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Philosophers, Feminists, Marquises, Schoolgirls, Imams and Knights Ancient to Modern Men and Women Steering Societies toward Equality

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Foreword

Why develop an essay about the historical aspects of women's equality relative to United Nations Resolution 1325 and women in conflict? I've learned three things as an educator about women's history not because it is my field of expertise but because of my life experience as a minority in every professional environment in which I have been employed. First, there is a separate chronicle of women that does not replicate the history of men. This chronicle is hard to find and women's struggles have some distinct characteristics impacted by ancient beliefs about their expected roles in society. Second, women tend not to write their stories, or their stories have been considered unimportant enough to not be contemplated as fundamental to major historical eras and events. A silencing of this voice over generations gives a stilted view of global and national events. Third, women don't know their history as a group or avoid the classification of 'women's history' because they think it pegs them as some derivative of the role of emancipator. Rather than write a research study about a specific conflict situation, I have chosen to develop a short story on the larger topic of equality. It is equality that is essential to attaining every element found within Resolution 1325 and everyone that has a concern for the theses that this resolution has dignified should become acquainted with such a biography before they begin to develop policy, rule or law.

Ignorance of history—that is, absent or defective collective memory---does deprive us of the best available public guide for public action

---William H. McNeill

Doctor William McNeill is an American world historian and author of many works on western civilization. He has been teaching history for forty nine years at the University of Chicago, is the recipient of the 2009 National Humanities Medal, and wrote and edited over thirty books. At the age of ten, he created his own theory of the development of medieval kingdoms. In 1985, McNeill was asked by the American Historical Association to answer the question, "Why Study History?" He answered in part,

> "Institutions that govern a great deal of everyday behaviour took shape hundreds even thousands of years ago. Having been preserved and altered across the generations to our own time, they are sure to continue into the future…only an acquaintance with the entire human adventure on earth allows us to understand these dimensions of contemporary reality."[1]

Stanford Professor, James J. Sheehan, historian of European and cultural history, once stated when asked, "How do we learn from history?" that, "by expanding our experience to the lives of men and women in different times and places, history teaches us valuable things about ourselves and others." What valuable things can history relate regarding United Nations Resolution 1325's effort to achieve greater equal partnerships for women in society?[2] While the Resolution is geared toward environments of conflict and post conflict, its' objectives can't be reached without using a larger set of implementation ideas based upon a more generic sphere which categorically has been labelled 'women's equality.'

"I asked a Burmese why women after centuries of following their men, now walk ahead. He said there were many unexploded land mines since the war."

--- Robert Muller

Robert Muller served forty years in the United Nations as Assistant Secretary General. He knew of constant cultural and political turmoil from his experiences as a refugee in Nazi occupied France in World War II and as a member of the French Resistance. He studied for and received a Doctorate of Law. Muller wrote for an essay contest in 1948 on 'how to govern the world' and won the top prize. He co-founded several organizations among which were the University for Peace in Costa Rica, the UN Development Program, the World Food Program, the UN Population Fund and the World Youth

Assembly. His creation of a "world core curriculum" led to informally calling him the 'father of global education' and in honor of the effort he received the UNESCO Prize for Peace Education. When he spoke these words about the Burmese women, he was relating an analogy of the difference between the seeming versus the genuine change in women's equality. Observationally, women were leading, in others minds; their accepted roles had not altered at all. How does a society move from the *image* of the woman walking ahead to the *reality* of having moved forward?

"Becoming an equal partner;" words from United Nations Resolution 1325 regarding global women's equalities, is an extremely difficult ideal to reach. In exploring the history of equality from ancient times to today the same delinquencies keep recurring regarding women's physical integrity; their roles and privileges associated with governing; their freedom to be employed; their capacity to obtain compensation for work; their entitlement to partake in owning property or entering into legal and binding contracts; their prerogative to pursue an education; their choice to serve in military or security forces; and their functions in marriages and parenting. There are a variety of interventions that have been utilized to instigate the philosophy of equal partnering for female populations. These have ranged from formal to informal in their structures and violent to peaceful in their essence. From these many means, there are three apparatus of significance that must exist if transformation is to occur. These are: (1) publishing ideas and storytelling that go against the status quo (2) modifying the law and (3) creating new networks of support. Without them, images are not replaced with realities.

"Writing social criticism is uncomfortably similar to selling life insurance. Your potential readers may not even want to think about your subject and to make things more difficult you have to persuade them to sit still for disquieting information about it. An awful lot of critics are out there making a pitch yet only a few break through and change the world."

--- Alan Wolfe

Political scientist and sociologist Alan Wolfe has critically thought about many social issues. He is currently director of Boston College's Boise Center for Religion and American Public Life which purpose is to converse on moral and normative consequences of public policies in ways that can help maintain the common good and to promote discussion and respect for conflicting positions. A prolific writer on many subjects, Wolfe has tackled politics, capitalism, the Soviet threat, moral freedoms, religion, democracy and liberalism. Through his extensive efforts at social commentary, he has discovered its spirit to be that of a sort of sales pitch. Wolfe states that not many will want to listen to a diverse opinion and breaking through commonly held assumptions is difficult. When addressing ideas like women's equalities which are not widely accepted as the norm in some societies, it is important the attempt be professional, personal and compelling. Good social commentary requires asking for what is needed as well as informing hostile audiences of their own inconsistencies in resisting change. Social commentary comes in many forms. In the past, women's rights commentary appeared in mass produced publications, public speeches and as works of fiction and non-fiction. Added to this list today are use of media such as radio, television, film and the internet.

In 1615 as Persian hoards invaded present day Georgia and the Mughals overtook northern India, Englishwoman Rachel Speght, an eighteen year old Calvinist and feminist, picked up her pen and wrote one of the earliest recorded pieces in support of women's rights. Rachel was one of a very small group of female polemicists who argued against the subjection of women during the Pamphlet Wars of the Renaissance. She was among those of a new generation who could read and write and had learned of the power of the newly invented printing press. Two of the most popular subjects of the time were religion and the worth of women. Calling her piece, *A Muzzle for Melastomus, the Cynical Baiter of and Foul-Mouthed Barker against Eve's Sex,* Speght wrote a reply to Joseph Swetman's, *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women or The Vanity of Them, Choose you Whether: With a Commendation of Wise, Virtuous and Honest Women Pleasant for Married Men, Profitable for Young*

Men and Hurtful to None. Swetman's work, today generally accepted as a misogynistic compendium of sexist jokes, told young men about the numerous delinquencies of womanhood using biblical references and personal experience. Speght's ironic answer to Swetman supported women's nature and the worth of womankind. Her efforts carried over into a later work of poetry entitled *Mortalities Memorandum with a Dreame Prefixed* in which she defended women's education. Speght opened the door for others to write favorably of a woman's intellect, talents and strengths. Her efforts catalyzed small teams of women to write from the 14th to 17th centuries against the common thinking that they were stupid, vapid and worthless outside the domains of home, marriage and pregnancy.

Nearly two hundred years later in 1791, Marie Gouze, a self-educated butcher's daughter who wrote under the penname Olympe de Gouges, published her *Declaration of the Rights of Women and Female Citizen.* At forty three years of age, she had lived through France's Seven Year War, Treaty of Versailles and the death of Louis XV. Twenty four months prior to her *Declaration,* there had been a women's march on Versailles to petition against the National Assembly for equal rights. The petition was the work of philosopher, mathematician and political scientist, Marquis Nicolas de Condorcet and Etta Lubina Palm d'Aelders, an educated Dutch woman who had travelled to France and established herself in the Palais Royal. D'Aelders gave the French National Convention address, *Discourse on the Injustice of the Laws in Favour of Men at the Expense of Women* on 30 December 1790 and established numerous salons including the Fraternal Society of Patriots of Both Sexes and the Patriotic Society of the Friends of Truth. De Gouges pamphlet was a point by point criticism of the French government's deputies' creation of the *Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen.* She began with a few questions,

> "Man, are you being just? It is a woman who poses the question, you will not deprive her of that right at least. Tell me, what gives you sovereign empire to oppress my sex? Your strength? Your talents?"[3]

There were six pages of women's contributions along with a point by point refute of the *Rights of Man* including abolishing the 'male privilege' throughout France, equal liberty and advantages between the sexes, the end of clauses stating the wife is 'authorized' by her husband, the right to wear breeches and the right to consultative and deliberative women's voices.

Four years after the Civil War in America, English philosopher, political economist and former Chief Examiner of the British East India Company, John Stuart Mill, wrote the *Subjection of Women*, stating "The subordination of one sex to another is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by a system of perfect equality, admitting no power and privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other."[4] Mill was against the prevailing sentiments of the time that women were naturally worse at some things than men and that women were weak, emotional and docile. He likened marriage contracts to slavery and supported women's right to vote. He even went so far as to state a belief that equality would lead to the doubling of the mass of mental faculties available for the higher service of humanity. Referencing Elizabeth I, Victoria and Joan of Arc as evidence of women excelling if they were given opportunities to try, Mill wrote,

> "I deny that any one knows or can know, the nature of the two sexes, as long as they have only been seen in their present relation to one another. Until conditions of equality exist, no one can possibly assess the natural differences between women and men, distorted as they have been. What is natural to the two sexes can only be found out by allowing both to develop and use their faculties freely."[5]

Mill's work is illustrative of a written document that assisted women in becoming equal partners in governance. One of his conclusions was that inequality of women existed in direct opposition to Enlightenment concepts of freedom, liberty and individual rights which were foundational to the English Constitution. *Subjection* was published eight years after he wrote it and coincided with his participation

in the first parliamentary debates on the Representation of People Bill. Sitting as Member of Parliament from Westminster, his first suggestion was to change "man" to "person." *The Subjection of Women* would eventually be used as background commentary for the women's voting movements in Europe and Australia, Canada and America in the late 19th century.

Olympe de Gouges was charged with treason, arrested, tried and executed by the guillotine, Etta d'Aelders was put under arrest in the fortress of Woerden in the central Netherlands and later released but died from complications of incarceration a short time later. Condorcet was arrested and imprisoned and found murdered in his cell. Speght the Calvinist, de Gouges the self-educated butchers daughter, d 'Aelders the Dutch transplant and the Marquis Condorcet are just a few of the stunning examples that have appeared in time that are representative of speaking out against strong oppositional ideologues. Unfortunately, in the early stages of change, such social commentary often meets with death or brutal incarceration and the writers do not get to see the impacts of their efforts on future generations. Sometimes, however, the publisher or storyteller lives to see their story influence the world.

It was 2009 and the continued growth of the internet was sustaining discussion between people of all countries on a minute-by-minute basis. In a twelve month period, terrorism incidents killed nearly five thousand people in India, Turkey, Spain, the North Caucuses and England. Taliban, al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, Ba'ath Party, Sunni, Shia, Hutu, Boko Haram, Janjaweed and many other groups appeared constantly in news headlines. Wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Congo, Georgia and Nigeria were bringing forth reports on religious and militant attacks on civilian populations. In particular, concerns were arising over the treatment of women regarding their rights to education and their protection from family and other forms of community generated violence.

In this world of globalized communication and terrorist activities, a young Pakistani girl, Malala Yousafzai, sat and wrote a blog on a British Broadcasting website. Malala was growing up in a society where women at adulthood had acquired 0.7 years of schooling, where 49% of men were literate compared to 22% of women and only 1.5 out of 100 girls were in school by the time they would reach grade nine. The sixth grader spoke of her life under the rule of the Taliban and shared her feelings of what it was like to be denied educational opportunities because of her gender. During the Second Battle of Swat in the northwestern region of her homeland, a documentary reporter from the *New York Times* interviewed Malala about her living in a conflict zone. The story gave her increased notoriety and she was sought out for television and print interviews. Desmond Tutu was so moved that he nominated her for the International Children's Peace Prize.

