, some have drawn on gender studies to call into question our traditional understanding of "just war" theories presented by thinkers such as Hugo Grotius and Carl von Clausewitz. Some have argued that if the right to go to war (*jus ad bellum*) is being justified by the need to protect women, then efforts must be made to include women in decision-making on whether this would respond to their security needs and, if so, what kinds of actions would be proportionate. Women, however, continue to be excluded from security-related decision-making, including post-conflict peace settlements (*jus post bellum*) of wars apparently fought in their name. The "participation" pillar of the resolutions on women, peace and security can be seen as a response to this critique.

Deeper understanding of how conflict directly and indirectly affects civilian women, men, girls and boys in different ways has also led gender theorists to question whether the use of force is, as Clausewitz advocates, being restrained by "wise policy". This is one of the reasons behind the "prevention" pillar, in which the UN Security Council calls for greater recognition of the role women (can) play in the creation and implementation of policies to prevent conflict.

Gender theorists have also pointed to gaps in the application of international humanitarian law (*jus in bello*). With some degree of success, they have promoted the idea that conflict-related sexual violence constitutes a failure in command responsibility that may even undermine the case for using military force as a form of government policy. They assert that sexual violence can no longer be considered as an unfortunate yet inevitable consequence of an otherwise just war. In addition, light has been shed on the fact that many female combatants and male civilians are not recognized as such. Factors such as these have fed into work related to the "protection" pillar of the UNSCRs.

Women and girls (as well as men and boys) are also subject to sexual violence, which is sometimes used systematically by warring parties to achieve military or political objectives. Furthermore, some women and girls are forced to undergo exploitative sexual acts in order to support themselves and their families. This may involve forced prostitution, sexual exploitation or abuse by peacekeepers or aid workers responsible for the distribution of humanitarian aid.[12]

> *It is now probably more dangerous to be a [civilian] woman than a soldier in modern conflict.*
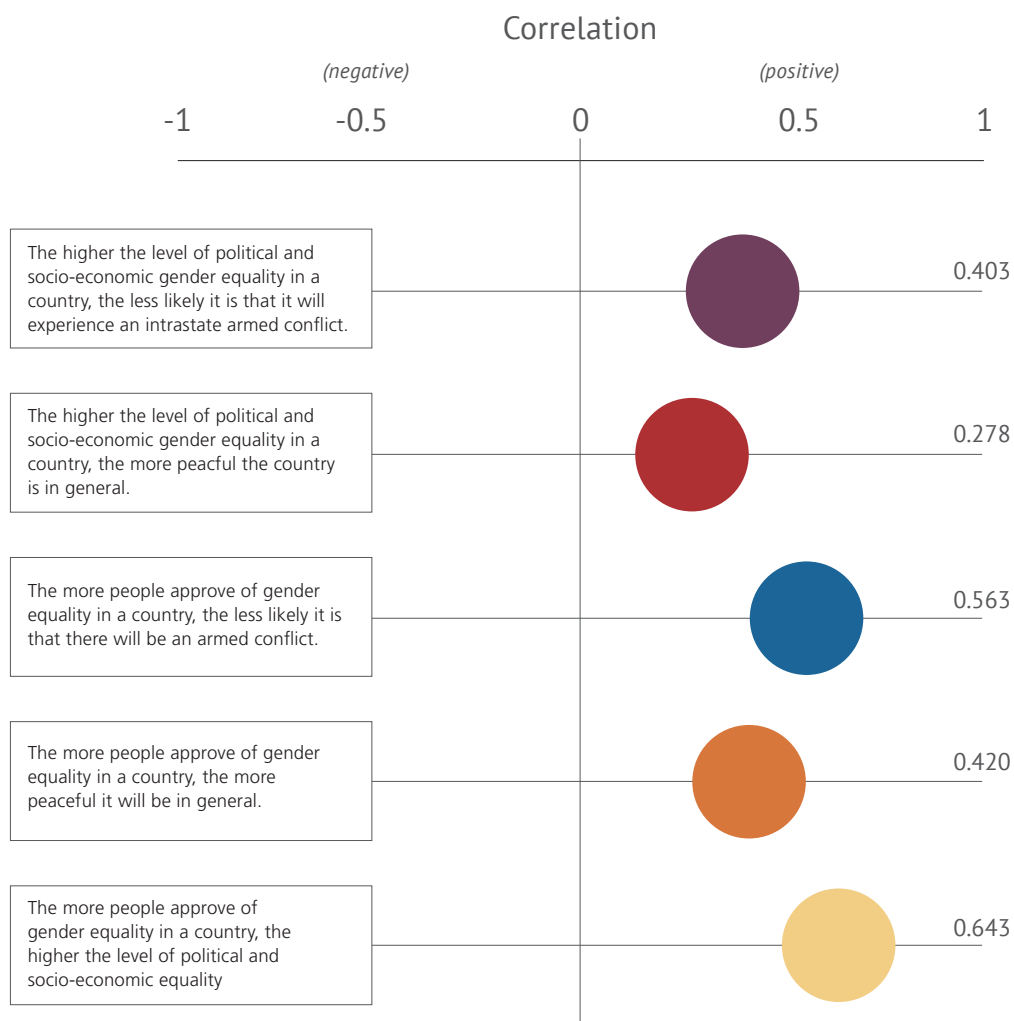>
> Major-General Patrick Cammaert, former force commander in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo and military adviser in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations[13]

