



TEACHING GENDER IN THE MILITARY

A Handbook

Aiko Holvikivi with Kristin Valasek, "How to integrate gender into military curricula"
in PfPC SSRWG and EDWG, *Handbook on Teaching Gender in the Military*
(Geneva: DCAF and PfPC, 2016).



Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra

With the support of the Swiss Government.



DCAF

a centre for security,
development and
the rule of law

How to integrate gender into military curricula

Aiko Holvikivi (DCAF) with Kristin Valasek (DCAF)¹

CONTENTS

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Introduction | 5.1 Build faculty's and trainers' gender expertise |
| 2. What is the curriculum? | 5.2 Mainstream gender learning across the curriculum |
| 3. Why is it important to integrate gender into military curricula? | 5.3 Perform gender-sensitive assessment and evaluation |
| 3.1 Military operations and mandates require gender learning in the curriculum | 6. Common challenges and useful responses |
| 3.2 The curriculum is already gendered | 6.1 The symptoms |
| 3.3 The benefits of integration and the risks of ignorance | 6.2 Underlying issues |
| 4. The process: Integrating gender into military curriculum development or review | 6.3 Useful responses |
| 4.1 The process | 7. Annotated bibliography |
| 4.2 Getting into the process | 7.1 Reference curricula |
| 5. Integrating gender: Practical measures and specific considerations | 7.2 Guidance on integrating gender perspectives into training and education |
| | 7.3 Other useful resources |

1. Introduction

Gender is often described as a “cross-cutting” issue. This means that all aspects of military operations and all topics in military education and training have a gender dimension to them. The significance and explanatory power of these gender dimensions vary, but they are always present. Gender perspectives should be taken into account in operational planning and military forces’ obligations under international humanitarian law; gender awareness is necessary to foster leadership skills and make appropriate logistical decisions. These are just a few examples of the extensive variety of issue areas where gender perspectives need to be taken into account. Because gender is cross-cutting, education and training on the topic should not be isolated in a “special interests” silo. While considering gender in a dedicated module or session helps gain basic understanding of the concepts at work, to achieve meaningful education and training on gender, gender perspectives must also be integrated throughout an educational curriculum. This chapter deals with the question of how to do so.

The next section offers a brief discussion of definitions – namely what is understood as “the curriculum” for the purposes of this chapter. Section 3 then considers why it is necessary to integrate gender in military curricula, highlighting three key rationales. Section 4 is process oriented: it outlines how curricula are typically developed and reviewed, and how to integrate gender through the process. The process is described in broad brushstrokes, as actual processes vary from institution to institution. Section 5 forms the main body of the chapter, focusing

on practical measures and specific considerations for integrating gender in curricula. It draws on a curriculum review checklist developed by members of the Security Sector Reform and Education Development Working Groups of the Partnership for Peace Consortium (PfPC) of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes in a 2012 workshop on “Teaching Gender to the Military”. The section is divided into three subsections which discuss building faculty and trainers’ gender expertise; mainstreaming gender learning across the curriculum; and practising gender-sensitive assessment and evaluation. Section 6 engages, by way of a conclusion, in a discussion of common challenges to integrating gender in the curriculum and some useful responses. An annotated bibliography is annexed to this chapter, describing further useful resources

2. What is the curriculum?

The term *curriculum* refers to “a specific learning programme, a range of courses that collectively describes the teaching, learning and assessment materials available for a given course of study”.² More broadly, the curriculum refers to the planned educational experiences of a learner throughout the course of instruction. This course of study may be broad, such as the professional military education of officers for a certain rank or level, or it may be narrow, such as a one-week course on a given topic like gender in operations.

Curricula typically provide the instructor with learning outcomes, issues for consideration, a learning methodology, assessment modalities, an institutional mission and vision, and reference reading. Accordingly, a curriculum goes beyond listing topics or concepts to be taught in a particular class, which is contained in a syllabus. David White explains the difference between the two as “the syllabus is planned within the social and moral context of the curriculum; ‘curriculum’ contrasts with ‘syllabus’ in the way *Why* contrasts with *How*”.³

This chapter deals with both the process and the substance of integrating gender in the curriculum. The process may happen either when a new curriculum is developed or when an existing curriculum is being reviewed. The substance covers several aspects of the curriculum, ranging from available subject-matter expertise to learning outcomes, content, assessment and evaluation.

3. Why is it important to integrate gender into military curricula?

3.1 Military operations and mandates require gender learning in the curriculum

Incorporating a gender perspective in defence institutions and military operations is a vital and necessary step in meeting three broad and intimately connected goals: successful conduct of military operations; protection of the human rights of women and men; and respect for the international legal and policy framework. These themes are explored in greater detail throughout Part I of this handbook, so this subsection is limited to a brief summary.

First, military operations that do not incorporate a gender perspective jeopardize the success of their missions. Tasks ranging from information gathering and dissemination to decision-making regarding the use of force all require a gender analysis – skills, knowledge and attitudes that must be developed through education and training.⁵ Second, military institutions have a duty to uphold human rights – both through the protection of the civilian population during the conduct of operations, and by upholding the rights of their own staff.⁶ This duty cannot be considered fulfilled unless military institutions uphold the rights of men and women, and these rights cannot be upheld without education on what doing so entails. Finally, the international legal and policy frameworks – including the laws of armed conflict and UN, EU and NATO frameworks – all require the integration of gender perspectives in military institutions and operations and the inclusion of the topic in education and training.⁷

3.2 The curriculum is already gendered

In some ways, speaking of “integrating gender” in military curricula is a misnomer. It seems to imply that, in the absence of a proactive effort to integrate gender perspectives in the curriculum, the curriculum is neutral when it comes to gender, and that a curriculum which does not integrate gender perspectives is ungendered from the outset. This is an untenable suggestion. Any curriculum reflects the social and institutional context from which it is born. Accordingly it reflects, often implicitly and invisibly, the norms and stereotypes governing masculinity and femininity at work in that particular institution or social context.⁸ This is often referred to as the “hidden curriculum”⁹, described by Alan Skelton as “that set of implicit messages relating to knowledge, values, norms of behaviour and attitudes that learners experience in and through educational processes. These messages may be contradictory, non-linear and punctational and each learner mediates the message in her/his own way.”¹⁰ This hidden curriculum, when left unexamined, risks perpetuating existing (gender) inequalities.¹¹

If we accept that the curriculum may have a hidden gendered aspect to it, then we begin to see that “integrating gender” into the curriculum is not merely an exercise in including a gender module or gender-related reading in the suggested resources. It is an exercise in beginning to uncover and make visible the ways in which the curriculum *already* teaches gender. For example, Katherine E. Brown and Victoria Syme-Taylor examine a given site of professional military education and note:

The study of “great white men” (as exemplary or toxic leaders) dominates the teaching about the military as an institution and no female leaders are used as examples. Gender emerges in teaching only in the exceptional cases of “women”, such as “female-combatants” or as “women and children” caught in male wars but not as constitutive of security and defence. But by not teaching gender these male norms are left unchallenged. To that extent [the institution] affirms a male hegemony and confirms existing military and academic gendering practices.¹²

Integrating gender is therefore about analysing whether and how the curriculum implicitly creates or reinforces a normative structure that ascribes stereotypical and traditional roles and abilities to men and women. Integrating gender in curricula must thus involve first noting whether the curriculum portrays women and men only in stereotypical roles (women as victims/civilians and men as warriors), and, second, seeking to challenge these stereotypical portrayals.