> "On the morning of Tuesday, 9 October 2012, Malala boarded her school bus in the northwest Pakistani district of Swat. The gunman had no doubt who he was looking for. He asked for Malala by name, then pointed a Colt 45 and fired three shots. One bullet hit the left side of her forehead, traveled under her skin the length of her face and then into her shoulder."[6]

Unsafe in her own country and near death, she was transported to England for intensive surgery on her skull and rehabilitation of her hearing. Three days after her attempted murder, fifty clerics issued a fatwa against the Taliban who tried to silence her. The Taliban reacted by issuing their intent to kill her as well as her father. Ehsanullah Ehsan, chief spokesman for the Pakistani Taliban, claimed responsibility for the attack maintaining that Malala "is the symbol of the infidels and obscenity," adding if she survived, the Taliban would target her again. In Pakistan she continued to receive negative attention from a variety of media. A journalist writing for *Dawn*, the oldest and most widely read English language paper in the country, asserted, "Her fame highlights Pakistan's most negative aspect, rampant militancy, her education campaign echoes Western agendas; and the West's admiration of her is hypocritical because it overlooks the plight of other innocent victims, like the casualties of U.S. drone strikes."[7]

Malala is now seventeen and serves as an activist for rights to education for women and was nominated for the 2013 Nobel Peace Prize. She was interviewed for the book, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban.* As a result of her story, the United Nations petitioned for worldwide education for children. With over two million signatories, the policy was ratified. Whether through the internet, printing press or declaratory prose, each of the individual's noted were catalysts for buoying others to support equalities. By stating their ideas and writing their opinions even at the threat of bodily harm, all assisted in righting ill-conceived ideas held about the nature of womankind. Each, through social commentary, impacted the political, governing and voting rights of females and created historical markers for future generations.

"But I realized that it was not enough to just write a book. There had to be social change."

---Betty Friedan

In the early 1960's in America, Betty Friedan was considered a rebel activist for women's rights. She authored six books with the most recollected work being *The Feminine Mystique.* A summa cum laude graduate of Smith College, Freidan sent a survey to its graduates seeking information about their viewpoints of women's roles outside the categorization of 'homemaker'. What she discovered in a majority of replies was that women were silently desirous of fulfillment beyond their traditional roles. She labeled the feedback the 'problem that has no name' stating it,

> "…lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning…Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries…she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question — 'Is this all?" [8]

Originally intending to write an article on her findings, no magazine would publish her work. *The Feminine Mystique* quickly became a sensation, creating a social revolution in the 1960's known as 'the second wave of feminism.' Freidan is credited with offsetting a 'myth' that all women wanted to be in her words, 'happy homemakers.' Now deceased, Freidan's legacy work is considered one of the most influential nonfiction books of the 20th century selling over three million copies in numerous languages. In forty years, she was labeled an activist, feminist, anarchist and trouble maker and categorized as a leftist, socialist and conservative. Friedan realized that while writing helped foment conversations; alone, it was not enough to instigate social change. There needed to be additional efforts beyond the written word. Legislation of some form was essential for activating the ideas found in her social commentary.

Changing or creating law, while seemingly innocuous, has often caused a variety of adverse physical and emotional reactions toward those seeking the change. Therefore, a deep personal commitment to overcome magnanimous societal pressure to stay the same is required by those who are creating new legal or policy frameworks. Freidan was often vilified for her efforts yet remained strong enough to influence the passage of (1) Title VII of the Civil Rights Act which prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex and national origin (2) creation of the 1963 Equal Pay Act which amended the Fair Labor Standards act in abolishing wage disparity based on sex and closing what was labeled the 'gender pay gap' (3) instigating changes in President John F. Kennedy's 1961 Executive Order 10925 for Affirmative Action and with President Lyndon Johnson's 1965 Executive Order 11246 that prohibited contract employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion sex or national origin and (4) pushing for laws that disenfranchised the illegality of sex segregated help wanted advertisements during the 1965 opening of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Government legislation that supports equal voting rights for citizens is one very important aspect of creating a society where there are 'equal partners.' "Voting," noted the 36th President of the United

States, Lyndon Johnson, "is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison people because they are different from others." Women have been fighting for this right for generations. Sweden and Corsica allowed women the right to vote as early as 1755 and 1758 respectively. Tax paying women could vote in Poland in the late seventeen hundreds, and women's voting was already law in the Pitcairn Islands, the Isle of Mann, Ontario, Canada and among the Maori tribal women of New Zealand. Using a US study covering the years 1870-1940, conclusions have been drawn that the women's vote impacts government growth, increased expenditures and revenues and results in a wider scope in voting patterns for federal representation. When all citizens are allowed access to this responsibility, national choice becomes more risk averse with greater support for more progressive tax systems and wealth transfer.9

The story of attaining equal voting rights in America is representative of all similar efforts that have been undertaken in other nations." In the US, the fight for equality in voting began when three hundred people convened, on the morning of the 19th of July, 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York when several individuals formally gathered under the premise that there was observable and known "disfranchisement of one-half of the people of this country." Among attendees that day, were thirty two men including freeman Frederick Douglass. Leading much of the event were Elizabeth Cady Stanton, founding genius of the US women's movement, Quaker leaders James and Lucretia Mott, Thomas and Mary McClintock, organizers of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and ardent abolitionists Isac and Amy Post. Now known as the Women's Rights Convention, the two day event was the first time in America that specific social, civil, and religious conditions and 'rights and voting rights of woman' were considered together.

By the end of the second day, The Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions had been composed with a primary aim being to offset "a long train of abuses and usurpations…repeated injuries as on the part of man toward women."10 Stanton, who would be active in women's rights and anti-abolitionist causes in the US for five decades, was the architect and author of the Declaration. It would become one of the US women's movement's most important strategic documents. Mott, a prolific suffragist and Quaker teacher who volunteered for numerous temperance, anti-slavery and women's rights organizations served as colleague and proofreader. The document called for resolutions to offset perceived illegalities in laws that placed women in positions of inferiority. Three examples described were marriage in the eye of the law made a woman civilly dead, women were far short of enlightenment regarding constitutional and state laws under which they were living and women had an inferior role in speaking and teaching at religious assemblies.

While courageous for the time, the two day session came up against backlash with very few men or women being willing to abandon conventional thinking. Women's reform delegates who prepared for the push back pronounced, "We anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation and ridicule but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to affect our object."[11] Detractors claimed the *Declaration* was written at the expense of women's more 'appropriate duties.' The Utica, New York newspaper, *Oneida Whig* voiced that the meeting was "the most shocking and unnatural event ever recorded in the history of womanity."[12]

Reactions to women's voting rights remained tense for many years. In the 1910's, The National Association Opposed to Women Suffrage printed and distributed one of the most unusual examples of non-support in their pamphlet, *Vote NO to Women's Suffrage*. Mixed among household tips were analogies for cleaning, preparing food and first aid. Some notions found in the brochure were:

> "You do not need a ballot to clean out your sink spout. Because 90% of women either do not want it or do not care. Because it means competition with rather than cooperation with men. Because in some states, more voting women than voting men will place the government under petticoat rule. Good cooking lessens alcohol craving quicker than a vote. Sulpho naphthol and elbow grease drive out bugs quicker than political hot air."[13]

One editorialist protested, "The grant of suffrage to women is repugnant to instincts that strike their roots deep in the order of nature. It runs counter to human reason; it flouts the teachings of experience and the admonitions of common sense."[14] Other detractors were the hundreds of Congressional members that made anti-suffrage speeches. On January 12, 1915 the United States House of Representatives debated on the issue for a second time and rejected the idea in a 204-174 vote. A *New York Times* article chronicled what was a common viewpoint in Chambers,

> "The speaker ordered silence from the galleries three times, once for hissing during a speech made by anti-suffrage Representative Stanley Bowdle of Ohio. Mr. Bowdle proclaimed: "The women of this smart capital are beautiful. Their beauty is disturbing to business, their feet are beautiful; their ankles are beautiful, but here I must pause—for they are not interested in the state."[15]

Various stories exist that describe violence against suffragists as well as suffragists participating in violent acts. In England, many were incarcerated in London's Holloway Prison where they were force-fed after going on a hunger strike. In Indiana, a local paper disclosed what it was like for women when they attempted to vote, "Vile insults lewd talk and brutal conduct were used by the indicted men to frighten respectable women who went to the polls in Terre Haute at the last election."[16] When the National American Women Suffrage Association picketed the White House during World War I, they were arrested and transferred to an abandoned workhouse in Occoquan, Virginia. Copying the leader of suffragists in Great Britain, Emmeline Pankhurst, who was a key proponent of hunger strikes, the east coast protestors refused to eat and were brutally force fed and treated violently. "Women were grabbed, dragged, beaten, choked, slammed, pinched, twisted and kicked."[17] In March of 1919 twenty six inmates went on a cross-country speaking tour to several major American cities to inform audiences about their experience as political prisoners.

As of 2012, women were not allowed to vote or had very limited voting rights in Saudi Arabia, Brunei and the United Arab Emirates. Saudi Arabia is one of the latest to put forward a referendum for voting equality. Their 2015 legislature has the subject in line for passage. The right to vote was and remains a definitive piece in a nation's overall ability to develop equal partnerships with its citizenry. Seeking voting freedom and amending rights to acquire more equitable legal foundations of support have always and will continue to be met with repugnant verbal and physical reactions by family, community and political bodies. The US case for voting rights and the efforts of an individual like Betty Friedan make for good backstory for any person or group who would seek changes in federal level regulatory or governing powers today. Few realize the American experience required numerous generations of women over seven decades of activism before the 19th amendment was passed on August 18, 1920. Once in place, it took only thirteen words: "No citizen shall be abridged of their right to vote based on sex" to change forever, the fabric of American society and its government notions about women's role as citizens. Mott, the Quaker teacher, Freidan the 20th century feminist, abolitionists Stanton and Douglass and Briton John Stuart Mill stand out as deputies of change for giving women a legal voice in governing their countries.

"But then there had to be an organization and there had to be a movement and I helped organize NOW."

—Betty Freidan

Betty Friedan not only saw the value in public commentary and legislation for making equality stick, she was instrumental in the 1960's and 1970's development of the National Organization for Women (NOW). Friedan would eventually leave NOW and was ostracized by radicals for her efforts to work with men and would go on to create the 1971 National Women's Political Caucus which helped change female hiring practices, fought for unequal pay, and attacked the procedure of firing a woman who was pregnant instead of providing her with maternity leave. NOW continues to be criticized for its hard stance of putting liberal and partisan policy positions over equality for all women. Even so, since its creation, there are

over one half million members and five hundred and fifty chapters in existence. Its structure and mission have evolved over several decades to include what it calls "a multi-issue, multi-strategy organization that takes a holistic approach to women's rights." Two priorities continue to be "winning economic equality and securing it with an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that will guarantee equal rights for women and ending violence against women."

Agreeing or disagreeing with the mission of an organized body is less informative in understanding the importance organized actions have in instigating change than realizing why it is important for people to join and create groups for equality in the first place. There are many reasons to support group formation: companionship, survival, security, affiliation, status, power and control. Being with others that share a common philosophy reduces fears and provides comfort through acknowledgement of consensual belief systems. Uncertainties are reduced because groups normalize issues, attitudes, feelings and behaviors. Goals can be achieved that would not occur if acting alone.