Post-Cold War changes in the nature of conflict have also led to the widening of the definition of security. Traditional notions of state security are now joined by newer conceptions of human security. While state security focuses on defending against threats to the survival and the territorial integrity of the state, human security seeks to protect the civilian population's freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to live in dignity.[14] One of the reasons why human security is beginning to be taken more seriously is because of an increasing understanding that many humanitarian crises are multicausal. Often termed as complex emergencies, these situations occur when one threat to security, such as armed conflict, is aggravated by other negative economic, environmental, political or social factors.[15] Complex emergencies can only be resolved by a comprehensive approach to crisis management. This involves military actors coordinating with other humanitarian actors to

prevent, protect, intervene and rebuild in these situations, and to create lasting stability by addressing different aspects of security, development and rights in a coordinated manner. This comprehensive approach to crisis management was endorsed by NATO in its 2010 strategic concept.[16]

Measures of human insecurity have also been used by researchers to predict the resilience of a given area to violent conflict. More recently, researchers have drawn upon measures of gender equality to highlight correlations between countries likely to experience conflict and those that rate poorly when it comes to gender equality (Box 1.3).[17] This would suggest that the promotion of gender equality is a critical component to preventing violent conflict, not because women are inherently more peaceful but because more gender equality is linked to both more sustainable development and lower levels of interpersonal violence, which, in turn, reduce the likelihood of conflict.[18]

Box 1.3 The correlation between gender inequality and peace and conflict

	Correlation	
	(negative)	*(positive)*
	-1 -0.5 0 0.5 1	
The higher the level of political and socio-economic gender equality in a country, the less likely it is that it will experience an intrastate armed conflict.		0.403
The higher the level of political and socio-economic gender equality in a country, the more peacful the country is in general.		0.278
The more people approve of gender equality in a country, the less likely it is that there will be an armed conflict.		0.563
The more people approve of gender equality in a country, the more peaceful it will be in general.		0.420
The more people approve of gender equality in a country, the higher the level of political and socio-economic equality		0.643

Åsa Ekvall tested the five hypotheses in the graph by comparing data on gender equality from the World Values Survey and the Global Gender Gap Index to data on the presence of conflict or peacefulness within a country from the Uppsala Conflict Data Base and the Global Peace Index. The data analysis confirmed all five hypotheses with strong, positive correlations at a confidence interval of 99.9 per cent. While Ekvall's analysis does not prove a causal link between gender inequality and violent conflict, it does support qualitative research suggesting that there may be one. She argues that gender equality should therefore be considered as an integral part of violence and conflict prevention rather than as a "women's issue" to be dealt with once the "hard" security threats have been addressed.[19]

The changing perception of security and what constitutes a security threat has also had consequences for what role states see for their militaries. While the UN Charter[20] generally forbids the use of the military to violate the sovereignty of another state, some states have argued in favour of a responsibility to protect (R2P) that gives the international community the right to intervene, using military force as a last resort, "where a population is suffering serious harm, as a result of internal war, insurgency, repression or state failure, and the state in question is unwilling or unable to halt or avert it".[21] The R2P principle was invoked and, for the first time, endorsed by the UN Security Council in regard to the situation in Libya in 2011, resulting in Operation Odyssey Dawn and Operation Unified Protector.[22] This use of an armed intervention to avert a humanitarian crisis highlights a new emerging role for the military. The political objective in this case was not to repel an enemy military threat but rather to guarantee the human security of a country's population. Militaries in countries with the resources to invoke the R2P therefore need to consider this new role and adapt their structure, education and training to respond to this new kind of political objective on the part of their governments and people.