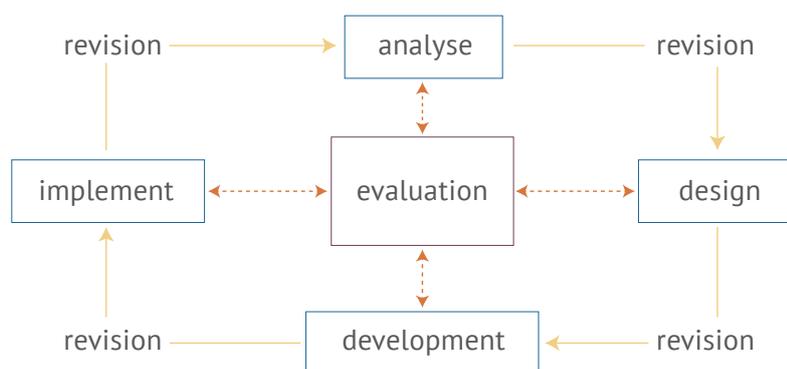
3.3 The benefits of integration and the risks of ignorance

Integrating a gender perspective in military curricula can make the topic standardized and mandatory. This standardization has the benefit of helping to ensure the quality of education and training on the topic of gender. Empirical observations from NATO operations point to this as a gap to be filled. For example, a recent review of the practical implications of UN Security Council Resolution 1325¹³ for NATO operations carried out by the Swedish Defence Research Agency pointed to “the general absence of pre-deployment training as a major detriment to gender mainstreaming”.¹⁴ This observation reveals a more general tendency for gender training and education to take the form of *ad hoc* seminars centred around a particular event, such as International Women’s Day. Limiting gender training and education to specific events standing alone denotes the topic as a “special interest issue”, pigeonholing it and implicitly denoting it as a topic of marginal interest.¹⁵ Not integrating a gender perspective throughout the curriculum bears the risk of undermining the stated values and priorities of the organization – including those of gender equality and promoting the meaningful participation of women. When gender is treated only as a stand-alone topic, it will be viewed as an exercise in “ticking boxes” or “paying lip-service”. This ambivalence will demonstrate to learners and future leaders that the organization does not, in fact, mean what it says when it vocalizes a commitment to gender equality.¹⁶ In contrast, the meaningful integration of gender learning throughout the curriculum demonstrates the relevance of the topic to core areas of military education, and the commitment of the institution to the values it publicly communicates.

Finally, it is useful to note that improving the quality of instruction on the topic of gender in an educational institution serves several goals, not all of which are related to gender in an obvious way. Education on gender is of course crucial to meet the multilateral and national mandates outlined in Section 3.1. Gender learning is important not only to follow the law, but to contribute to ensuring effectiveness of operations and promoting equality and democratic values. Integrating gender in the curriculum has an added benefit: it helps meet the requirements of modern professional military education (PME). As Katherine E. Brown and Victoria Syme-Taylor note, “changes in military activities have led to requests that PME should encourage a more ‘enquiring’, ‘empathetic’ and ‘flexible’ officer mind”.¹⁷ This view stems from statements like that of US General David H. Petraeus, noting the need to take “military officers out of their intellectual comfort zones” and for “the development of the flexible, adaptable, creative thinkers who are so important to operations”.¹⁸ Arguably, an education that examines and challenges traditional gender norms, both within the institution itself and in operations, contributes to the goal of developing this “enquiring”, “empathetic” and “flexible” mind.

4. The process: Integrating gender into military curriculum development or review

Box 4.1 ADDIE model for curriculum design⁴



The curriculum design process is generally based on the ADDIE model of instructional design. The concept of instructional design can be traced back to as early as the 1950s, but it was only in 1975 that ADDIE was designed and developed for the US Army, and later implemented across all US armed forces.

“ADDIE” stands for “analysis, design, development, implementation and evaluation”. This sequence, however, does not impose a strict linear progression between the steps; rather, each step is a clear stage on its own.

The *analysis* phase can be considered as the “goal-setting stage”.

The *design* stage determines all goals, tools to be used to gauge performance, various tests, content, subject matter analysis, planning and resources.

The *development* stage starts the production and testing of the methodology being used in the learning process.

The *implementation* stage reflects the continuous modification of the learning process to make sure maximum efficiency and positive results are obtained.

The *evaluation* stage’s main goal is to determine if the learning outcomes have been met and what will be required moving forward in order to further the efficiency and success rate of the learning process.

4.1 The process

Integrating gender in the curriculum is most usefully thought of as a process, rather than a technical exercise of adding the words “women” and “gender” to a static text. It can even be argued that the curriculum itself is a process – it is under constant development and review through the interactions of learners and educators with the curriculum.¹⁹ Nonetheless, in many educational institutions the curriculum is defined and documented. Such curricula are born out of a formal development process, and are subject to periodic revisions.

The actors involved in the curriculum development and review process vary according to institution, and thus the examples provided here should be considered strictly illustrative. The primary focus is on actors within the institution who are responsible for the curriculum: in academic terms, these are the chief academic officer or provost, deans of colleges, chairs of departments, programme directors and faculty members. Depending on the institution, responsible actors may also include a centre for instructional design or for faculty development. In military terms, curriculum development and review involve, either formally or implicitly, various stakeholders in the military command or government authorities, such as ministries of defence or education. Outside the hierarchy, stakeholders may include learners or interested civil society. These actors are typically involved, to varying extents, in both the process of developing curricula and their periodic (every one to three years) review.²⁰

Box 4.2 Introducing new learning outcomes in curricula²¹

In PME in the United States, in order for a new topic such as gender awareness to be included in joint professional military education (JPME) as a learning objective, it must be proposed as a “special area emphasis” (SAE) and follow a defined process for acceptance. The SAEs are introduced into the curriculum to help ensure the currency and relevance of JPME curricula.