Groups have been forming around the numerous women's equality issues of education, governance and physical security for a very long time. Though there have been organizational entities since before the Baroque era, such as the religious International Association of Charity of 1615, most related to women's rights up until the 18th century were stand-alone structures and rare for the periods in which they were created. Since the 19th century, there have been three phases within which organizational formations for women's equality have arisen. The first phase was in the Victorian era covering late 1800's into the 1930's. This was followed by what was called the new rise of feminism in the Mod Era between the 1960's and 1970's. A third phase, in what has been called both the Information Age and Social Age relates to the late 1970's through the 'twenty tens.' It is in this third phase that women's equalities moved out of localized and national levels of responsibility toward global level accountability. One global movement in particular has evolved with the introduction in 2000 of United Nations Resolution 1325. Since the Victorian era world-wide, there are now hundreds of thousands of women's organizations who have some link to equality issues.

One of the first modern international advocacy groups was formed in 1888 by Susan B. Anthony and Rachel Foster Avery, daughter of the editor of the *Pittsburg Dispatch* and leader of the Nebraska Voting Amendment Campaign. Their International Council of Women worked in the areas of trade unions, the arts and in establishing benevolent societies. The group lobbied for the appointment of women into the League of Nations and after World War II, worked with the United Nations on women's rights. Today, the Council has permanent representation in several systems including the World Health Organization, Economic and Social Council, International Labor Organization, United Nations Development Program, United Nations Environment Program, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and United Nations Children's Fund.

In the middle of the 1890's, the National Council of Women of New Zealand was instrumental in winning their country's right to vote and effectively pushed for women to sit in Parliament and serve jury duty. Later, the group reformed under the name, What Women Want, to lobby for the right to serve on prison boards, become delegates to the League of Nations and wrestled for equal salaries and promotions and acceptance to work in the civil service. The decade before World War I saw a rise in women's organizations like the Sweden Country Association of Women's Suffrage and the International Alliance of Women. The Swedish organization was led by Signe Bergmen from 1906-1914 who the media often referred to as the "Rostrattsgeneralen" or "Suffrage General." Bergman lived alone, had a formal advanced education, and worked as a researcher in the British Museum and as a bank clerk. In a 1911 newspaper interview, she explained how she had come to be involved in suffrage. "It was the second motion about women suffrage made by Carl Lindhagen (Secretary of the Nobel Committee, pacifist, lawyer and Chief Magistrate of Stockholm) which was exposed to mockery and simply put down. It was for our sake he fought, then should not women like me stand forward?" The primary efforts of the Alliance were geared toward an ability to vote on the same terms as men and to abolish man's legal

guardianship over women. The International Alliance of Women now has fifty organizations worldwide and several hundred thousand members operating out of a Berlin, Germany office.

Not all organizations originated in America and Europe. There were many women's rights groups in the Victorian era centered on the right to vote, stand election and gain equal rights to education on the continent of Asia.[18] After the Revolution in 1911, women were guaranteed the right to vote and the Communist Party of China leading to the creation of the All China Women's Federation in the 1920's to end Chinese traditions that repressed women. The dynamic lasted until the 1940's when the Kuomintang Nationalist Party reverted to Confucian viewpoints. After World War II, in 1949, the All China Women's Federation arose from within the communist party organization for poor women's assistance and to help "leftover" women who were females that had not married by the age of twenty seven. The nations of Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Myanmar, and Turkmenistan formulated women's groups from the early 1900's through the 1930's to support the right to vote and right to stand election. During the Mod Era, Vietnam, Bhutan, Cambodia, Democratic Public of Korea, Bangladesh, Cypress, Brunei and Jordan saw a rise in women's equality groups for voting. Each of these nations passed voting rights laws from the 1940's through the 1980's. In Armenia, there are numerous women's groups that center their efforts on counseling and training and literacy programs. Today, a majority of these groups are formed around lobbying for policy change.

Around 1910, Indonesia's Ahmad Dahlan, the son of an imam argued for a newer purer Islam in step with the modern world. In his efforts, he sought equalities for women and in 1917 he added a women's section to an educational organization he founded five years earlier. The group, Aisyiayah, is still active today and emphasizes reform programs in education, health and social welfare. Huda Sha'arawi, daughter of the President of the Egyptian Representative Council and spouse to a political activist, created the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923. Sha'arawi spoke three languages and completed an extended formal education. Her husband supported her publicly for her speaking out against restrictions on women's dress and the right to move about freely. Union efforts for reformation of family law were unsuccessful but the organization was effective in gaining compulsory primary education for girls. Also arising in this timeframe was Margaret (Gretta) Cousins All India Women's Conference. Prior to moving to India, Cousins had co-founded the Irish Women's Franchise League with Hanna Sheehy Skeffington in 1908 and became one of six Dublin women to attend the Parliament of Women. She and 119 colleagues marched on the House of Commons, where they were attacked and arrested and sentenced to a month in prison after the group broke the windows of the homes of Cabinet Ministers. The All India Women's Conference has grown since its creation to 100,000 members and now works for civil liberties, welfare, and children's issues.

On the continent of Africa, there are a wide variety of societies within numerous sovereign states and dependent territories. Historically, women's roles have been modified as a result of

> "The increased presence of European missionaries, traders, and officials throughout the 16th to 19th centuries, with many women losing power and economic autonomy with the arrival of cash crops, while continuing their work growing food for their families. Women's formal political activity was generally ignored and denigrated by colonial authorities, and they lost ground with colonial legal systems. Simultaneously, they found new ways of working and initiated new family forms…As nationalist movements gained strength in the early 20th century, women's involvement was essential to the eventual success of those movements…"[19]

While each nation is different in their origination, conflicts and politics, there are some themes that drive the creation of women's organizations in this part of the world. Overall, nations are poor with more than 50% of the population of Sub-Saharan Africa classified as living in absolute poverty which is an earning rate of less than $1.25 per day. These standards of living make the costs of forming large, far reaching organizations fairly prohibitive. On the continent, the face of food is female with sixty five to eighty

percent of women being engaged in agriculture. In non-conflict zones, violations of women's rights are more likely to be at the family unit level rather than at the national level. Therefore forming localized organizations addresses broken equalities which arise through incidents of domestic violence, physical restrictions upon accessing basic needs and inequities in rules and laws for marriage, divorce and property distribution. These pathologies drive the founding of small local female cooperatives, gathering of micro-monetary gifts to support individualized business grants, educational awards and training programs. Some examples are the National Association of Women Organizations in Uganda which aims to reduce violence against women and girls and the National Democratic Institute working within Algeria for equal political representation. The Burundi International Women's Coffee Alliance established in 2003, empowers women in the international coffee industry. In Nigeria, the Women's Consortium focuses on sex trafficking and education and in Tunisia the Center of Arab Woman Training and Research was founded in 1993 for data collection and statistical analysis of indicators of women's status.

Men creating men's groups in support of women's rights have been a growing trend over the past twenty years. The ManUp Campaign is a global initiative for male youth to stop violence against women and girls. Its founder, Jimmie Briggs, is a freelance journalist and teacher who publishes stories about child soldiers and war's impact on children. Men Stopping Violence, founded by George McKerrow, the owner of Longhorn Steakhouse restaurant chain and co-founder of Ted's Montana Grill supports training programs for educating men about violence against women and to discuss core values for treatment of girls. Combative Daughters is funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to combat sex trafficking with particular attention to girl children and women.

There have been eight Nobel Peace Prizes awarded between 1905 and 2011 to women who have formed organizations having some influence on the creation of equal societies. All of them were ostracized in media and public and all were physically threatened by their governments for their actions. The earliest prize was in 1905 for Austro-Hungarian Berta von Suttner who spent a decade in exile for her organizational pacifism and suffragist activities. She noted in an 1889 letter, "the question of women—what is it but the awakening of a woman who is treated by society and law…physical differences should not occasion ethical differences, man and woman are born equal and should have equal rights." American Jane Addams, who founded the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (ILPFW) and the Women's Peace Party in 1915 brought together women of different political views and philosophical and religious backgrounds to study war and peace and unite women worldwide who oppose oppression and exploitation. Three thousand women arrived at the first two day meeting in the Hague. Addams said, "if women were to be responsible for cleaning up their communities and making them better places to live, they needed to vote to be effective in doing so." Later, in 1946, economist and writer Emily Greene Balch who had collaborated with Jane Addams during the suffragist era in the US and held a central role in the International Congress of Women also won the Nobel Peace Prize. She was one of the primary strategists in the building of the ILPFW. Balch was fired from her academic job for her beliefs. Swede Alva Nyrdal, a sociologist and politician received the Peace Prize in 1982 for her work in the 1930's in organizing Collective House and for playing an instrumental role in developing domestic liberties for women. Collective House was envisioned as a place in which communal housing would be "a means of emancipating the married and working woman from the burdens of housekeeping and child rearing." Nyrdal felt that y building communal kitchens, childcare centers and housekeeping services into living complexes women would more likely succeed in meeting the demands of homecare and employment. Iranian Muslum, Shirin Ebadi, known as "the new suffragist" created the Defenders of Human Rights Center that focused on significant pioneering efforts in human rights democracy for women, children and refugees. A judge and lawyer, she was demoted to secretary by the Iranian President for her revolutionary work in women's family law specifically regarding child custody, divorce and inheritance. Her human rights center was raided numerous times, her husband was severely beaten, she was persecuted and arrested and finally exiled to London, England. After being awarded the Peace Prize in 2003, the President of Iran stated it was not very important because it was awarded only on political considerations. In 2011, three women, two Liberians and a Yemenite, won the Peace Prize for their non-violent struggles for women's rights. Ellen

Johnson Sirleaf, now and Leymah Gbowee worked for the safety of women and women's equity in the peacebuilding process. Their organizational skills eventually were paramount to ending the fourteen year long, Second Liberian Civil War. Sirleaf and Gbowee organized thousands of women to sing and pray in a fish market for months, formed a sex strike against their partners and husbands and were responsible for a sit-in in Ghana during the Civil War's peace negotiations. At the sit-in the women blocked all exits to the building refusing to move until a peace negotiation was finalized. Leymah Gbowee has since been elected President of Liberia. In 2005, during the uprisings called the Arab Spring, Yemeni journalist Tawakkol Karman, known as the "Iron Woman" and "Mother of the Revolution" co-founded with seven other journalists, Women Journalists Without Chains (WJWC). WJWC develops community based media partnerships and promotes knowledge rights and freedoms of women.

Building an organization is one of the quickest means of instigating equality discussions and making changes in inequitable situations. As this brief review of women's organizations has shown, all it takes is one informal discussion between two or more people with like philosophies to get started. Some of the themes arising over time have been the founders were, in general educated beyond the norm for the era or society in which they lived. Many were grass roots efforts thought some gained prominence through external support from individuals in the fields of media and or public office. It is not true that only women have started these groups or that only democratic and socialist democracies of Europe and North America have made an effort to right women's inequities. Over time, the groups have adjusted their original missions to meet emerging inequalities. Organizations continue to arise to shed light on the same fundamental inequalities of equal pay, equal governance, and access to jobs, voting rights, marriage rights, physical protection rights and rights to equal education.

My greatest challenge has been to change the mindset of people. Mindsets play strange tricks on us. We see things the way our minds have instructed our eyes to see.

---Muhammad Yunus

Muhammad Yunus is a civil society leader who has come to accept the idea of the value of cognition or mindset in effecting change. As a Bangladshi social entrepreneur, banker and economist he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for pioneering concepts of microcredit and microfinance as well as a recipient of the US Presidential Medal of Freedom and the Congressional Gold Medal. He has been listed as one of the top 100 Global Thinkers in *Foreign Policy* magazine and is an active member in the global human rights movement. If asked, Yunus would likely say that at the root of many inequalities are people's beliefs and that it is mental intolerances which breed prejudices, hatred and contempt. Changing these beliefs occurs only after activating what has been described in this essay so far as the three changes of significance: publishing ideas and storytelling, modifying the law and creating new support networks. It takes a lot of time and multiple generations of devoted efforts in the three areas to move from the *image* of the woman walking ahead to the *reality* of having moved forward.