> *Global systems of the 20th century were designed to address inter-state tensions and civil wars. War between nation states and civil war have a given logic... 21st century violence and conflict have not been banished... But because of the success in reducing inter-state war, the remaining forms of violence do not fit neatly into "war" or "peace" or into "political" or "criminal" violence.*
>
> World Bank[23]

Another development is that armed forces are increasingly being asked to contribute in the response to terrorist and criminal threats committed by non-state actors. This often involves conducting operations in populated areas rather than on a traditional battlefield, hence it is critical that the United Nations and regional security organizations such as NATO and the African Union understand the cultural and anthropological terrain in which their soldiers are operating. For them to respond effectively to the likes of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda in the Democratic Republic of the Congo or the so-called Islamic State, it is critical to have a broader understanding of the environment. A fundamental aspect of this will be recognizing what the gender roles of the people in the area of operations are, and how women, girls, men and boys are being targeted and affected differently. Without this knowledge they risk overlooking security threats (by, for example, assuming that all women are non-combatants), and may fail to identify those in vulnerable situations who are in need of protection. To have this situational awareness soldiers will require support such as host-nation training and cultural awareness training, plus language skills and the ability to view the situation with a gender perspective – including the ability to conduct a gender analysis of the human terrain.

4. Legal foundations for the implementation of a gender perspective in military operations

In October 2000 the UN Security Council took an important step and elevated women's rights and conditions from the social and economic agenda to the agenda for international peace and security. The women's movement had lobbied and argued persistently for the issues to be taken seriously, and ultimately the UN Security Council came to a well-informed and deeper understanding of the security concept.[24]

The unanimous adoption by the Security Council of UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security heralded a historic change in the global security agenda. The resolution calls on all member states to ensure that women's and society's security needs are safeguarded through increased emphasis on the three pillars of prevention, protection and participation. The prevention (of conflict and gender-based violence) and participation (at all

levels of decision-making related to peace and security) pillars recognize the fact that the effects of war and conflict on women and girls have been historically overlooked, and that increased efforts are needed in order to protect their basic human rights (the third pillar). However, the main shift in the security agenda is that women are now seen as actors and active contributors in shaping their own future and that of their nations through participation in conflict resolution and peacebuilding activities.

Additionally, the resolution goes on to detail some specific actions to be taken. For instance, more women are to be deployed in peacekeeping operations, and gender perspectives are to be part of all planning and execution of military operations. These actions can be interpreted as both aims and tools to bring about gender equality. They are also believed to increase the chances of achieving mission success and sustainable peace, as well as the resolution's main objectives related to prevention, protection and participation.

Following the adoption of UNSCR 1325, many countries have generated their own national action plans to detail and evaluate their own efforts towards the aims of the women, peace and security agenda. This is a unique response to a UNSCR and emphasizes widespread commitment to the implementation of this resolution. The UN Security Council has in turn cemented its commitment to gender equality by subsequently adopting another seven resolutions on women, peace and security.[25] Together, the eight resolutions represent an important framework for improving women's situations in conflict-affected countries.

5. The military's role in implementing the women, peace and security agenda

How is this relevant to the armed forces? First of all, different nations have international, regional and national obligations related to the women, peace and security agenda, and most UN mandates for military operations now include references to UNSCR 1325 and the other resolutions on women, peace and security. The armed forces therefore need to incorporate the objectives and desired outcomes of these UNSCRs into their operational plans. Secondly, including gender perspectives as a tool in conducting all parts of operations gives a greater chance of being more effective in addressing constant challenges such as protection of civilians, situational awareness and understanding the security needs of different groups of people. For the military this means force protection, intelligence and information efforts, especially within the context of complex emergencies.

For its part, NATO has comprehended and embraced its role in relation to the women, peace and security agenda through its Bi-Strategic Command Directive 40-1, which was adopted in 2009 and revised in 2012 (see Chapter 2). In addition, the first special representative for UNSCR 1325 to the NATO Secretary General was appointed in 2012, and gender adviser positions have been established in Allied Command Operations at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe in Mons, and at the Allied Command Transformation in Norfolk, VA and the Joint Force Commands in Brunssum and Naples. In addition, gender advisers at strategic, operational and tactical levels have been deployed in recent operations in Kosovo and Afghanistan. NATO has also appointed the Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations in Sweden as department head for all curricula related to gender for NATO and Partnership for Peace countries (see Chapter 3).[26] These structural changes have been created in an effort to implement gender perspectives in NATO's military operations and fulfil the aims of UNSCR 1325.