SAEs are usually proposed by the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the services, combatant commands, defence agencies or the Joint Staff. The process is initiated by the sponsoring organization and the SAE is presented to the annual Joint Faculty Education Council, where it is voted upon for further assessment. If the review is successful, the SAE is presented to the Military Education Council Working Group. Based on this group’s review, the proposed list of new SAEs goes to the director of the Joint Staff for approval.

Upon approval, the SAE list is distributed to the joint and service colleges and schools during January for inclusion in the following year’s curriculum. Though the schools are highly encouraged to include these new SAEs, they do not change the official learning areas and therefore are not mandatory and will not be verified during any curriculum review process.

When the curriculum development and review process is formalized, there may be little room for manoeuvre in who is involved. The range of people involved may be defined by position or rank. However, to ensure the meaningful integration of gender in the curriculum, these people should have at least some semblance of gender balance, as well as gender expertise. In other words, both men and women should be involved in curriculum design and review processes. Furthermore, we should bear in mind that simply being a woman (or a man) does not make someone a gender expert. Being associated with a gender does not mean one is (fully) aware of the social circumstances related to that gender. It is therefore crucial to ensure that specific gender expertise is included or consulted.²²

4.2 Getting into the process

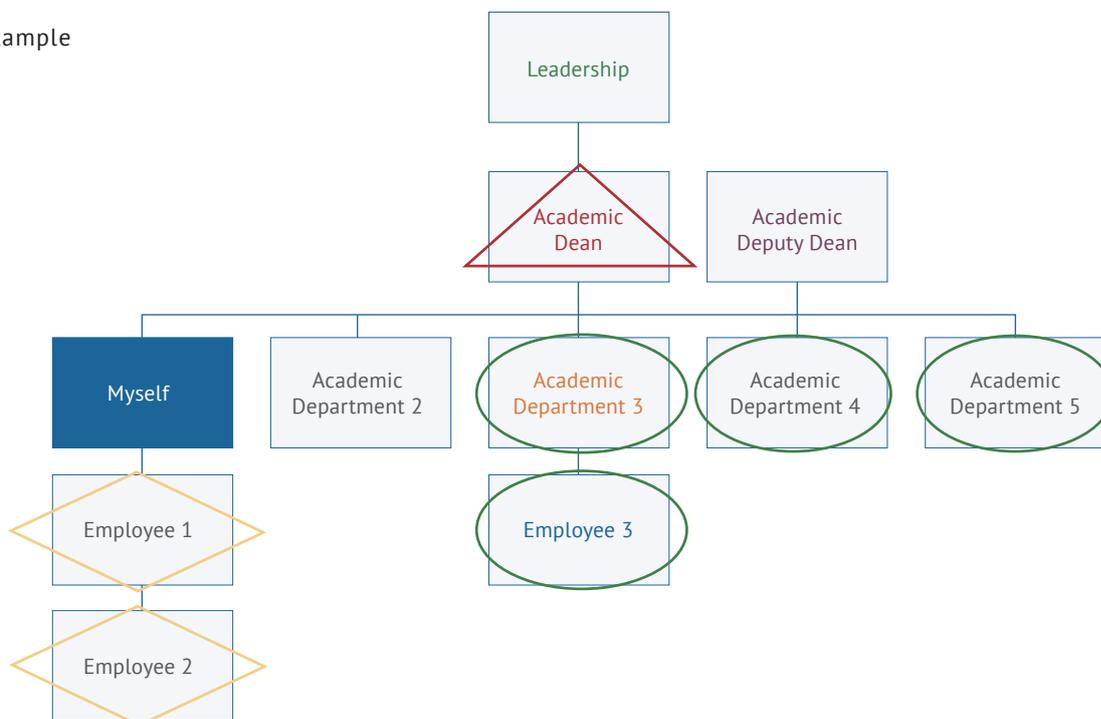
It will come as no surprise to those working for gender equality that integrating gender perspectives in a curriculum can be an intensely political and potentially contentious undertaking. If the integration of gender perspectives is to uncover and address any hidden curriculum, and make visible and subject to revision any existing gender-biased norm systems and paradigms of thinking, this can prove to be an unsettling process, even for those who fundamentally agree that gender should be integrated into the curriculum. As bell hooks notes, such a paradigm shift “must take into account the fears instructors have when asked to shift their paradigms. There must be training sites where instructors have the opportunity to express those concerns while also learning to create ways to approach the multicultural class and curriculum.”²³ The question of engaging faculty and decision-makers is explored at greater length in the final chapter of this handbook.

The key concern for the purposes of this chapter is to acknowledge that the integration of gender in the curriculum is a process that will most likely require negotiation and education, aided by supportive persons or allies within the institution. Mapping the curriculum review process, and identifying allies and entry points as well as potential challenges and ways of overcoming them, provides a useful starting point. Box 4.3 provides an example of curriculum review/development mapping.

Box 4.3 Mapping the curriculum process for integrating gender²⁴

1. Begin by sketching the overarching organizational structure of your educational institution.
2. Identify the following positions on the horizontal and vertical axes of your organization.
 - a. The primary person responsible for assuring the continuance of **the mission and vision** of the institution.
 - b. The primary person responsible for the **curriculum** (e.g. chief academic officer).
 - c. Other leaders responsible for the curriculum (e.g. deans).
 - d. Person or group responsible for the **quality** of the curriculum.
 - e. Faculty members related to **curriculum review and development**.
 - f. Person or group responsible for **faculty development**.
3. Next, identify yourself and your peers. How supportive are your **peers** of gender concerns? Circle the ones who are supportive.
4. Identify your superiors. How supportive are your **superiors** of gender concerns? Draw a triangle around those who are supportive.
5. Identify your **subordinates**. How supportive are your subordinates of gender concerns? Draw a diamond around those who are supportive.
6. Describe the curriculum development and review processes at your institution.
7. Identify the following:
 - a. entry points for integrating gender;
 - b. allies and supporters;
 - c. key external influencers on integrating gender into the curriculum;
 - d. challenges you may encounter from colleagues or learners;
 - e. ways of addressing challenges.