Mental intolerances against female equalities have existed for millennia. In an article by Elizabeth Spelmen, "Woman as Body: Ancient and Contemporary Views," there is extensive research which supports the idea of the depth to which populations have believed women to be lesser than other members of society.

> "What philosophers have had to say about women typically has been nasty, brutish and short. A page or two of quotations from those considered among the great philosophers-Aristotle, Hume and Nietzsche for example, constitutes a verbal litany of contempt."[20]

In the empires of ancient Greece and Rome which spanned the 8th century BC to the 5th century AD, woman was deemed an unofficial aside to the 'important' things happening in the world. One Greek missive stated, "How could one's views about something as unimportant as women have anything to do

with something as important as the nature of knowledge, truth, reality or freedom."[21] Plato, who lived from around 425 to 350 BC once observed, "Children, animals and women were ignoramuses and that each of these did not own the power of reason."[22] He further shut down any means of incorporating gender perspectives into national events by commenting, "It is only males who are created directly by the gods and are given souls. It is only men who are complete human beings and can hope for ultimate fulfilment…the best a woman can hope for is to become a man."[23] Aristotle, who was influenced by Plato's teachings and was alive from 384-322 BC was nearly as severe in his observations by concluding that "females were degenerates from perfect human nature."[24] He believed men had a right to take charge of women because they commanded superior intelligence, were a higher entity and therefore had a right to rule females. Such thinking also existed in the ancient Middle East and Christian Middle Ages. Early biblical writings in Ecclesiasticism were rife with less than complimentary verbiage of women--- they were more impressionable than men, feebler in both mind and bodies, wrathful, angry, and impatient, had weak memories and were liars by nature.

Exceptions to these Aristotelian and Platonic viewpoints can be found among the cultures of the Spartans and Stoics. The Spartans, a dominant military power and caste of frugal, austere people living in the Peloponnese within Greece, allowed women to own property and accrue wealth. Nearly forty percent of their lands were controlled by women. Girls were not required to marry at very young ages as they were in other regions and many did not wed until they were in their twenties. Education was supported and most had at least a couple of years of schooling. Rules on restrictive clothing in public were not followed as was standard with the Athenians, allowing females the freedom to wear short robes and travel as they pleased. Three centuries after Aristotle and Plato died, the Stoics of the early 3rd century BC wrote of equality of the sexes and just relationships among men and women. Roman knight and philosopher, Gaius Musonius Rufus came forward in the 1st century AD to express a progressive view of the role of women in writing two discourses, "That Women Too Should Study Philosophy" and "Should Daughters Receive the Same Education as Sons?" The knight viewed women as more rational and humane than his predecessors. He argued because men's and women's capacity to understand virtue is the same, both should be trained in philosophy. When queried on their abilities to study, he replied that women had received from the gods, the same ability to reason as men, and there should be no distinction between educating either. Rufus trusted that both sexes had the sensibility to lead a just life and men were not the sole possessors of the quality of courage. Women, in his mind, had the great strength to overcome suffering and fear equally to that of men.

Extremist thinking in devaluing women has not disappeared. In 2013, the Afghanistan government considered bringing back lapidating (public stoning) as punishment for "adulterous women." The nations of Iran, Qatar, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, Northern Nigeria, Terengganu in Malaysia, and Aceh in Indonesia still have female lapidating and other forms of 'honor killings' as part of their legal structures. Only two percent of cases of lapidating` have ever been prosecuted. Along with stoning, there is vitrialage, the throwing of acid to disfigure, maim, torture or kill. It continues to occur in the region of Pakistan and among surrounding neighbors. There were 7,000 reported incidents in Pakistan in a fourteen year period from the late twentieth into the twenty first century. That is over one incident per day for 5,110 days. Young women have been disfigured while they slept, in broad daylight in crowded public venues such as markets, on street corners and on public transportation.[25]

There are other data that show discrepancies in valuing women. Seventy percent of the world's two billion poor are women because they are blocked from working for pay. Two thirds of illiterate adults are women because education is considered a male only allowance in many cultures. Customs continue to force females into stagnating dress codes and physically confining their movements to the four walls of a home. Marriages are arranged whereby the male is allowed to brutalize their partner and the concept of adultery is legislated as a female only, not a male problem punishable by anything from public humiliation to death. Human trafficking of women and girls also instigates inequalities for female

populations. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime recently reported statistics on this problem with seventy nine percent of incidents being sexual exploitation.[26]

Due to the numerous internal conflicts ongoing at present around the world, there is also the concern of rape of women and girls being used as a weapon of war. The Global Justice Center has reported,

> "Rape is the most powerful, cost-effective weapon available for destroying the lives of 'enemy' women, families, and entire communities; demoralizing enemy force; and, in some cases, accomplishing genocide. Rape is being used more than any other prohibited weapon of war including starvation; attacks on cultural objects; and the use of herbicides, biological or chemical weapons, dum-dum bullets, white phosphorus or blinding lasers."[27]

The accepted conduct of war rape, lapidating, vitrialage and human trafficking are all based upon deep seeded cognitive beliefs that women are, using the words of the ancients, soulless, incomplete, unimportant human beings and as such, others have the right to take charge of their bodies, minds and lives. Throughout many generations, if the history of war and conflict is studied, the use of rape as a weapon of war is cyclical. The behaviour has been integral to times of increased ethnic and military conflict. During antiquity, war rape was used by Greek and Roman forces. In the Middle Ages, rape was used to subdue conquered communities or sell women into servitude by Vikings and groups involved in the Arab slave trade. At the time of the Indian Rebellions, in the colonial era, during the Boxer Rebellion and in all subsequent wars to the present day, war rapes have been documented against female civilian populations and among women interned in concentration camps.[28] What is different according to the US State Department Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues is "uniformly these crimes are becoming more horrific in their character and commission. It is almost as if the attackers are boldly defying and challenging the acceptable moral standards set by humankind and daring anyone to take action." [29] Slight movements are beginning to occur against war rape, lapidating and vitrialage with increased public condemnation from clerics, religious scholars and political leaders in countries that tolerate these methods of control. War rape in particular is becoming a prosecutable offense as a war crime, as a means of genocide and is gaining increased support in international courts as a crime against humanity.

It is evident in study of modern and ancient belief structures that devaluation of women occurs well before a system is stressed by war. Ancient thinking still drives modern day violence and the perpetuation of other inequities against women. Such deep roots are extraordinarily difficult to overcome. Long-term unequal rights in employment, education and physical confinement for female populations are also driving precedents for perpetuating the allegory of minds that see only what they have been instructed to see. While United Nations Resolution 1325 emphasizes equalities in systems under great duress during conflict; the thoughts embedded are not just about women in such limited situations but about inequalities that arise during other phases of positive and negative societal growth and change.

"What is past is prologue"---William Shakespeare

Conflict and post conflict reconstruction plans and programs are best generated after studying modern critical thinker's viewpoints about the world and filtering these kinds of thoughts through historical knowledge of people, places and events. This is why viewpoints to be considered when formulating agents and agencies of change relative to such a published statement should include an understanding of (1) differences between imagined and real change (2) the difficulties in writing social criticism against the majority viewpoint (3) the importance of following through by legislating ideas and forming organizations and (4) understanding the often unattainable goal of changing a societal mind-set.

Such views take on greater practical meaning when they are attached to some important historical stories of men and women who have attempted to attain equal partnerships. There are several realizations that occur by combining these two acts. Understand regions of the world do not see equality in the same ways nor do they

organize around the same issues. There needs to be a triad of efforts which include writing, legislation and organizing formal groups to ensure the image of equality becomes a reality. The largest and most deep rooted challenge to attaining equality of any kind is instigating changes in cognitions or mind-sets and this does not happen quickly and takes many generations for movement toward a new way of thinking about others. There are cycles of abuses, know this and have in place, formalized laws resolutions and policies to offset events for when they do occur. Once conflict is in play, violent acts against women are exacerbated not just because of the stresses of war but because there were inequities far more deeply embedded in society that perpetuate an inability to see women as uneducated, unemployable and weak. There are several apparatus available that can exacerbate change. These are writing commentary, developing policy and law and developing organizational entities. Unfortunately no matter the apparatus used to incite change, people will be ostracized, imprisoned and even die before change occurs.

On the northeast corner of the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C. sit two statues rendered by American sculptor Robert Aitken. "The Future" is a young woman looking up and into the distance with an open book in her lap. On the marble base is the inscription from the Shakespearean play *The Tempest*, "What is past is prologue." A modern interpretation of these words is that history influences and sets the context for the present. A companion statue, "The Past" sitting opposite the young woman features an old man holding a scroll and closed book. This book signifies the knowledge of preceding generations. Words carved into the base of the statue state, "Study the Past." Experiences of philosophers, feminists, marquises, school girls, imams and knights and social observers and social critics like Alan Wolfe, Betty Freidan, and Muhammad Yunus tell us that when wider critical thought about society in general and historical examples are considered together, there is a greater chance that nations won't be deprived of their best available public guide for public action.

ENDNOTES

Photo credits in order of appearance:

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(3) Betty Friedan: https://avhs-apush.wikispaces.com/Friedan,+Betty
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(18) Women's organizations on the Asian continent exhibit different content and contexts than other regions of the world. This is because, "Asia's boundaries are fluid, its nations and populations numerous and diverse. Human rights have flourished in a few settings but ethnic, religious, 'racial', and colonial histories regularly curtail opportunity as they do elsewhere. Imperialism takes its own forms as well. China and Japan have often been hugely influential, even as they have experienced western efforts at domination at points in their histories. This region has also produced some of the earliest democratically-elected leaders, such as Ceylon's (Sri Lanka's) Sirimavo Bandaranaike the world's first female prime minister in 1960. Like many female 'firsts', she was the widow of the previous incumbent, her husband who was assassinated in 1959. In Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto became the eleventh Prime Minister in 1988, heir to her executed father, the former prime minister, Bulfikar Ali Bhutto. She was in turn assassinated in 2007 but her privileged family, major landlords, continues politically powerful. Such family connections, much like those of Hilary and Bill Clinton, remind us that kinship always matters when it comes to politics all around the world. "From: Women Suffrage and beyond confronting the democratic deficit VOTE Women Suffrage and Beyond ISSN 2292 1060 http://womensuffrage.org/?page_id=

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(25) Some on this violent roll call are (1) Iraqi Du'a Khalil Aswad a seventeen year old Kurd who was stoned to death because she had converted to Islam and whose body was exhumed by government officials to determine if she was still a virgin before prosecuting her murderers. The stoning ended with her skirt pulled over her head and the crushing of her skill with a concrete block. (2) Nineteen year old Iraqi, Shawbo Ali Rauf murdered by her in-laws by being shot seven times because she had an unknown number on her cellular phone (3) Kurd, Sara Jaffar Nimat, age eleven stoned and burned to death and Somalian Aisha Irahim Duhulau age thirteen murdered by a militant group in a public stoning after she had tried to report that she had been raped (4) US Texan Azdanpanah Aziz, aged sixteen killed by her father for dating non-Muslim men (5) Pakistani, Fakhra Yumus who, beginning at the age of twenty one, underwent thirty eight reconstructive surgeries to her face after her estranged husband poured acid on her face in front of her son and boyfriend. Yumus jumped to her death in Rome Italy in 2012 to get out of the hell that had become her life. These physical attacks and the laws that justify them are symptomatic of beliefs held by others that women are less significant than other members of society.