The way in which the armed forces apply the women, peace and security agenda to their missions involves a three-step process. First, a gender-specific component is needed in the environmental analysis of the area of operations, which is a standard part of the planning phase. A military strategy needs to be based on a full analysis of the operational environment. This will not be possible, however, unless geographic, economic, political and military factors are understood within their socio-cultural context. Furthermore, this analysis will need to be gender specific because the experience of living in any given environment varies for different groups of women, men, girls and boys, and changes in that environment will have different consequences for each of them.

This gender-specific knowledge can then feed into the next step, which is to consider how the needs of the population relate to the three pillars (prevention, protection and participation) of the women, peace and security agenda and what impact the military might have on its implementation. The third step is to consider the specific mandate for each military operation and what this means in terms of the scope and opportunities for implementing the women, peace and security agenda. For example, an operation with a mandate to protect civilians would see the military playing an active role in its implementation. Conversely, if the mandate were to establish air supremacy in an arctic area, the armed forces would play a more passive role but operations would still need to be adapted so as not to exacerbate the situation for women and girls and avoid undermining the work of non-military actors operating in the same environment.

6. Implementation at strategic, operational and tactical levels

To implement gender perspectives in military operations, gender dimensions must be included in all phases of an operation. Implementation at all levels, however, requires the different actors to be educated and trained on what gender is and how it relates to their daily work, which explains the need for this handbook. Box 1.4 outlines the different tasks of personnel at the strategic, operational and tactical levels.

Box 1.4 Definitions of the strategic, operational and tactical levels

The *strategic level* can be described as the "level at which a nation or group of nations determines national or multinational security objectives and deploys national, including military, resources to achieve them".[27]

The *operational level* can be described as the "level at which campaigns and major operations are planned, conducted and sustained to accomplish strategic objectives within theatres or areas of operations".[28]

The *tactical level* can be described as the "level at which activities, battles and engagements are planned and executed to accomplish military objectives assigned to tactical formations and units".[29]

First of all, the *strategic level* has to ensure that gender perspectives and the provisions of UNSCR 1325 and associated resolutions are part of the mandate for the operation as a legal foundation and there is a clear, politically defined for the aims to be achieved. The strategic level is also responsible for following up on implementation. Many of the conditions for women's participation in the military are set at this level, since policies for recruitment and retention are instigated here. The strategic level also plays a key role in determining how codes of conduct are formulated, and leadership at this level can exercise influence to make sure that unlawful behaviours such as sexual exploitation and abuse of civilian populations and sexual harassment within the troops are seen as being morally and ethically unacceptable.

At the *operational level*, the strategic political aims are transformed into military tasks and form the core of the military profession: operational planning. In the planning process, gender-specific analyses of the mandate, operational environment and the particular forces need to be incorporated. This will have an impact on how the military plans to undertake tasks related to, for example, situational awareness, intelligence gathering, information sharing, mission analysis and reporting, as well as the interaction with civil society. This will lead the military to evaluate whether its existing structures and competencies are sufficient, and may result in changes to recruitment procedures, force composition and the provision of facilities (e.g. to ensure that the needs of all personnel are met regardless of their gender), as well as the kinds of education and training that military personnel receive.

At the *tactical level* gender perspectives are important in everyday operations. To understand the security needs of the civilian population one needs to understand the different conditions and contexts that men, women, girls and boys are subject to in an operational area. Also, from a participation point of view it is important to involve women as actors and let them define their concerns themselves. Often women have primarily been seen as victims of conflict, but gender roles change over time and in different parts of the world. There are, for instance, situations when gender stereotypes on the part of the military constitute a threat to force protection. Misconceptions that women cannot be combatants and a lack of capability to search women have cost militaries dearly in the past. There are well-known examples from the Afghan war where male Taliban fighters dressed up as women in *burqas* in order to detonate bombs, and women have shot coalition forces in Iraq.[30]

7. Conclusion

Integrating a gender perspective into military operations is logical in terms of promoting both justice and effectiveness. The ability to implement gender perspectives at all levels in military operations increases with more women in international operations.[31] Efforts aimed at the recruitment and retention of women are therefore fundamental. This involves minimizing prejudice and promoting career opportunities for women by having a diverse workforce that includes a critical mass of female staff, fostering a cooperative and equal work environment, and ensuring that people from minority groups have access to senior positions. This will result in more women working in national services, thus creating a larger recruitment pool for international deployments. In addition, national military forces will have to make changes to ensure their structures, functions and organizational cultures facilitate a thriving environment for men and women. This is where the need for integrating a gender perspective into all military education and training comes in – more details are given in the following chapters of this handbook. This cannot be achieved, however, without the full support of and buy-in from senior leadership. With this in mind the inclusion of gender perspectives needs, first and foremost, to be integrated in the steering documents upon which military education and training are based.