Example



5. Integrating gender: Practical measures and specific considerations

The discussion on what the curriculum is, and why gender considerations should be integrated in it, aims to establish that integrating gender goes far beyond adding a mention of it in specific curriculum content elements. Integration of gender in a curriculum is most usefully seen as a transformative process rather than an additive one. Accordingly, it should happen at multiple levels of the curriculum. This section presents three dimensions: faculty, gender learning, and assessment and evaluation. Drawing on a checklist on gender curriculum review developed at a workshop on teaching gender to the military hosted by the PfPC, this section considers the practical measures required to integrate gender across each of these dimensions.²⁵

5.1 Build faculty's and trainers' gender expertise

Arguably the first component of integrating gender into the curriculum is the availability of the requisite knowledge, skills and attitudes among educators to deliver gender-responsive content. In practice, acquiring these skills may entail a mix of three different approaches. First, it is important to provide faculty with the resources to integrate gender perspectives in their subject areas. Second, faculty should receive opportunities and incentives to develop their own competence in the area of gender. Third, steps to improve gender balance among faculty members can help erode gender stereotypes and signal that the institution aims to be inclusive.

As a first step, faculty must have access to resources that enable them to integrate gender perspectives into the subject areas for which they are responsible. These resources may take the form of subject-matter experts. Gender advisers or gender experts can help in this by mapping available and appropriate subject-matter experts, who faculty can call upon as guest speakers or external facilitators. Gender experts can also assist faculty with other resources, such as suggesting relevant course reading materials that introduce a gender perspective, or providing or reviewing classroom exercises or materials to address gender perspectives.

Faculty may wish to develop their own competence on gender, or the leadership of an educational institution may wish to incentivize faculty development on gender through assessment, professional development plans or inclusion of gender awareness in promotion criteria. The types of gender expertise required by faculty will of course depend on the area of instruction, so the examples provided here are rather generic. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that faculty gender expertise should cover three broad areas: ensuring that learning methods are appropriate to facilitate learning on the topic of gender; knowledge of gender-relevant aspects of instructional content; and awareness of gender dynamics in the classroom and the ability to foster a respectful, non-discriminatory and participatory learning environment. Learning methods are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7 of this handbook, instructional content in the three other chapters comprising Part I, and gender dynamics in the classroom in Chapter 6.

Aiming to achieve some kind of gender balance among faculty members is another important component of integrating gender in the curriculum. Establishing more female faculty members in typically male-dominated institutions begins to address aspects of any "hidden curriculum", insofar as it demonstrates that the institution is composed of a diverse group of people in terms of gender (and otherwise). Ideally, improving the gender balance would also involve placing male and female faculty members in counter-stereotypical roles. This could include actively seeking male faculty members to teach languages and female faculty members to teach leadership courses. In addition to providing a role-modelling effect, improving diversity among faculty members has several benefits, including increasing the amount of available talent by expanding the recruitment pool, and increasing the likelihood of innovations in ideas, policies, research, education and scholarship.²⁶

Box 4.4 Checklist for building faculty's and trainers' gender expertise

- Ensure faculty have access to resources needed to integrate gender perspectives in their subject areas. This may include providing:
 - a roster of available and appropriate subject-matter experts to invite as external speakers;
 - suggestions for course reading material;
 - support in revising instructional materials;
 - examples of classroom exercises that introduce gender perspectives.
- Support faculty and trainers who wish to build their competence on gender. Relevant competence areas include:
 - use of appropriate learning methods;
 - knowledge of gender-relevant content relating to the area of instruction;
 - ability to foster a respectful, non-discriminatory and participatory learning environment.
- Implement an individualized faculty development plan to build gender expertise.
- Analyse sex-disaggregated data on staff, and where appropriate take measures to improve gender balance.

5.2 Mainstream gender learning across the curriculum

Mainstreaming gender learning across the curriculum is perhaps the most obvious method of integrating gender perspectives. This endeavour covers three main issue areas: the integration of gender concepts and perspectives into content and materials; the use of learner-centred educational methods that result in transformative learning; and the use of gender-sensitive language and images in the curriculum and learning materials.

The integration of gender concepts and perspectives into content can be achieved both by instituting learning units specifically dedicated to gender and by mainstreaming gender into existing content. Doing both is the most effective strategy: devoting a space specifically to addressing gender concepts helps establish the basis for applying a gender perspective to other topics. Overall, gender-related content should be aligned with institutional policies, national laws and international standards relating to the institution. International standards are discussed in Chapter 2 of this handbook, but most often will include the UN Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security; relevant provisions of the laws of armed conflict; relevant human rights laws (such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women); and the NATO policy on implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The provisions of these normative frameworks should be introduced in relevant parts of the curriculum, through dedicated blocks, learning outcomes, or materials. What the gender-relevant aspects will be depends on the topic to be covered, though some illustrative, non-exhaustive examples of integration of gender in the curriculum are provided in Box 4.5.

In addition to integrating gender in content, the curriculum should provide for learning experiences that are supportive of gender-sensitive perspectives, attitudes and competencies. It is crucial to bear in mind that the integration of gender perspectives in the curriculum will usually signal a shift in an institutional culture that will likely be both male-dominated and gender-blind at the outset. As David White notes, "cultural change is produced in the interaction between an institutional context and individuals' efforts to make sense of it. This implies an active role for individuals rather than a passive absorbance of others' values."²⁸ Accordingly, educational methods should encourage the active participation of learners, using educational methods such as case studies, group discussions and scenario-based tasks, and allowing the collaborative constitution of knowledge. Furthermore, such methods should enable transformative learning by encouraging learner self-reflection through an examination of the learners' personal values and reactions to or interaction with the learning material. In other words, gender education should prioritize principles of transformative learning and thereby employ active learning methods, such as those described at greater length in Chapter 5 of this handbook.

Box 4.5 Examples of integration of gender content in learning objectives in the NATO PfPC Reference Curriculum for the Professional Military Education of Officers (Junior Officer Phase)²⁷

Theme	Gender-related learning objective (LO)
1. Profession of arms <i>The requirements of the Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security and how to meet them in operations</i>	Block 1.2 Military operations LO 18 – Explain the place of gender analysis (the different needs and roles of men and women) in operations. Block 1.3 Staff planning process/Tactics and planning LO 6 – Demonstrate gender analysis in the area of operations. LO 12 – Recognize the influences of gender in operations.
2. Command, leadership and ethics	Block 2.1 Ethics of the military profession LO 6 – Discuss how questions of human rights and inequality (e.g. gender, racial) influence ethical decision-making. Block 2.2 Organizational culture LO 2 – Identify problems with organizational culture within the military as regards gender, diversity and equality issues. Block 2.4 Law of armed conflict LO 13 – Describe the laws protecting women and girls (and men and boys) in armed conflict. LO 14 – Explain the scope of the legal prohibition of sexual violence in armed conflict.
3. Defence and security studies <i>Describe the concepts of gender, gender differences, gender roles and gender equality.</i>	Block 3.2 Communications and media LO 9 – Develop communications to reach men and women; literate and illiterate audiences; and displaced persons and marginalized groups. Block 3.6 Cultural awareness LO 3 – Demonstrate gender-sensitive cultural analysis, and its link to the security of the unit and local population.