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WE HAVE A WAR TO WIN

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While working with the Ministries of Defense and Interior (MOD) (MOI) of Afghanistan from May 2010 to May 2014, I frequently heard my US military brethren repeating the mantra "You don't understand their culture. You can't push gender integration on this culture. They're not ready for change." Yet, ten years earlier, in October 2001, the members of the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325). This resolution reaffirmed "the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security."[1] Under the UN Charter, all Member States are obligated to comply with Council decisions. Five years later the UN Security Council formally asked the Member States, including the United States, to implement UNSCR 1325 through National Action Plans.[2] The US signed its National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security in December 2011. It wasn't until December 2013, two years later, that the US Department of Defense (DoD) signed its Implementation Guide, via a National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (NAP on WPS).

Despite the best intentions of the DoD (and the United Nations Security Council), the role of women in stability operations in conflict regions, especially those within the Middle East, has been largely ignored. Afghan society remains strongly dominated by men. This patriarchal culture continues to treat women as third and fourth-class citizens, leaving their fates in the hands of their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons. Years of conflict have done little to restore the rights and status of Afghan women to the level they once enjoyed in the 1970s and 80s before and during the Russian occupation. Using the process of Lessons Learned and an examination of our understanding of our Afghan ally's culture, we can gain insight into the challenges inhibiting the implementation of UNSCR 1325, the factors enabling Afghanistan to morph backwards into a highly repressive society and our inability to grasp the significance to address it. This perspicacity will provide knowledge from which to develop best practices, which applied through Top-Down leadership and the widespread use of a gender analysis checklist, that could impact the integration of women for both future operations and the achievement of peace and stability in conflict regions across the globe.

Culture

Societies are based upon their own unique framework of a "set of learned behaviors, beliefs, attitudes, values and ideals that are characteristic of a particular society or population."[3] From this framework arises an "integrated pattern of human knowledge, beliefs and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations.[4] As defined by Anthropology for Dummies, culture is "the whole set of beliefs shared by a group of people about their world and how they should act in that world…" Culture is the spice of life; it's what makes people different around the

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[1] Office of the Special Adviser for Gender and Advancement of Women. www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/
[2] USIP "What is UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and Why is it so Critical Today".
www.usip.org/gender_peacebuilding/about_UNSCR_1325#How_is_Resolution_1325_being_implemented
[3] Cultural Anthropology by Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember, Eleventh Edition, page 15.
[4] Ibid

world"[5] and it is what we compare ourselves against to distinguish one culture's differences from our own. Examples of culture can be seen as seemingly common, everyday behaviors, the most noticeable being the unique patterns of how different peoples greet one another. Few social practices affect and shape a people's culture as does religion, especially in a region where most share the same system of faith because religious beliefs, due to the inherent nature of religion, attach themselves to the governing mechanisms of society, having more impact on culture than any other single element.

Understanding the de-evolution of the role of women in Afghan society provides insight needed to untangle the rights and roles of women from misapplied religious interpretations. Many of these rights, ones which we take for granted in the US, such as the right to work outside the home, select one's own spouse and have access to a fair and equal divorce, are generally not available to Afghan women. The present day patriarchal society functions with the woman's place being in the home, which by its very nature requires little formal education. A woman moves out of her family home, usually as a result of marriage, and into that of her husband. She lives in his house, with his family, in his neighborhood, usually a world away from everything she has known. He is the breadwinner and the decision maker. She has no choice but to assume the role of his caretaker and that of his family, becoming effectively isolated at the bottom rung of Afghan society. However, the present day plight of the 21st century Afghan woman was not always like this.

Religion and Culture

In Afghanistan, 99% of the population practices Islam, a religion based upon the belief in the "Oneness of God" as told through the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad.[6] After the fall of the Soviet occupation in 1992, Afghanistan experienced a profound shift in culture. The Mujahidin, who had been critical to the success of the guerrilla effort, exchanged their arms for positions of prominence. This created a vacuum through which the Taliban emerged spreading their brutal, harshly conservative, tribal ideology. As the Taliban's control increased, so too did their influence. Their use of brutality and fear shifted Afghan society.[7] The educated and elite, including those well versed in Islam, began to flee the country. This exodus left prominent holes in the organizational structure of modern Islamic Afghan society, which further escalated the cultural erosion. One prominent role, that of the Mullah, crucial in religious training, leadership and the attachment of religious practices and thinking into common law, found itself being filled across the country by poorly educated and even illiterate men from the tribal regions. This "new" Mullah, ill-informed on religious law and doctrine, unable to recite the Quran from memory, found it difficult to discern between a religious belief and a cultural practice. In this confusion, Afghan society shifted, stripping away the rights of 53% of its population. The momentum and ensuing absence of basic rights for women gave way to the re-emergence of archaic tribal practices, ringing in a vastly different era of mainstream, present day Afghanistan.

Unfortunately, after Afghanistan was liberated from the rule of the Taliban, the rights of women remained in the "dark ages". Even with NATO and the United States tasked to implement UNSCR 1325 through action plans, the culture of war inhibited this well-intentioned strategy. It would seem logical with women comprising 53% of the population, that they would have a solid presence in the Afghan National Police and Afghan National Army.[8] Yet, with the US government paying the salaries of a 352,000 security force

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[5] Anthropology for Dummies by Cameron M. Smith page 191
[6] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_Afghanistan
[7] A History of Women in Afghanistan: Lessons Learnt for the Future or Yesterdays and Tomorrow: Women in Afghanistan Huma Ahmed-Ghosh May 2003 Journal of International Women's Studies
http://vc.bridgew.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1577&context=jiws
[8] RS Security Force Assistance Guide 3.1, chapter 4
https://ronna.apan.org/SFAGuide/Documents/20140927_NIU_CJ7_TREX_SFA%20guide%203.1.pdf

for Afghanistan, women currently comprise only 1% of the those forces.[9] In addition, to sufficiently address a unique cultural gender practice in a conflict theater where only women can search women and over half of the population are women, it would seem not only logical, but also in one's best interest, to increase the number of women in the security forces to fulfill this security need.

Culture & War

Historically, though with exceptions, war has been fought by men, against men. Within this framework the focus has remained on men, despite the fact that war has never not included women. From Joan of Arc to Rosie the Riveter, history is filled with strong, independent women taking up the call and performing heroically in roles that tended to be exclusively male. Then there are the millions of women who, over the course of human history, against whom war crimes were perpetrated. War doesn't just hold theater for heroes; it creates a stage for its criminals, those who prey upon and inflict vile acts against women and girls. Of the many reasons for doing so, one does not have to stretch the imagination to comprehend the physical and emotional toll those acts take, not just upon the victims, but on the community as a whole. Destroy the female psyche and eliminate their effort and support for their husbands, sons and fathers who take up arms. As a result, women bear the greater burden of inflicted harm: they are stripped of their human rights, savagely raped, disfigured, maimed, killed and their bodies, often burnt, or just left to rot. Sexual and gender based violence, a war crime against humanity, devastates the mind, body and spirit of those affected and that of their entire community. This act of terror, borne by women and girls, is used as a horrific and devastating weapon, and, unfortunately, there don't seem to be any exemptions. Where there is war, there is the devastation of the female gender. The culture of "I'm too busy fighting a war here" to take a pass on providing women the facilities, tools and infrastructure to enable them to successfully fulfill the role they play in times of war and in the quest to achieve peace and security must change

According to Sun Tzu, the famed Chinese military general, strategist, and philosopher, one must "Know the enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never be in peril. When you are ignorant of the enemy, but know yourself, your chances of winning or losing are equal. If ignorant both of your enemy and yourself, you are certain in every battle to be in peril."[10] Sun Tzu is reminding us that we cannot know our enemy, or our foreign counterparts, without knowing their culture, including their women, and that we cannot expect to accomplish our mission without doing so. Cultural awareness training is defined as "the understanding of one's own culture and of the partner's culture. Moreover, it is about understanding the differences between the two and the reasons for those differences."[11] It provides our commanders the insight needed to develop the strategies in order to successfully fight the battle on all fronts, including that of gender integration in the battle for peace and stability.

Cultural Training

US military personnel assigned to Afghanistan were educated in Afghan culture through compulsory pre-deployment training. Being from a country with strict separation of Church and State and a long lineage with Christianity, the knowledge of Islam and its role in daily Afghan life could seem quite foreign to a US service member, hence the importance of this training. The pre-deployment training experienced as an advisor for the Afghan MOD lightly touched on the subject of culture. The course was hardly sufficient to educate our forces at that time in the manner in which The Art of War suggests.[12] Some course instruction, although based upon commonly held beliefs, was on par with that of urban myth. For example, personnel were taught to refrain from any exhibition of the soles of their feet; that to do so

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[9] Ibid

[10] Sun Tzu, The Art of War, Translated and with an introduction by Samuel B. Griffith, 1963 page 84

[11] Merriam-Webster Dictionary

[12] Sun Tzu, The Art of War, Translated and with an introduction by Samuel B. Griffith,

would be insulting to our Afghan partners. In practice, if this were the case, Afghan men, while in meetings crossing their legs exposing the sole of their shoes, would, have insulted me, and many others, daily. In another exercise, we were trained to believe that American women do not shake hands with Afghan men; however, that is not always true. Afghans actually share a variety of ways of greeting one another and the best guidance for a non-Muslim is to "wait until the other person extends his or her hand before making the same gesture."[13]

Another source of cultural knowledge transfer while in-theater was through The International Security Assistance Force Afghanistan (ISAF) Advisors Handbook. Under "Advisor Tips", it instructs personnel, "it is better not to discuss this topic unless gender advisement is in your job description."[14] The thinking being that it's best to avoid discussing the topic of women least one possibly spark conflict with his Afghan (male) counterpart. The handbook enjoined us not to enter into debates with Afghans about their religion because its culture, religion and language are inseparable. However, despite how entwined culture is with their religion and language, Afghans love to discuss politics, religion and US-Afghan differences just like us.

The most noticeable segment of pre-deployment and cultural training was the one missing: how to positively interact within Afghan society such that the joint goals of UNSCR 1325 and our US NAP on WPS were implemented and achieved. Dismissing the need to be culturally wise lent itself to the practice of ignoring the needs of Afghan women to participate in the peace and security efforts and be integrated into the ANSF. As a result, we increased the likelihood to misidentify cultural behaviors, especially those affecting women, as religious obligations and tenets, leaving a gaping hole in our strategy, important enough to cause Sun Tzu to roll over in his grave.

Since 2001 one of the US's priorities in Afghanistan, has been to improve the lives of Afghan women. Despite being a Member State and having a US NAP on WPS and DoD Implementation Guide on WPS, except for the hard work of a few, we, the US DoD, have little to show for it. Better educated US service members on Afghan history and culture, including women, with a specific, measurable, achievable and tangible plan to implement to achieve this goal may have been a game changer. Instead of hearing, "We don't have time for women's issues, we have a war to fight," we may have heard about how the mission was increasing peace and stability in the region, allowing for a more focused military solution.

LESSONS LEARNED

"The purpose of a Lessons Learned procedure is to learn efficiently from experience and to provide validated justifications for amending the existing way of doing things, in order to improve performance, both during the course of an operation and for subsequent operations."[15] By viewing our progress in implementing UNSCR 1325 and our US NAP on WPS through the lens of Lessons Learned we can gain insight as to why women should, and ultimately will play, a significant and vital role in 21st Century operations and conflicts.