Although a gender perspective is neither a "silver bullet" nor the answer to every question or challenge in military operations, it is a perspective that will create better situational awareness and substantively contribute to reaching the goals of international obligations of working towards a more equal society and making the use of military forces more effective.

> *[If] the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan (ISAF) and the NATO Kosovo Force (KFOR) are to succeed with gender mainstreaming throughout their missions, then the support and advocacy of senior leadership is imperative. If NATO intends to support development of gender equality and improve protection for women and girls, a constant focus from NATO civilian and military leadership, as well as from senior leaders in alliance and partner countries, is a key ingredient for succeeding. The Review found that it is of critical importance that military commanders at all levels – strategic, operational and tactical – lead by example and integrate a gender perspective into their actions.[32]*

Helené Lackenbauer and Richard Langlais (eds), *Review of the Practical Implications of UNSCR 1325 for the Conduct of NATO-led Operations and Missions*

8. Annotated Bibliography

Caprioli, M., "Primed for violence: The role of gender inequality in predicting internal conflict", *International Studies Quarterly,* Vol. 49, No. 2 (2005).

This article draws on methodologies used to examine the relationship between ethnic discrimination and its link to ethno-political intrastate rebellion-conflict, and applies them instead to measure whether gender inequality can also increase the likelihood of intrastate violence. The author's conviction that there is indeed a demonstrable link was one of the reasons why she became one of the lead contributors to an online database of quantitative data on the status women. This can be found at www.womanstats.org.

Defense Department, National Defense University [USA], *Women on the Frontlines of Peace and Security* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2014). Available at: ndupress.ndu.edu/Books/WomenontheFrontlinesofPeaceandSecurity.aspx.

This compilation, which contains a foreword from Hillary Rodham Clinton and Leon Panetta, consists of a selection of chapters written by high profile academics, ambassadors and practitioners specialising on peace and security issues, many of whom have previously held high-ranking positions in the US Military. The chapters are grouped into five broad themes which broadly reflect the pillars of the women, peace and security agenda: the integration of women into US defence and foreign policy, women and conflict prevention, women as equal participants in conflict resolution, protections for women during and after conflict and women's equal access to the means for recovery.

de Lara, B.F., and M. Robles Carrillo, "Integration of the perspective of gender into the analysis of armed conflicts and security", in Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies and Granada University – Army Training and Doctrine Combined Centre (ed.), *The Role of Women and Gender in Conflicts,* Strategic Dossier 157-B (Madrid: Ministry of Defence, 2012). Available at: dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/4055800/1.pdf

This article provides an overview of how changes in the nature of contemporary conflicts, as well as developments in the field of security studies, resulted in a greater focus on the gendered dimensions of conflict towards the end of the twentieth century. It documents how this shaped the women, peace and security agenda and concludes with an analysis of how effective this policy framework is in addressing atrocities such as sexual violence in wartime.

Goldstein, J.S., *War and Gender* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

This book is commonly used as a textbook for university-level introductory courses on gender for students in social science. It looks at the historical depiction of women and men in wartime settings, outlines relevant basic concepts of gender studies such as the distinction between sex and gender and provides an overview of the different schools of academic research on topics related to gender and conflict.

Hammar, L., and A. Berg (eds), *Whose Security? Practical examples of gender perspectives in military operations* (Kungsängen: Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations/Swedish Armed Forces, 2015). Available at: http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/en/swedint/nordic-centre-for-gender-in-military-operations/.

This publication was produced by the Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations which is the NATO department head for the delivery of all gender education and training. It contains a wide selection of case studies that detail practical examples of how gender perspectives have been integrated into military operations around the world. These are grouped into several themes such as gender perspective in operational planning, capacity to deliver on the mandate and enhancing operational effect through training. Many of the examples are drawn from contexts where NATO member nations were deployed such as Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Iraq.

Sjoberg, L., *Gender, War, and Conflict* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014).
This book uses a combination of both personal stories and macro-level analysis to make the case for gender analysis as a critical tool for understanding war and conflict to its full extent. It first highlights the shortcomings of conflict analyses that ignore gender dimensions and then goes on to outline some of the tools that can be used to better assess how gender influences war and conflict, including in the pre- and post-conflict stages.