Finally, the existing curriculum and materials should be reviewed with a view to making their language and imagery gender-sensitive and gender-inclusive. Such a review goes a long way towards addressing the “hidden curriculum” mentioned earlier. Using gender-inclusive language and imagery, such as he/she in English or showing both men and women in uniform, signals inclusiveness and welcomes both male and female learners. In contrast, using stereotypical language or imagery, such as referring to soldiers as men or showing pictures of only men in uniform and women as civilians, can signal a message of exclusion and reinforce cognitive gender biases. Furthermore, depicting men and women in counter-stereotypical roles – for example, as a female platoon leader and a male nurse – can help nurture self-reflection and challenge learners’ thinking by prompting them to recognize their own surprise at a counter-stereotypical portrayal. Any exercises or scenarios used should pay attention to making the voices and experiences of both women and men heard. Women’s experiences and voices as women are often ignored; an issue that the curriculum can address by, for example, providing insights into the specific challenges a military woman might face in a leadership course. While men’s voices and experiences have tended to dominate discussions, they are not usually treated as their experiences as men so much as experiences of “default humans”.²⁹ The curriculum can address this by, for example, examining the specific vulnerabilities of civilian men, whose rights to protection as civilians are often compromised due to the fact that their status as men means they are almost always seen as potential combatants.³⁰

Box 4.6 Checklist for mainstreaming gender learning across the curriculum

- Introduce content on gender concepts and frameworks into the curriculum. Some examples may include:
 - concepts such as gender, gender equality and gender roles;
 - normative frameworks such as the UN Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security.
- Ensure that gender perspectives are considered in content areas where gender is not the main topic. Examples of relevant areas may include, but are not limited to, the following.
 - Military operations: include gender analysis, information gathering and dissemination, protection needs, response to sexual violence, etc.
 - Ethics and international humanitarian law: include codes of conduct, human rights and provisions of international humanitarian law protecting women.
 - Leadership skills: include inclusive leadership, diversity management, personnel development and command responsibility for preventing sexual harassment and abuse.
 - Communication skills: include effective communication to men and women.
 - Cultural awareness: include awareness of gender norms and customs.
 - All topics: use reading materials by both male and female authors, including gender perspectives.
- Provide for learning experiences that are supportive of gender-sensitive perspectives, attitudes and competencies. Examples of such learning methods may include:
 - a mix of both group and individual work;
 - case studies and scenario-based exercises;
 - a mix of oral and written assignments;
 - personal reflection through learning logs or group discussions based on personal experience and perceptions.
- Review exercises, language and images used to ensure they are gender-sensitive. This may include:
 - use of gender-inclusive pronouns (he/she, him or her);
 - using pictures and images of both men and women;
 - using exercises that depict women and men in counter-stereotypical roles;
 - ensuring that exercises or examples make the voices and experiences of both women and men heard and treated as relevant.

5.3 Perform gender-sensitive assessment and evaluation

Integrating gender-sensitive assessment and evaluation into the curriculum comprises two sets of efforts. On the one hand, it is important to ensure that assessment of learners' ability and instructors' competence is not gender-biased. On the other hand, it is crucial to assess and evaluate whether the required gender learning has happened.

A significant and growing body of research points to the fact that unconsciously held gender biases are widespread in society and most professional working environments, and have an important impact on how we assess the suitability and competence of learners, educators and professionals. Box 4.7 describes a selection of such research projects, with a view to demonstrating how gender bias manifests itself in how both learners' ability and educators' competence are assessed. The available research points clearly to the need to be vigilant for gender bias in assessment. It also gives recommendations as to what can be done at the institutional level to mitigate this effect. The most obvious measure is to ensure that assessment criteria are clearly articulated, transparent and communicated to both learners and faculty. In some cases institutional intervention mechanisms, such as targeted mentoring for faculty or learners, or educating faculty on how to mentor diverse learners, may be appropriate. Raising awareness of gender bias among both learners and faculty can help them recognize and address their own unconsciously held biases. Finally, it is important that faculty, and especially leadership, lend their legitimacy to their colleagues through respectful introductions that reference their expertise in front of both peers and learners.³¹

Box 4.7 Gender bias and assessment of ability and competence

Educators' assessment of learner ability	Learners' assessment of educator competence
<p><i>Example 1: Assessing the ability of science learners</i></p> <p>In a study published in 2012, a group of Princeton researchers sought to evaluate whether faculty in science departments across universities exhibit a bias against female learners that could contribute to the gender disparity in sciences. They summarize their findings as follows.</p> <p>"In a randomized double-blind study, science faculty... rated the application materials of a learner – who was randomly assigned either a male or female name – for a laboratory manager position. Faculty participants rated the male applicant as significantly more competent and hireable than the (identical) female applicant. The participants also selected a higher starting salary and offered more career mentoring to the male applicant."³²</p>	<p><i>Example 3: Gender bias in learner ratings of teaching</i></p> <p>In a collaborative research project, the findings of which were published in 2014, a group of sociologists examined gender bias in learner ratings of teaching on an experimental online course. They summarize their research and findings as follows.</p> <p>"While difficult to separate gender from teaching practices in person, it is possible to disguise an instructor's gender identity online. In our experiment, assistant instructors in an online class each operated under two different gender identities. Learners rated the male identity significantly higher than the female identity, regardless of the instructor's actual gender, demonstrating gender bias."³³</p>
<p><i>Example 2: Identifying the causes of unsatisfactory performance</i></p> <p>In a 1994 experiment conducted by researchers at the University of Utah, participants learned a number of facts about four fictitious learners who had passed or failed a welding course. The relevant fact was that learners who had failed the welding course all had a heavy course load, whereas those who had passed had a lighter course load. However, when the participants were given irrelevant information, such as the gender of the fictitious learners, they were more likely to attribute failure of female learners to their sex/gender rather than to their course load.³⁴</p>	<p><i>Example 4: Gendered language in instructor reviews</i></p> <p>An online interactive chart compiled by a history professor at Northeastern University allows users to explore the number of times a word is used to describe an instructor from 14 million reviews on the website RateMyProfessor.com, disaggregated by gender. These data can be used to illustrate the gender schemas used by learners in evaluating their professors. For example, male professors are described as "genius" or "funny" more often than female professors; and female professors are more often described as "bossy" or "mean" than male professors.³⁵</p>