Key Leader Engagements

The Congressional Afghan Women's Task Force was established in the US in 2011, with the mission to ensure the continued progress of the women and girls of Afghanistan.[16] It also commits that anyone from Capitol Hill visiting Afghanistan has Afghan women's issues as engagement talking points. The obvious

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[13] http://uwf.edu/atcdev/Afghanistan/Behaviors/Lesson1Greeting2.html
[14] ISAF Insider Threat Handbook 2.0 dtd 8 July 2014 page18
[15] NATO Lessons Learned Handbook - Joint Analysis and Lessons Learned Centre NATO's Lead Agent for Joint Analysis, **from** "NATO's Joint Doctrine for Operations, 2nd Edition dated September 2011 page 1, sighted 2 January 2015. www.jallc.nato.int/
[16] http://www.wand.org/2011/07/06/edwards-co-chair-of-afghan-women%E2%80%99s-task-force/

intention of this key component of the task force was to keep the gender integration issue at the forefront of discussions. Being the patriarchal society that it is, male Afghan leaders of the MOI and MOD were prepared for our women congressional leaders, but not our men, to ask the questions about gender integration and the status of women in the ANSF. In fact, in a year of attending top-level meetings, as a senior civilian advisor to the MOD of Afghanistan, only two Congressional Delegations (CODELs) discussed this subject: CODEL Donnelly and Congresswoman Roby's, yearly Mother's Day CODEL. The irony that Roby's was an all-women CODEL, visiting for Mother's Day, a holiday originating from the United States, was probably not lost on the male Afghan leaders.

One cannot expect a culture so dominated by men to take the United Nations and the US NAP on WPS seriously in regards to gender under these circumstances. Had the male congressional leader raised and discussed the issue of the role of women in the ANSF with these leaders during less celebratory CODELs it would have gone far to convince their (male) Afghan counterparts about the United States' commitment to the empowerment and inclusion of Afghan women. It would also show that our congressional male leaders stand alongside their congressional female counterparts in promoting gender equality in the ANSF and providing role models for other men to copy.

A lesson learned from analysis of Key Leader Engagements (KLEs) (civilian and military) is that our leaders, being exclusively male at the senior levels, make the minimum effort to "improve the prospects for inclusive, just, and sustainable peace by promoting and strengthening women's rights and effective leadership and substantive participation in peace processes, conflict prevention, peace-building, transitional processes and decision making institutions in conflict-affected environments."[17] Additionally, we have seen a demonstrative absence of attention during KLEs being placed on measuring the progress made by the ANSF in achieving its goal of integrating women. It is understandable that our male military leadership has focused on the battlefield and on standing-up the army and police to achieve stability, but men alone cannot win the stability in Afghanistan, even though they control nearly all-political and social power in the country. As shown in Rwanda and Uganda, peace and stability must be won by all segments of society in a conflict theater. In Afghanistan, that requires creating role models through the integration of women into the ANSF with both Afghan men and women working side by side to achieve peace and security. This requires our male members of Congress and the DOD to take an active role implementing the US and DoD's Implementation Guide on WPS by showing the MOI and MOD their unbiased commitment to the advancement of women, and by default, that of our entire country.

U.S. Civil-Military Strategic Framework for Afghanistan - State and DOD

Each year US forces have been in Afghanistan, the US Embassy and the senior US General in theater (Commander of ISAF, a four star general), signed the Civilian/Military (Civ/Mil) Strategic Framework for Afghanistan, to provide guidance to all civilian and military personnel serving in Afghanistan. The document articulates the United States' vision in close collaboration with ISAF and United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan. It includes the latest US policy updates and revisions with its goal "to build effective civilian and military mechanisms for integrated assistance needed to provide Afghanistan with a stable future."[18] Where would it be better to speak to the mission of gender integration in peace and stability operations than here?

There was little consistency in the inclusion of the role of gender integration in the framework. Gender integration was incorporated either into the entire plan, given its own appendix or was absent. The signed document was not widely publicized, and from experience, US military and civilian personnel in

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[17] Joint Chief of Staff's Memorandum for the Secretaries of the Military Departments, dated October 20, 2013, on *Department of Defense Implementation Guide for the U.S. National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security*,
[18] http://www.comw.org/qdr/fulltext/0908eikenberryandmcchrystal.pdf

Afghanistan were unfamiliar with the plan, perhaps having not read it or known it existed. Therefore, little attention was given to a specific subject that could have had significant impact in-theater, like gender integration within the ANSF. As a result, staffs at my command received little official guidance on the level of attention and resources that should have been devoted to this matter. When gender integration was included in the Framework, it left advisors up to their own cultural and personal beliefs as to how to approach its implementation. The lesson learned here is twofold: this strategic framework provides senior leaders a powerful platform from which to inspire and to articulate the mission to integrate women into peace and stability operations and is a media that should be required reading for all US civilian and military personnel working in conflict theaters.

Women Role Models

ISAF has had very few women generals/admirals on its staff; usually, one or two among the approximately 39 general officer positions within ISAF. Under General Petraeus, the ISAF Commander was a woman General and Rear Admiral; neither officer had a position at the ISAF Staff table. They sat on the sides of the room as non-principles. One of the generals was Brigadier-General Christine Whitecross, Canadian Air Force. BG Whitecross was selected for Major General, and became the Chief Engineer for the Canadian Forces upon her departure, yet was not a principle advisor on gender issues for General Petraeus. The same holds true even today. There remain no women generals sitting at the table with the ISAF commander; just one or two on the side. Hence, no female gender input in decision-making. General Allen did request that NATO provide him with a general officer to be the senior gender advisor for ISAF. Although it took over a year, Croatia sent their first woman general to fill the post. She completed her tour in Afghanistan in January 2015 and was subsequently replaced by a female Australian Colonel due to the ISAF not believing this position necessitated a general officer.

Senior women role models, from NATO countries, are very important to the inclusion of women in conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and/or political transitions. It promotes the demonstration of leading by example. Croatia for example assigned their only woman general officer to the ISAF. Surprisingly, despite having nearly 70 active duty female generals and admirals, the United States only ever assigned one senior military woman officer at any one time. Our US NAP and DoD Impletion Guide direct us to "Leverage the participation of female U.S. military personnel to encourage and model gender integration and reach out to female and male populations in partner nations."[19] The US would go a long way to show they are serious when it comes to implementing the NAP-WPS, by ensuring with each high level visit to conflict-affected environments, like Afghanistan, there are highly qualified women as part of the visiting delegations and negotiation teams, nation building with a women's influence. In addition, the DoD needs to deploy more than one women general officer to prominent positions on the ISAF Staff.

Top -Down Leadership

"Every major cultural, operational, or strategic change in a business requires personal passion, "skin in the game," and role modeling from senior leaders and gender diversity is no exception. When a CEO is the chief advocate and "storyteller," more people (including the often less committed male middle-managers) believe that the story matters and begin to adopt the CEO's mind-set and behavior. Intensely committed CEOs make their goals clear and specific, tells everyone about them, get other leaders involved, and manage talent to help make things happen." [20] There is no difference between a business

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[19] US National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/email-files/US_National_Action_Plan_on_Women_Peace_and_Security.pdf

[20] Article|*McKinsey Quarterly* The global gender agenda Women continue to be underrepresented at senior-management levels in Asia, Europe, and North America. McKinsey research suggests some answers. November 2012 | by Joanna Barsh, Sandrine Devillard, and Jin Wang
(www.mckinsey.com/insights/organization/theglobalgenderagenda)

and its board of directors being committed to an issue and our armed forces and the DOD. When top-down leadership is invested in subjects and issues such as gender diversity, so too are their staffs; they dedicate themselves and adopt the mindset and behavior of their leader. This mindset, in order to succeed, must ensure that women, men, boys and girls are included in the actions taken. In the military, this mindset requires performance metrics, follow up and accountability at the tactical, operational and strategic levels going from the bottom, up to the top, down, covering all levels of a military campaigns and stability operations.

Leadership has an important effect on the implementation of a gender perspective in the work performed in theaters like Afghanistan. As many may suspect, I have an "individual personal passion" when it comes to gender/women peace and security versus "command passion", a term I have coined describing when the leader shows interest and takes on an issue, showing the command that it is of personal interest to him or her, therefore important to the command. Regardless of whether or not a member of the staff or command agrees with the need for gender integration, the belief and passion from the top leader inspires and motivates those in his or her command to also invest in it. General Allen exemplified this command passion. He not only lobbied for a women general to run his ISAF gender office but he continually held joint meetings that included prominent military and civilian women leaders. Because of his "command passion", his staff paid attention to the subject of WPS and give it the attention it would not have received without top-down leadership. General Dunford showed "command passion" for casualty affairs for Afghan soldiers. He was concerned about those that were disabled or killed in battle and what happened to their families. Because of this, the staff took an interest in casualty affairs and spent an inordinate amount of time working the issues.

CERP

Congressional Emergency Response Program (CERP) allowed commanders to quickly dispense and directly fund urgent humanitarian relief and construction projects, under $500,000, that directly benefited the local Afghan people with jobs, facilities and infrastructure. CERP funding was available for agriculture and irrigation projects, to improve economic and financial security, restore or improve electrical production and distribution, food production and distribution and for projects to build wells for water and sanitation.[21] According to Special Inspector General for Afghan Reconstruction (SIGAR), only 0.2% of all CERP funding was allocated to projects benefiting Afghan women. "Of the 525 total CERP projects and initiatives reported, totaling approximately $4.7M in disbursements, there were only two "low dollar value" CERP projects, one for "$11,000 for the construction of a girl's school in Daykundi province and $240.00 for beekeeping supplies and training for a group of 25 women in Parwan province."[22] The lesson learned here: the most readily available tool to utilize to improve the lives of Afghan women was absent from the gender integration tool kit. CERP money did not follow rules that took into consideration small, disadvantaged Afghan businesses, women owned businesses, or businesses that hired women. It is evident from the SIGAR that women were not equally taken into consideration, when specific programs were being reviewed prior to funding.

The Gender Analysis Checklist

The word gender refers to the state of being male or female. It is further delineated as men, women, boys and girls. Gender analysis is a framework that accounts, examines and interprets how each of these demographics are affected and impacted, advantaged and disadvantaged, based upon military decisions and policy. The analysis also includes progress towards gender equality and a normalization in gender relations that is consistent with modern standards. This checklist is nothing more than an itemization of specific, tangible and measurable actions that guides a systematic approach to ensuring the achievement

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[21] Center for Army Lessons Learned, "Funding Projects" http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/call/docs/10-10/ch-8.asp
[22] SIGAR 15-24-AR/U.S. Efforts to Support Afghan Women dtd 18 December, 2014 pg 19 FN#16

of its intended goal. In the case of gender analysis, it pertains to the different items of information collected and scrutinized during the planning and decision making for policy and operations.

A gender analysis can be used to explain who benefits from the development activities, education and training opportunities and determine which demographic gains formal or informal political power, prestige, or status, especially important in areas for which balance is needed. The application creates the objectivity needed to assess who possesses access to services, such as health and education, and the factors determining such access. For example, the location of facilities and the attitudes of service providers may influence women's access to health services. "Who has access to program/project resources, who has access to information from the project/program, and who participates in project management processes?" [23]

The military is very adept at using checklists which are a useful tool when planning the deployment of military operations. A gender analysis, or gender impact assessment, is nothing more than the critical examination of potential issues, based upon gender groups, (women, men, girls, and boys). It can provide commanders the knowledge of with whom they will be engaging and factors that will drive that engagement. From there, the commander can adjust planning for missions. Gender is a multi-discipline topic; not one element of stability operations and conflict resolution. By looking at all gender groups (women, men, girls and boys), the commander can adjust actions on how each are affected by planned military operations.