Tryggestad, T. L., *International Norms and Political Change: "Women, Peace and Security" and the UN Security Agenda* (Oslo: University of Oslo, 2014). Available at: urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-46203.
This thesis examines the international developments that lead to the emergence of the Women, Peace and Security framework in 2000, a milestone that would have been unthinkable even five years previously. It looks at how collaborative efforts between dedicated member states, influential individuals within the UN system and transnational advocacy networks of women's organisations brought about the formation of this new normative framework and how it has subsequently influenced regional and national institutions.

Annex: Quick reference guide – Gender at the strategic, operational and tactical levels

GENDER AT THE STRATEGIC LEVEL

Political-military level

At the *political-military level*, objectives are created for the military to execute. To ensure that a gender perspective is achieved at the tactical level, these strategic objectives should:

- reinforce the UN resolutions on women, peace and security – noting the critical role the inclusion of women plays in achieving an enduring peace;
- acknowledge that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those affected by conflict;
- include specific direction to consider the protection of women and children as important as the neutralization of armed groups;
- relate the mandate to specific gender matters (e.g. that any disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes include female combatants as well as male combatants, and should not only focus on people carrying weapons);
- include wording in the mission that encourages the military carrying out the strategic direction to consider a gender perspective – for example, instead of stating that "the force is to create a safe and secure environment", one could state that "the force is to create a safe and secure environment cognizant that the view of security varies between women and men, taking into consideration that women and men experience security in different ways";
- include formal liaison with international and national bodies that represent women's groups within the country where the deployment will take place;
- capture gender-disaggregated data to understand the area of operations better and use these for future operational planning purposes;
- direct units to deploy gender advisers and gender focal points;
- budget for gender advisers and gender focal points;
- make finances available for initiatives supporting women as well as men in theatre.

Recruitment and retention of servicewomen

While a gender perspective is predominantly focused on external interaction with local communities in the area of operations, without enough servicewomen to engage with women in this area it is difficult to achieve a gender perspective. It is critical at the strategic level that:

- recruitment campaigns are run to encourage women to join the military;
- servicewomen have terms and conditions of service that inspire them to stay in the military as a long-term career choice;
- promotion for women is at (proportionally) the same numbers as promotion for men;
- the career paths to senior military appointments are reviewed to ensure women and men have the same opportunities;
- the armed forces' organizational structures, functions and culture support recruitment and retention of servicewomen.

GENDER AT THE OPERATIONAL LEVEL

The *operational level* acts as a bridge between the objectives set at the strategic level and the military action carried out at the tactical level. The direction and orders issued by the operational HQ should be gender mainstreamed and provide specific guidelines to units that will ensure a gender perspective is included at ground level.

Operational HQ staffing and procedures

Over time a gender perspective will run in the "veins" of military HQ and not require additional staffing, but at this moment the military mindset is not intuitively attuned to a gender perspective and fails to mainstream gender. To that end the operational HQ should:

- establish a staff officer responsible for the implementation of UNSCRs resolutions relating to women, peace and security – this appointment could be based on the NATO gender field adviser or termed the "protection of civilians officer";[33]
- include in the main body of the operational order and operational plan paragraphs that are gender mainstreamed;
- include a gender-specific annex for gender focal points in units and other staff branches that would benefit from a gender perspective.

Box 1.5 Gender mainstreaming in military functions at the operational level[34]

J1: Personnel/chief personnel officer	J2: Operational intelligence
▶ Ensure that the deploying force has a gender field adviser/protection of civilians officer.[35] ▶ Sufficient numbers of servicewomen to be deployed to conduct searching operations and engage with local women, and of women interpreters and trained women to respond to survivors of conflict-related sexual violence. ▶ Soldiers to be made aware of standards of behaviour towards the local population. ▶ Zero-tolerance policy towards using prostitution services to be implemented. ▶ Zero-tolerance policy towards sexual harassment or violence between service members to be implemented.	▶ Information to be collected from women as well as men. ▶ Data to be disaggregated to show the experiences of women, men and the under-18s. ▶ Data to be analysed to provide commanders and staffs with relevant intelligence. ▶ Procedures to be put in place to push intelligence out to the field.