Section 4.2 described measures to be taken to integrate gender content in the curriculum. It bears remembering that for gender content to be taken seriously, gender learning should be assessed and evaluated. The evaluation of gender learning is explored in more depth in Chapter 8 of this handbook, so this section is limited to a few more general observations. As with any topic, assessment of learner performance should be both formative (ongoing throughout the course of instruction) and summative (summarizing what was learned at the end of the instruction). Furthermore, it should be clear from the learning outcomes that gender learning has taken place in both cognitive and affective domains of learning. In other words, when it comes to evaluation, it is important to assess not only what the learners know and are able to do, but also the values they have internalized and how these are demonstrated in practice. Finally, the real test for gender learning in a military context will be the extent to which it modifies behaviour and delivers results. Examples of how this could be measured include through evaluation of whether the institution has become more gender-equitable internally – as determined by job satisfaction surveys or incidents of (sexual) harassment and abuse – and the extent to which gender perspectives are integrated in operations.³⁶

Box 4.8 Checklist for assessment and evaluation

- Ensure that exams or other assessment methods throughout the course or learning programme are not gender-biased in their assessment of learners' ability or educators' competence. This may include efforts to:
 - establish and communicate transparent and verifiable assessment and evaluation criteria;
 - develop specific institutional intervention mechanisms, such as mentoring;
 - educate learners and faculty about the existence and impact of subconsciously held gender bias;
 - ensure leadership support for faculty.
- Assess and evaluate gender learning:
 - using formative and summative assessment strategies;
 - in both cognitive and affective domains;
 - including modifications to behaviour and institutional results.

6. Common challenges and useful responses

So far, this chapter has presented an understanding of what the curriculum is and why gender should be integrated in it. It has provided a generic outline of curriculum development and review processes, and offered some considerations of how the topic of gender might be introduced into these. The main body of the chapter focused on outlining specific considerations and practical measures to integrate gender into the curriculum. This final section concludes by considering some common challenges to integrating gender, the reasons underlying them and some useful responses. It seeks both to highlight some warning signals and to offer some suggestions for overcoming them. The discussion points are highlighted in Box 4.9.

Box 4.9 Common challenges and useful responses



Pigeonholing

- Gender restricted to specific topics (e.g. sexual violence)

Genderwashing

- Superficial or tokenistic inclusion of gender

Resistance

- Claims that the curriculum is neutral as regards gender
- Claims that gender is not relevant to the topic
- Invokes a lack of funds or time to address gender

underlying issues

Lack of knowledge

Underprioritization of gender

Discomfort

responses

Gender experts

- Raise awareness
- Educate on the topic

Curriculum designers

- Make integration of gender everyone's responsibility

Leaders

- Incentivize development of gender expertise and integration of the topic
- Lead by example

6.1 The symptoms

This subsection outlines ways in which challenges to integrating gender in the curriculum manifest themselves. It is not an exhaustive list of challenges, but rather is intended to offer some indication as to warning signs, and why they are problematic.

Pigeonholing is a practice closely related to genderwashing (see below). It refers to situations in which gender is only considered in relation to specific topics (e.g. sexual violence in conflict or protection of civilians) and/or education on gender or dealing with these specific issue areas is designated the responsibility of female faculty or female soldiers. Both phenomena result in “slippage”: in other words they shift the responsibility for investigating and addressing gender-related issues to the shoulders of women.

Genderwashing is an approach that refers to the superficial inclusion of gender perspectives – the mention of the term, but lacking any meaningful engagement with what it signifies. An example of this would be “gender training” that consists of giving the gender adviser a ten-minute briefing slot, with no time for questions, to explain UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and its meaning for military operations. Addressing gender in such a limited manner is an exercise in ticking a box and does not fulfil the outcomes of integrating gender in the curriculum.

Resistance from educators, learners or leadership is the most obvious challenge to integrating gender in the curriculum. Resistance may take several forms. An overt form is the simple claim that gender is not relevant to the topic at hand. In other instances resistance is subtler, such as claims that the curriculum is gender-neutral (refer to Section 4.2 on the hidden curriculum) or already includes gender (see genderwashing above), that the topic is too broad for inclusion, or that there is a lack of funds or space in the curriculum for gender.³⁷ Resistance to integrating gender obviously undermines the reasons for the need to integrate gender outlined in Section 4.3.

6.2 Underlying issues

The challenges outlined above are often symptomatic of underlying issues, which represent the real “challenges”. These underlying issues vary from person to person and institution to institution. This subsection suggests some underlying causes. The list is, again, not exhaustive, but illustrates the point that to address the way challenges are vocalized, we must consider the reasons why they exist.³⁸

Lack of knowledge or awareness is perhaps the most obvious underlying cause.³⁹ If an educator does not understand how gender dynamics relate to the topic s/he is teaching, he or she will of course not consider gender relevant. A curriculum developer who does not have the skills and knowledge to recognize how gender operates in the content and assessment will understandably be blind to how the curriculum may already enforce gender norms and stereotypes. Faculty members who are required to integrate gender without the requisite knowledge and understanding have little recourse but to resort to genderwashing. A leader who lacks sufficient understanding to realize that gender is not a “women’s issue” will likely designate the closest woman in his/her proximity as the person in charge for this “special interest question”.

The **underprioritization of gender** happens, broadly speaking, for one of two reasons. In some cases it is related to a lack of knowledge. While an educator may be supportive of gender equality in principle, he or she may not see the relevance of gender to the topic at hand. For example, there may be an assumption that if no women were present in a recent or historical mission, then there can be no gender perspective. A more informed instructor would realize that this is in fact a situation with a strong gender dimension because women were completely excluded (or their presence was not documented). Another reason for the underprioritization of gender occurs because learners and/or instructors are not assessed on their gender perspectives in the course content. In some cases the content of add-on gender sessions given by external speakers is not included in learner assessments; in others, instructors are not assessed on whether they have included gender perspectives. Logically, they therefore prioritize those aspects against which they are assessed in their teaching.⁴⁰

Discomfort with the idea of integrating gender may stem not only from a lack of knowledge but also from a lack of skills, or from a feeling that one's identity and beliefs are being challenged.⁴¹ Faculty members may worry that addressing gender topics will trigger personal disclosure from learners, for example recounting stories of discrimination or abuse: faculty may feel they are poorly equipped to deal with this type of disclosure and seek to avoid the topic. A request to make use of transformative learning methods may make more traditionally oriented educators uncomfortable for fear that they will lose control of their classrooms.