A simple, yet potent, solution to implement the goals and intent of the US NAP on WPS and the DoD Implementation Guide on WPS is for all commanders, when planning operations at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels, to use a Gender Analysis/Impact Checklist such as the example found in Appendix A. A templated checklist, similar to that developed by the DOD for use in the US-Australian Joint Exercise Talisman Sabre 2015, driven from the top down, would be most effective in ensuring broad use throughout all operations.[24] Doing so will allow DOD to make great strides in complying with E.O 13595 and the NAP on WPS by "promoting women's participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution, as well as in post-conflict, relief and recovery, advances peace, national security, economic and social development, and international cooperation."[25]

Applying the Gender Analysis Checklist

Learning that the CERP decision process provided the quintessential vehicle for implementing our action plan to improve the lives of Afghan women, but was not utilized to do so makes it an excellent and quick case study for the use of a gender analysis checklist. In a typical CERP decision process, Afghan village elders were given a prominent voice in determining for which projects they wanted US funding. Considering the patriarchal culture, it was a given that women did not have their voices heard during the process. Using a gender analysis checklist would have ensured that women's needs were taken into serious consideration. Its application would determine whether or not women were included and who would benefit from the project; men, women, boys and/or girls. If only men of the village were consulted, the analysis team could have sent back another group to consult specifically with the women. This could have been done using women participants of Civil Support Teams or Female Engagement Teams who could talk to Afghan women since Afghan culture restricts men from engaging with women. For example, if CERP funds were being used to build a school, the checklist would include required questions to determine if girls would be attending, and whether the school was to be located where the

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[23] Introduction to gender analysis concepts and steps Juliet Hunt, Independent Consultant pg 142

[24] DoD Finally Gets the Point of Women Peace and Security by Brenda Oppermann, Small Wars Journal, Journal Article/November 13, 2015.

[25] UNSCR 1325 http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/WPS%20SRES1325%20.pdf

Taliban could not disrupt its operations. If the answer was "No" to one or both of these questions, the decision making body would determine whether or not the school should be built since it would not benefit both girls and boys or if it should be built but in a different and more secure location.

If a gender analysis had been applied, using questions such as those found in Appendix A, the commanders on the ground would have distributed the funding to all types of Afghan businesses, thus spreading out the projects, with gender equality in mind. The ripple effects could have been profound, impacting through whom the money was financed and spreading the wealth beyond the exclusive hands of prominently placed men, lessening the number of male millionaires that were being made, and improving the lot of Afghan women. Use of CERP funding for projects that included women would have provided critical support and assistance to give greater personal and economic autonomy to a class of Afghan society that was desperate to escape the shackles and burdens placed upon them. Instead, this influx of US dollars exaggerated the pre-existing Afghan economy and social class structure by making some obscenely wealthy men who had little desire to see the status quo changed to provide equality to all and improve the quality of life of its women.

Top down leadership requiring the universal application of a gender analysis checklist could have changed attitudes and prevented the Resolute Support Security Force Assistance Guide (RS SFA) 3.0 from having to be republished in the updated version, RS SFA 3.1. In the summer of 2014, as ISAF went from Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) to Resolute Support (RS) Mission, Commander ISAF was heard to say that gender was a bridge too far and that there was not enough time left in the RS mission to make any progress in this area. Unfortunately, this attitude permeated the process of producing the Resolute Support Security Force Assistance Guide (RS SFA) 3.0, written to help nations and advisors prepare to execute "functionally based" security force assistance during Resolute Support. The guide failed to mention any of the brave women of the ANSF nor did it acknowledge women as a part of the coalition and ISAF. In addition, there were no photographs of coalition or Afghan women to be found within its pages, despite the proliferate photographs of both male Afghan and ISAF personnel. Furthermore, gender had also been deleted from ISAF advisor's functionally based advising, which is set along the eight Essential Functions (EFs). The use of a gender analysis checklist by the responsible ISAF section could have prevented this serious printing and communication error. With women, comprising 4% of ISAF personnel and 53% of the Afghan population and the absence of their presence in the guide was a glaring, preventable error.

A gender analysis checklist would have required the answers to the following questions, preventing the subsequent revisions:

- Does the RS SFA reflect the voice of men and women affected by functionally based security force assistance?
- Does functionally based security force assistance affect men and women differently?
- Have the objectives been met for both men and women?

On 27 September 2014, after being appropriately staffed through the ISAF Gender Office, RS SFA 3.1 was republished. Although Gender Integration was considered crosscutting through all essential functions, the subject was not discussed. The guide did include the eight essential functions' focus on Afghan systems with measurable outcomes, as in the previous version, but now had inserted two new sections: one on gender and human rights and another on women in the ANSF. This edition even included pictures of women in the ANSF. Following Appendix B would have ensured that women, men, boys and girls were included in functionally based security force assistance as the transition was made from Operation Enduring Freedom to the Resolute Support mission. Many thanks, to the ISAF Gender Office, for making this possible.

Increased Footprint at OSD

Staffing is critical to succeed at implementing the NAP on Women, Peace and Security, such as that demonstrated by the forward thinking of then LTG William B. Caldwell IV, US Army, Commander NATO Training Mission Afghanistan/Combined Security Transition Command Afghanistan (NTM-A/CSTC-A) and Dr. Jack Kemp Ph.D., Deputy Commander NTM-A/CSTC-A. In 2010, NTM-A/CSTC-A assigned their first command Gender Advisor and in 2011 stood up a Gender Office. Since then, CSTC-A has also assigned from two to four gender advisors of mixed civilian and military personnel in the office. ISAF Headquarters in Afghanistan stood-up their Gender Office in 2009, appropriately staffed with two to four mixed civilian and military personnel. Currently ISAF HQ has nine positions for gender advisors.

In Washington the Under Secretary for Policy (OSD (P)) is responsible for coordinating the Implementation Plan for WPS for the DOD and has designated the OSD (P)/Stability and Human Affairs Office to coordinate the implementation with the Secretaries of Military Departments, Commanders of the Combatant Commands and Directors of specified DOD Agencies. This person, who provides strategic direction on a range of issues, is the sole person at OSD engaged in the implementation of the NAP-WPS and "promoting women's participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution, as well as in post conflict relief and recovery, advances peace, national security, economic and social development and international cooperation."[26] On the military side of the Joint Staff, the J-5 owns WPS and has one part-time person working WPS issues. It is simply not feasible to implement a WPS plan of this kind, one with such wide ranging culturally sensitive ramifications, throughout an organization as steeped in tradition and bureaucracy as the DOD, with this level of organizational infrastructure and expect to achieve its goal. A more serious approach would be to increase both offices, especially OSD (P)/Stability and Human Affairs Office with a substantial staff. In addition, there needs to be US support to NATO's Directorate on Women, Peace and Security where there are no US personnel working. This can be done with a US Voluntary National Contribution (VNC); a demonstrable segue into what the rest of the world is doing to support the issues of women in peace and security.

Conclusion

As we marched into Afghanistan, we placed our military focus on the battlefield but largely ignored the majority of those trapped in this conflict, the women and girls. Perhaps because we did not include effective strategies for their inclusion in peace and security operations we found ourselves "too busy" fighting a war, one that seems to have no end. Despite our best efforts for a complete withdrawal, we continue in 2016 to maintain nearly ten thousand troops in Afghanistan. As the security situation continues to deteriorate, our leaders are now being forced to consider additional future deployments. Obviously, we have not fully completed our mission. Perhaps, as presented in this paper, had we engaged this theater with a holistic campaign strategy, one that included an authentic cultural study, along with the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and our National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, we could have avoided this undesirable milestone in this on-going conflict theater.

President Obama stated in his 2016 State of the Union Address "The Middle East is going through a transformation that will play out for a generation, rooted in conflicts that date back millennia." That means our military will stay involved in regions like Afghanistan, with similar cultures, for a long time to come. The purpose of a Lessons Learned is to improve performance, both during the course of an operation and for subsequent operations. The Lessons Learned as discussed in this paper illustrate touchpoints along our journey in Afghanistan that, had we properly leveraged, could have made significant differences in the outcome and present day situation in Afghanistan. The value of these lessons demands that our military provides our troops training on how women fit into these societies in which we

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[26] UNSCR 1325 http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/WPS%20SRES1325%20.pdf

are engaged, the role they play on the battlefield and at the peace table in solving the problems of their own country. WPS has demonstrated the vital role it plays in resolving today's conflicts and must be included in our strategy for engagement.

Leading the implementation of WPS from the top down and by example will demonstrate to the world our commitment and determination to achieve lasting peace and security. We demonstrate this resolve when our male civilian and military leaders act as role models, engaging our male partner leaders in discussion of the subject of WPS during key leader engagements. Promoting and deploying numbers of qualified senior women generals and officers to prominent assignments in our partner nations provides roles for these regions' women to model and integrates our female leaders in partnership with the host nations' men. Using CERP funding to support all of society, men and women equally when specific programs are being reviewed prior to funding shows us ultimately "walking our talk".

The concept, to fully integrate women in peace and security operations and the reasons for doing such, as presented here, are easily understandable. The implementation, however, may be more challenging, especially considering the shift in thinking required. Starting small, with simple tools such as a Gender Analysis/Impact Checklist such as those found in Appendix A and B, will shine a needed light on the path to achieving peace and security with the assistance of the integration of women into the peace and stability process. US-Australian Joint Exercise Talisman Sabre 2015 successfully implemented a Gender Analysis checklist and ensured there were gender advisors at the strategic, operational and tactical levels of command.[27] It educated and exposed US General and Flag officers to the need for WPS to be a part of plans, exercises, and operations. Now, if we can just apply these lessons learned from Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and from US-Australian Joint Exercise Talisman Sabre 2015, coupled with top down leadership on WPS and a gender analysis checklist, the DoD can go farther than it has in ensuring stability operations remain successful.

Feminist lawyers trained in Sharia law argue that the tradition of male authority in Afghanistan is cultural, not Islamic. "In Islamic history, men have been the boss. They want to be the boss forever," says Rahala Salim, a former judge.[28] We need to help counties, like Afghanistan, change this way of viewing women and encourage both men and women to work side-by-side to achieve peace and security, creating role models for the rest of society to emulate. We can no longer ignore the existence of the majority demographic in these theaters; the women, boys and girls. We can no longer look the other way because "I am too busy fighting a war." They are, by default, a part of the war and therefore, in the most simplistic of terms of understanding, required to be a part of the outcome and future stability and peace of that nation.

Biography of the Author:

Sheila M.Q. Scanlon, Colonel, USMC Retired, was on continuous active duty for 32 years, from 1979-2011. She was an 0180/Adjutant with command billets, from company to regimental level, as well as assigned to three joint tours. She has one combat tour, in Afghanistan, as a Senior Advisor to the Deputy Minister of Interior for Administration and Support; and, the Gender Advisor for both the Ministry of Interior of Afghanistan and the Commander NATO Training Mission –Afghanistan/ Combined Security Transition Command – Afghanistan, where she was awarded the Bronze Star and the Combat Action Ribbon. Sheila returned to the US, after working as a DoD civilian (GS-15), in Afghanistan, from July 2012 to May 2014, as the Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Defense of Afghanistan for Gender Integration and was a Senior Civilian Advisor to the Minister of Defense of Afghanistan, as a member of the Ministry of Defense Advisory Team, from September 2012 to July 2013. She is a graduate of the University of Notre Dame with a BA in Political Science; National War College, National

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[27] DoD Finally Gets the Point of Women Peace and Security by Brenda Oppermann, Small Wars Journal, Journal Article/November 13, 2015.
[28] Women in Afghanistan: Back to Square One? Tribune, by Carol Khan, Feb 08, 2015

Defense University with a MA in National Strategic Studies and Regional Studies in the Middle East; and, is a graduate of the Swedish Institutes course on Gender Field Advisor.