J3: Current operations	J4: Logistics/medical
▶ Ensure that orders direct units to conduct mixed patrolling and have servicewomen on cordon and search operations. ▶ Create templates for reporting which include headings to provide information relating to the gender dynamics of the area, e.g. formally report incidents of rape/human rights abuses in the name of witchcraft. ▶ Train staff on and implement gender overlay in collateral damage estimates for air-dropped munitions. ▶ Ensure missions using gendered interface units (female engagement teams, cultural support teams, women's initiative training teams, mixed patrols) are tracked in the joint operations centre. ▶ Information operations. ✓ Are products communicating with local population inclusive? ✓ Has the force considered whether its messages reinforce cultural mores of the society that undermine the human rights of children and women? ✓ Does key leader engagement include dialogue with women?	▶ Contracts to be given to companies that have a transparent record on treatment of women and children. ▶ Contracts to be given to businesses run by women or supporting women in local society. ▶ With J1 and military police, ensure that civilians employed on camp are protected from sexual exploitation, trafficking and prostitution. ▶ Medics to have servicewomen trained in how to respond to conflict-related sexual violence and use PEP[36] kits, etc. ▶ Camps to have ablutions for women that are safe and secure. ▶ Adequate supplies of urinary diversion tubes exist in theatre. ▶ Medics are trained in the health needs of servicewomen operating in austere environments. ▶ Laundry facilities available for women service members who choose not to use camp laundry services.
J5: Deliberate planning	**J6: Communication and information systems**
▶ Operational plans and orders to have a gender perspective throughout, plus a dedicated annex on gender. ▶ Security sector reform programmes should specifically include training and infrastructure for indigenous women and not only focus on training local men. ▶ Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider women and girls as well as the men involved in armed groups. ▶ Post-conflict negotiations/key leader engagement to include women. ▶ Should the force be involved in internally displaced persons or refugee camps (which is rare, as this is the role of UN agencies and humanitarian actors), consider the security of women, locks on showers, lighting, separate areas for men and women, etc. ▶ Special operating forces' concepts of operations must include gender-relevant considerations.	▶ Ensure communications structures are not placed near schools or areas usually occupied by local women. **J7: Training** ▶ Ensure induction training for the force includes a gender-specific lesson. ▶ If involved in security sector reform, ensure women are included in training. ▶ Ensure specific staff section officers, e.g. targeters and weapons users in the dynamic targeting cell, have training in the incorporation of gender perspectives in their specific functional standard operating procedures. **J8: Finance and human resources** ▶ Money should be allocated to units for funding women's projects.

GENDER AT THE TACTICAL LEVEL

The *tactical level* requires soldiers to be aware of a gender perspective, to think beyond the traditional norms of conflict and to understand that their job is not purely about neutralizing armed groups or insurgents. They must be taught before they deploy about how men and women experience conflict differently, and how some groups are more at risk than others during deliberate operations.

Box 1.6 Gender mainstreaming in military functions at the tactical level

J1: Personnel	J2: Operational intelligence
▶ Units have male and female battle casualty replacements at the home unit. ▶ Discipline of soldiers is monitored and zero tolerance shown to soldiers who transgress the rules regarding prostitution and the exploitation of women and children.	▶ Units to use mixed and female engagement teams to gather information from the entire spectrum of society. ▶ Patterns and trends for conflict-related sexual violence to be monitored and collated.
J3: Current operations	**J4: Logistics/medical**
▶ Patrols to be of mixed gender as often as possible. ▶ Post-patrol briefs to include assessment of threats to civilians and reports of conflict-related sexual violence or other human rights violations. ▶ Commanding officer and company commanders to engage with local women (where culturally acceptable) and use female engagement teams when there are no female military staff or the local women cannot meet with the men from the unit.	▶ With J1 and military police, ensure that women employed on camp are not able to practise prostitution. ▶ Medics to have servicewomen trained in how to respond to conflict-related sexual violence and use PEP kits, etc.
J5: Deliberate planning	**J6: Communication and information systems**
▶ Units to have servicewomen prepared and trained to assist with security sector reform, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, internally displaced persons camps, etc.	▶ Ensure communications structures are not placed near schools or areas usually occupied by local women.
	J7: Training
	▶ Training officer to ensure soldiers are refreshed in gender training during tour. ▶ If involved in security sector reform, ensure women are included in training.
	J8: Finance and human resources
	▶ Commanding officer to allocate funding for women's projects.

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Notes

1. The authors would like to thank Jody Prescott and Vanja Matić for providing written comments on this chapter as well as Linda Johansson and Chris Kilmartin who also gave feedback on this chapter.

2. UN Security Council, "Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security", UN Doc. No. S/RES/1325 (2000), 31 October 2000.

3. J. S. Goldstein, *War and Gender* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 2.

4. C.-G. Fant, "Gender equality and gender mainstreaming in Swedish Armed Forces", lecture at Gender Mainstreaming: A Tool for Change conference, Graz, 10 May 2007.