6.3 Useful responses

The identification of underlying issues suggests that responses to challenges must be multifaceted, and tailored to address the issues at work. Responses should include, as appropriate in a given situation, a mix of incentives and the tools (awareness, knowledge and skills) to respond. This subsection outlines some of the responses different actors may employ.

Gender experts (or advocates) play an important role in raising awareness and providing the requisite knowledge and skills to address the underlying issues. They can conduct gender analysis to determine whether the curriculum is gender-blind, and demonstrate that gender-blind is not, in fact, "gender-neutral". Their analysis can show how gender blindness may reinforce existing structures of privilege and discrimination. They can provide subject-matter expertise or coaching to faculty members to help them build their knowledge and integrate gender in their teaching. They can organize staff discussion groups to address some individual educators' sources of discomfort around the topic. Gender experts can also help close any knowledge and skills gaps, and thereby enable faculty and curriculum developers to integrate gender.

Those responsible for **curriculum development and review** are also responsible for translating the requirements of national and international policies and directives into the curriculum, and ensuring that sufficient resources are allocated to the integration of gender. They hold the proverbial stick to ensure that the integration of gender is the responsibility of everyone, not only of women and/or gender experts. As has been discussed throughout the chapter, the integration of gender in the curriculum helps ensure that the topic is treated as a cross-cutting issue, and that the responsibility for doing so is shared.

Finally, **leaders** in the institution can help incentivize the integration of gender in the curriculum through both formal and informal means. On the formal side, leaders can ensure that competence in integrating gender becomes a criterion for recruitment and promotion. On the informal side, leaders can be role models and demonstrate institutional commitment through their own statements and actions. For example, they may share anecdotes of their own exposure to the topic, signal their commitment to integrating gender perspectives and convey appreciation for efforts to do this.

7. Annotated bibliography

7.1 Reference curricula

Canadian Defence Academy, *Generic Officer Professional Military Education Reference Curriculum* (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: NATO PfPC, 2011).

www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_topics/20111202_Generic-Officer-PME-RC.pdf

This generic reference curriculum for the professional military education of officers was developed by a multinational team of academics under the auspices of the Canadian Defence Academy on behalf of NATO and the PfPC. The curriculum consists of three phases (pre-commissioning, junior officer and intermediate officer) and three themes (profession of arms; command, leadership and ethics; and defence and security studies). It provides in-depth learning outcomes, and seeks to serve as a resource to partners looking to reform or enhance

the professional military education of their officers. The curriculum integrates gender perspectives across the themes.

Canadian Defence Academy and Swiss Armed Forces College, *Non-Commissioned Officer Professional Military Education Reference Curriculum* (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: NATO PfPC, 2013).

www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_topics/20131209_131209-nco-defence-curriculum.pdf

This reference curriculum for the professional military education of non-commissioned officers was developed on behalf of NATO and the PfPC by a multinational team co-led by the Canadian Defence Academy and the Swiss Armed Forces College. The curriculum consists of four levels (primary, intermediate, advanced and command senior enlisted leader) and three themes (profession of arms; leadership and ethics; and non-commissioned officer core competencies). It provides in-depth learning outcomes, and seeks to serve as a resource to partners looking to reform or enhance the professional military education of their officers. The curriculum integrates gender perspectives across the themes.

NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives, *Template for Pre-Deployment Gender Training: Topics and Learning Objectives* (Brussels: NCGP, 2010).

www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/2010/template_for_predeployment.pdf

This template for pre-deployment gender training was drafted during the 2010 annual meeting of the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives (NCGP). The NCGP is an advisory committee to the NATO Military Committee – the senior military authority in NATO. The template lists topics to learn and learning objectives relevant to pre-deployment training on gender. It also specifies whether the topics or learning objectives are relevant to soldiers, non-commissioned officers and/or officers.

7.2 Guidance on integrating gender perspectives into training and education

Valasek, Kristin, and Agneta M. Johannsen, “Guide to integrating gender in SSR training”, in Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek (eds), *Gender and Security Sector Reform Training Resource Package* (Geneva: DCAF, 2009).

www.gssrtraining.ch/

This guide forms a part of DCAF’s *Gender and SSR Training Resource Package*. Aimed at trainers and educators, it provides guidance on how to integrate gender in training needs assessments, learning objectives, design and development of training, implementation of training, and monitoring and evaluation of training. While the resource package concentrates on security sector reform, many trainers and educators interested in introducing gender perspectives will find the methodologies and considerations introduced useful. The training exercises available on the website provide practical ideas and methodologies for integrating gender learning into the curriculum.

“Checklist for gender curriculum review”, in PfPC SSR and Education Development Working Groups, *After Action Report: Teaching Gender to the Military – In the Classroom and Through Advanced Distributed Learning* (Geneva: DCAF, 2012).

www.dcaf.ch/Event/PFPC-Workshop-on-Teaching-Gender-to-the-Military

This curriculum review checklist formed the initial thinking behind this chapter. It was elaborated in a working session involving gender and education experts present at the first workshop on teaching gender to the military, jointly organized by the Security Sector Reform and Education Development Working Groups of the PfPC, in collaboration with NATO School Oberammergau.

7.3 Other useful resources

Gender Equity Project, Hunter College, City University of New York

www.hunter.cuny.edu/genderequity/resources/equitymaterials

The Gender Equity Project aims to promote women's equal participation in the sciences and eliminate gender disparities. The project website offers several practical resources which can be downloaded. The resources include hints and tips for improving institutional gender equity and recommended reading lists compiled by the project's co-director, Virginia Valian.