5. Transgender people – people who identify as neither men nor women – can currently serve openly in the militaries of at least 11 NATO members (Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain and the United Kingdom) and three Partnership for Peace members (Austria, Finland and Sweden). M. Joycelyn Elders, George R. Brown, Eli Coleman, Thomas A. Kolditz and Alan M. Steinman, "Medical aspects of transgender military service", *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (2015), pp. 199–220.

6. Madeleine Albright, White House address commemorating International Women's Day, 8 March 2010, Washington, DC.

7. Laura Sjoberg, *Gender, War, and Conflict* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), pp. 28–30; Laura Wilcox, "Gendering the cult of the offensive", in Laura Sjoberg (ed.), *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 75–76; Fionnuala Ní Aoláin and Dina Francesca Haynes, "Compatibility of justice for women with *jus post bellum* analysis", in Carsten Stahn, Jennifer S. Easterday and Jens Iverson (eds), *Jus Post Bellum: Mapping the Normative Foundations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) , pp. 170–171; Kateri Carmola, "The concept of proportionality: Old questions and new ambiguities", in Mark Evans (ed.), *Just War Theory: A Reappraisal* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p. 97.

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11. See Women, War and Peace portal, www. womenwarpeace.org/.

12. UN General Assembly, "A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations", UN Doc. A/59/710, 24 March 2005.

13. UNOHCHR, "Rape as a weapon of war", 2008, www. ohchr.org/en/newsevents/pages/rapeweaponwar.aspx.

14. UN General Assembly, "In larger freedom: Towards development, security and human rights for all", report of the Secretary-General, UN Doc. A/59/2005, 21 March 2005.

15. Mark Duffield, "Complex emergencies and the crisis of developmentalism", *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1994), pp. 3–4.

16. NATO, "A 'comprehensive approach' to crises", 1 September 2015, www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_51633.htm.

17. See, for example, M. Caprioli, "Primed for violence: The role of gender inequality in predicting internal conflict", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (2005), pp. 161–178.

18. Åsa Ekvall, "Norms on Gender Equality and Violent Conflict", *E-International Relations*, 10 June 2013, www.e-ir.info/2013/06/10/norms-on-gender-equality-and-violent-conflict/.

19. Ibid.

20. See UN Charter Article 2(4), www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter1.shtml.

21. ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001), p. XI.

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23. World Bank, *World Development Report*, 2011, p. 2, https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/4389/9780821384398_overview.pdf.

24. T. L. Tryggestad, *International Norms and Political Change: "Women, Peace and Security" and the UN Security Agenda* (Oslo: University of Oslo, 2014).

25. UN Resolution 1820 (2008) recognizing conflict-related sexual violence as a matter of international peace and security, UN Resolution 1888 (2009) on assigning leadership and establishing effective support mechanisms and UN Resolution 1889 (2009) addressing obstacles to women's participation in peace processes and peacebuilding. UN Resolution 1960 (2010) and UN Resolution 2106 (2013) focus on sexual violence, while UN Resolution 2122 (2013) focuses on lack of progress on the women, peace and security agenda. UN Resolution 2242 (2015) encourages the integration of gender as a cross-cutting issue throughout the international peace and security agenda, including in activities related to countering violent extremism,

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29. Ibid.

30. See, for example, "French soldiers killed in Afghan blast", *Al Jazeera*, 9 June 2012, www.aljazeera. com/news/asia/2012/06/20126973853434994.html; "Female troops in Iraq exposed to combat", *CNN*, 28 June 2005, http://edition.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/ meast/06/25/women.combat/.

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32. Helené Lackenbauer and Richard Langlais (eds), *Review of the Practical Implications of UNSCR 1325 for the Conduct of NATO-led Operations and Missions, Full Report* (Stockholm: Swedish Defence Research Agency, 2013), p. 67.

33. POCO – protection of civilians officer – is not yet a formally recognized staff appointment within UN or NATO missions, and is used for illustrative purposes only.

34. This table shows how the different military functions can mainstream a gender perspective into their routine work. J refers to joint, i.e. a naval/land/air operation. If the military deployment is a single service, the military functions are G (ground), A (air) and N (navy).

35. The creation of the table which states who needs to deploy is traditionally drafted by the current operations branch (G3).

36. PEP kits: after rape, people are given anti-retroviral medication to prevent HIV infection. This treatment is called post-exposure prophylaxis or PEP.

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