Notes

1. The authors would like to thank Neyla Arnas and Pamela Ball for providing written comments on this chapter.
2. Canadian Defence Academy, *Generic Officer Professional Military Education Reference Curriculum* (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: NATO PfPC, 2011), p. 5.
3. David White, "A conceptual analysis of the hidden curriculum of police training in England and Wales", *Policing and Society*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (2006), pp. 386–404.
4. Ed Forest, "The ADDIE model: Instructional design", <http://educationaltechnology.net/the-addie-model-instructional-design/>.
5. See, for example, Chapters 1 and 3 of this handbook; Jody M. Prescott, "NATO gender mainstreaming", *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 158, No. 5 (2013), pp. 56–62; Stefanie Groothedde, *Gender Makes Sense: A Way to Improve Your Mission* (The Hague: Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence, 2013); Genderforce, *Good and Bad Examples: Lessons Learned from Working with United Nations Resolution 1325 in International Missions* (Uppsala: Genderforce, 2007).
6. See, for example, Office of the Military Advisor, UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), "DPKO/DFS guidelines: Integrating a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations", UN DPKO/DFS, 2010, www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/dpko_dfs_gender_military_perspective.pdf; Ian Leigh and Hans Born, with Cecilia Lazzarini and Ian Clements, *Handbook on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Armed Forces Personnel* (Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR, 2008); Megan Bastick, *Integrating a Gender Perspective into Internal Oversight within the Armed Forces* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE, OSCE/ODIHR, 2014).
7. See, for example, Chapter 2 of this handbook; Megan Bastick and Daniel de Torres, "Implementing the women, peace and security resolutions in security sector reform", in Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek (eds), *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW, 2008), www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Gender-Security-Sector-Reform-Toolkit; Aiko Holvikivi, "What role for the security sector? An SSR approach to implementing the women, peace and security agenda", *Connections*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (2015), pp. 31–44.
8. Lut Mergaert and Emanuel Lombardo, "Resistance to implementing gender mainstreaming in EU research policy", *European Integration Online Papers*, Vol. 18 (2014), pp. 1–21 at p. 4, <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/pdf/2014-005.pdf>. For an example of implicit gender norms and logics at work in a particular field of study, see the discussion on what is mistakenly viewed as the "ungendered" nature of mainstream war studies in Laura Sjoberg, *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), pp. 13–14.
9. The term "hidden" should not be taken as a negative value judgement. All curricula have a hidden element that may contain both positive and negative attributes.
10. Alan Skelton, "Studying hidden curricula: Developing a perspective in the light of postmodern insights", *Curriculum Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2006), pp. 177–193 at p. 188, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14681369700200007>.
11. Barbara Hey, *Guidelines on Gender Fair Curriculum Development* (Graz: WUS Austria, 2010), p. 8.
12. Katherine E. Brown and Victoria Syme-Taylor, "Women academics and feminism in professional military education", *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*, Vol. 31, Nos 5/6 (2012), pp. 452–466 at p. 458, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/02610151211235460>.
13. UN Security Council, "Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security", UN Doc. No. S/RES/1325 (2000), 31 October 2000.
14. Helené Lackenbauer and Richard Langlais (eds), *Review of the Practical Implementation of UNSCR 1325 for the Conduct of NATO-led Operations and Missions, Full Report* (Stockholm: Swedish Defence Research Agency, 2013), pp. 37, 61, www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2013_10/20131021_131023-UNSCR1325-review-final.pdf.
15. M. Joan McDermott, "The personal is empirical: Feminism, research methods, and criminal justice education", *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1992), pp. 237–249.
16. White, note 3 above. See also Emanuel Lombardo and Lut Mergaert, "Gender mainstreaming and resistance to gender training: A framework for studying implementation", *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (2013), pp. 296–311 at p. 306.
17. Brown and Syme-Taylor, note 12 above, p. 453.
18. David H. Petraeus, "Beyond the cloister", *The American Interest*, Vol. 2, No. 6 (2007), www.the-american-interest.com/2007/07/01/beyond-the-cloister/.
19. "The terms, curriculum and curriculum development, are problematic themselves as they imply two well-defined stages – the stage of development and the stage where the curriculum is completed. In fact, there is no line separating the two. Curriculum development is not an entity that stops before going into classrooms and curriculum is not a package that stops developing in the classrooms. It is a continuous process of constructing and modifying." Diana Cheng-Man Lau, "Analysing the curriculum development process: Three models", *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2001), pp. 29–44 at p. 31.
20. Kathaleen Reid-Martinez, "Institutional gender

- mapping”, presentation at Integrating Gender in Military Curricula: Third Workshop on Teaching Gender to the Military, hosted by DCAF and the PfPC, Geneva, 9–13 December 2013.
21. The authors wish to thank Neyla Arnas at the National Defense University, USA, for providing this example.
 22. Hey, note 11 above, p. 11.
 23. bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York/London: Routledge, 1994), p. 35.
 24. Reid-Martinez, note 20 above.
 25. “Checklist for gender curriculum review”, in PfPC SSR and Education Development Working Groups, *After Action Report: Teaching Gender to the Military – In the Classroom and Through Advanced Distributed Learning* (Geneva: DCAF, 2012), www.dcaf.ch/Event/PfPC-Workshop-on-Teaching-Gender-to-the-Military.
 26. A large body of both descriptive and experimental research on addressing gender bias in hiring and promotion practices exists. For example, a summary of research and examples indicating benefits is found in Virginia Valian, “Benefits of ensuring gender equity: Why is gender equity desirable, above and beyond fairness?”, Hunter College, City University of New York, 2013, www.hunter.cuny.edu/genderequity/repository/files/equity-materials/benefits.409.pdf. For a nuanced discussion on gender bias in hiring and promotions see Virginia Valian, “The cognitive bases of gender bias”, *Brooklyn Law Review*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (1999), pp. 1037–1061.
 27. Canadian Defence Academy, *Generic Officer Professional Military Education Reference Curriculum* (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: NATO PfPC, 2011), p. 5. See also Canadian Defence Academy and Swiss Armed Forces College, *Non-Commissioned Officer Professional Military Education Reference Curriculum* (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: NATO PfPC, 2013).
 28. White, note 3 above.
 29. Henri Myrntinen, Jana Naujoks and Judy El-Bushra, “Re-thinking gender in peacebuilding”, *International Alert*, 2014, p. 13, http://international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Gender_RethinkingGenderPeacebuilding_EN_2014.pdf.
 30. Callum Watson, “Begging the question: What would a men, peace and security agenda look like?”, *Connections*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (2015), pp. 45–63.
 31. Valian (1999), note 26 above; Corinne A. Moss-Racusin, John F. Dovidio, Victoria L. Brescoll, Mark J. Graham and Jo Handelsman, “Science faculty’s subtle gender biases favor male students”, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, Vol. 109, No. 4 (2012), pp. 16474–16479.
 32. Moss-Racusin et al., *ibid.*
 33. Lillian MacNell, Adam Driscoll and Andrea N. Hunt, “What’s in a name: Exposing gender bias in student ratings of teaching”, *Innovative Higher Education*, December (2014).
 34. As described in Valian (1999), note 26 above, pp. 1056–1057.
 35. Benjamin M. Schmidt, February 2015, “Gendered language in teacher reviews”, <http://benschmidt.org/profGender>.
 36. For a discussion of the levels of evaluation, drawing on Kirkpatrick’s theory, refer to Chapter 8 in this handbook.
 37. Mergaert and Lombardo, note 8 above, p. 7.
 38. Lombardo and Mergaert, note 16 above.
 39. *Ibid.*
 40. The authors would like to thank Callum Watson for this insight.
 41. Lombardo and Mergaert, note 16 above.