Example of Gender Analysis/Impact Checklist Questions	Yes	No
Do men and women participate equally in leadership and the decision making process?		
Do political institutions prevent or promote equitable participation?		
Are government services provided for men and women equally?		
Is the participation equitable in current patterns of economic activity?		
Are levels of employment equitable between men and women?		
Are women heads of households?		
Do women have control over household income?		
Are these households significantly poorer than male-headed households?		
Are women included in the decision-making process on resources being provided by partner nations?		
Do men and women possess the same access to technology?		
Are certain mediums of technology than others accessible to men or women?		
Do demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration (DDR) programs impact men and women differently?		
Are women included in the conflict prevention processes?		
Are women included in the conflict peace-building processes?		
Do men and women participate in security sector institutions?		
Do men and women have equal access to security sector institutions?		
Are women being recruited for security sector institutions?		
Do security sector institutions address gender-based violence, committed by both security sector actors and private actors?		
Is there a mechanism to report gender-based violence by both men and women?		
Do religious norms constrain gender participation in society?		
Do religious norms enable gender participation in society?		
Are community leaders (Tribal Elders) involved in ensuring equitability resources for men, women, girls and boys?		
Do women, men, girls and boys have equal access to health clinics and medical facilities?		
Are these health clinics or facilities adequately staffed including by culturally appropriate service providers?		
If you are building facilities, did you include both male and female facilities (bathrooms/dressing rooms)?		

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANSF - Afghan National Security Forces

CERP - Congressional Emergency Response Program

CIV/MIL - Civil - Military

CERP – Congressional Emergency Response Program

CODEL - Congressional Delegation

DOD - Department of Defense

EF - Essential Functions

E.O - Executive Order

IGWG - Interagency Gender Working Group

ISAF - International Security Assistance Force

KLE –Key Leader Engagement

MOD - Ministry of Defense of Afghanistan

MOI - Ministry of Interior of Afghanistan

NAP - National Action Plan

NAP-WPS: National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NTMA/CSTC-A – NATO Training Mission- Afghanistan/Combined Security Transition Command Afghanistan

OEF - Operation Enduring Freedom

OSD - Office of Secretary of Defense

OSD(P) - Office of Secretary of Defense - Under Secretary for Policy

RS - Resolute Support

SFA - Security Force Assistance Guide RS SFA: Resolute Support Security Force Assistance Guide

SGBV – Sexual Gender Based Violence

SIGAR - Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction

USD(P) - Under Secretary for Policy

UN - United Nations (UN)

UNSCR - United Nations Security Council Resolution

US - United States

WPS - Women Peace and Security

1325 - Number given to the UN Security Council Resolution dealing with increasing the participation of women during conflict operations and stability and peace building.

The Dancing Gorilla: Some Observations about the Challenges of
Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Sahana Dharmapuri

The Challenge

Sometimes seeing is believing. But most often, focused attention on one thing leads to a failure of awareness of other vital information. The "invisible dancing gorilla test" proved this in the early 2000s. Researchers asked a group of people to watch a video of people tossing a basketball and to count the number of passes or bounces made.[1] Afterwards, the participants were asked if they had noticed anything unusual. In most cases, half the people in the study reported seeing nothing out of the ordinary. What did they miss? A dancing gorilla. A woman dressed in a gorilla suit waltzed through the basketball players, turned to the camera, thumped her chest, then walked away. Why didn't they see this? Because their attention was focused on what they thought was important and they failed to see the obvious: the dancing gorilla in the room.

International actors face the same challenge when it comes to implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security (UNSCR 1325).[2] Progress is often viewed as the increasing adoption and passage of policies, resolutions, and national action plans on women, peace and security. These policies and resolutions primarily focus on the following: numerical parity of women and men in everything from peacekeeping to peace negotiations, and a continuous focus on the problem of sexual violence in armed conflict. Though these are important strides forward for gender equality, these myriad initiatives miss what is most needed: increasing the capacity of security actors to use a gender perspective in their work and implement the policies and resolutions that already exist.

Instead, the growing number of policies and plans reflect a kind of institutionalized practice of gender blindness and resistance to fully implementing the women, peace and security agenda as set out by UNSCR 1325. Institutional resistance to women, peace and security most often appears as gender blindness in the way that people within government institutions think about what we can know, improve, and take immediate action on in matters of international peace and security. Using a gender perspective means paying careful attention to the different roles, status, needs and priorities of men and women. It is a factor that determines our understanding of security and development problems and thus affects our ability to find the best solutions to these problems. Being gender blind means being blind to how the gender differences between women, men, girls and boys can impact the effectiveness of policies and programs. Gender blindness is a failure to recognize and to take into account these differences.

This misdirected attention on increasing the numbers of policies, the number of women in security institutions, and the heavy emphasis on the victimization of women due to sexual violence in conflict, obscures the central purpose of the women, peace and security agenda: to ensure gender equality in decision-making on all matters of global security.

What the Research Shows

Since the inception of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000, progress to implement the women, peace and security agenda in the daily work of peace and security institutions remains slow. A

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[1] See the Simons and Chabris test for "inattentional blindess" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UtKt8YF7dgQ
[2] International actors include security actors like NATO and the UN Security Council, national governments and militaries, and civil society organizations.

comprehensive literature review and interviews with over 100 actors in international security and peace institutions shows that gender blindness is the cause of this strategic weakness.

Gender blind security analysis does not pay attention to the differences between men and women's experiences and has a negative impact on how policy is operationalized. Gender blindness contributes to implementing *ad hoc* measures instead of a coherent framework of approaches to operationalize women, peace and security goals (which ensure a gender perspective in negotiations and constitution making processes, for example.) Gender blindness also contributes to a focus on "women" to the exclusion of using a gender perspective to evaluate and address security threats and opportunities to reduce violence for women, men, boys and girls.

Some examples of this can be found in the policies directed toward peacekeeping and addressing sexual violence. For instance, in 2009, UN Police set a goal to increase the percentage of female police peacekeepers to 20 percent by the year 2014, but in late 2013, women comprised just under 10 percent of the police peacekeeping force. The focus remains on recruiting more women, yet the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations has a clear policy to include both male and female gender advisors in operations in order to integrate a gender perspective into peacekeeping missions which deserves the same attention.

Though controversial, it is worth highlighting the fact that the international focus on the problem of sexual violence against women in conflict emphasizes women as victims, not as agents of change. The Security Council has passed numerous resolutions on ending sexual violence against women in armed conflict since 2000 (most notably UNSCR 1820, 1960 and 2106). This is in spite of UNSCR 1325's heavy emphasis on consultations with women and on including a gender perspective in the work of security actors.

Gender blindness within institutions is not a new phenomenon. In fact, the women, peace and security agenda was brought to the international stage by women living in conflict zones precisely because they wanted to end gender blind approaches to peace and security. They experienced the impact of gender blindness first-hand while working to end violence and inequality.[3] Women's organizations from Sierra Leone, Guatemala, Somalia, Tanzania, and Namibia laid the ground work for policy debates at the highest levels of the international system to address the marginalization of women in peace-building and reconstruction.[4] These women pointed out that the peace agreements are prone to fail at least 50 percent of the time.[5] They pointed out that peacekeepers sent to halt conflict-violence in transition countries have acted as perpetrators of violence against the communities they were meant to serve.[6] They noted that constitution drafting and other forms of state architecture which are intended to serve all citizens of a newly formed state were not inclusive, and often struck down fundamental human rights of half the

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[3] After holding an Arria Formula meeting with NGOs and an open debate, the Council passed resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security on 31 October 2000. The Arria Formula meeting on 23 October 2000 prior to the open session of the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security gave representatives of women's NGOs from Sierra Leone, Guatemala, Somalia and Tanzania a chance to explain their work, demonstrate their competence and submit their recommendations on a large number of issues. Extracts from "NGO perspectives: NGOs and the Security Council" by Felicity Hill, in "NGOs as Partners: Assessing the Impact, Recognising the Potential" 2002.

[4] Women Building Peace, Sanam Naraghi-Anderlini, 2000, 2001

[5] See Roy Licklider, "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars 1945-93" in *American Political Science Review,* 1995, Vol 89, No 3: 681–90. "Research undertaken by Roy Licklider over the period 1945 to 1993 suggests that over the period of 1945–1993 about half of all peace agreements fail in the first five years after they have been signed." African Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework, NEPAD Secretariat, Governance, Peace and Security Programme, June 2005, p3.

[6] See Chiyuki Aoi, Cedric de Coning, and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *Unintended Consequences of Peacekeeping Operations* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007). See also, the UN General Assembly, *Comprehensive Strategy.*

population in the transition state.[7] UNIFEM, with the assistance of women's organizations around the world, documented and publicized the fact that women's traditional under-representation in decision-making extended into the internal hierarchy of international institutions responsible for monitoring and implementing peace processes.[8]

After more than a decade of international efforts to address these problems, UNSCR 1325 remains a strategic blind spot in for international actors. This has not gone unnoticed by women who are implementing UNSCR 1325 around the world. For example, in 2011, a group of women leaders from the African Union convened in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to establish a dialogue on the progress of using a gender perspective in African security sector reform. They surmised that:

> *"The [gender] policy agenda draws on a Victorian/colonial conception of the security sector that is based on the view that women are recipients of security and protection, while men are the providers and decision makers in matters of security. This approach positions women as security recipients not security actors, and fosters their exclusion from the security sector… As a result policies on gender mainstreaming within security institutions have been based on a limited interpretation of gender to mean the inclusion of women. The superficial adoption of gender policies in security institutions has hindered tangible transformation of structural power dynamics within the very institutions and the communities they serve."[9]*

Voices from the Field

Interviews with over 100 officials, including gender advisors, military gender advisors, military personnel, former peace negotiators, and mediators, confirm that institutional resistance to and gender blindness in women, peace and security policies originates with individuals within the institutions of defense, diplomacy and development.[10] Most often, resistance to implementing the women, peace and security mandate appears as anecdotes that people within these institutions tell about what we can know, improve, and take immediate action on with regard to gender and security.

The interviews reveal that security and development actors experience deeply entrenched gender biases that impact their daily work. The following statements are examples of gender bias that the interviewees said they experienced within security and development circles to stall or halt implementation of women, peace and security objectives and goals:

- "We want to recruit more female soldiers and police but they aren't interested in joining [national forces]."
- "We are willing to put more women in leadership and decision-making roles but we can't find women with the right skill set and experience."

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[7] See for current examples of this phenomena, Sirkku K. Hellsten, *Transitional Justice and Aid,* Working Paper No. 2012/06, United Nations University, January 2012, 19, "For instance during the drafting of the new constitution, Kenyan women, and the international community had to give in on significant improvements on women's rights in order to make small gains. The right to abortion for example, was abandoned for cultural and religious reasons…" David Cortright and Kristen Wall, *Afghan Women Speak*, http://kroc.nd.edu/sites/default/files/Afghan_Women_Speak_Report.pdf; and *What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325 A Case Study Assessment*, International Civil Society Action Network and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010, http://web.mit.edu/cis/pdf/WomenReport_10_2010.pdf

[8] Gender Equity and Peacebuilding, From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way, A Discussion Paper, Richard Strickland and Nata Duvvury, International Center for Research on Women, 2003, p11.

[9] *A Policy Dialogue: African Union Security Sector Reform Framework and Gender Transformation*, Fahamu Networks for Social Justice and the African Security Sector Network (2011)10.

[10] Interviews took place between 2010-2013 in Stockholm, Sweden, New York City, Tel Aviv, the West Bank and Washington, DC.

- "We believe women are equal but we need evidence that gender equality is going to make a positive difference to our security objectives."
- "We have to deal with more immediate and pressing issues first, then we'll get to the women's issues."
- "If women are present, why do we need to use a gender perspective?"

The interviewees spoke about these biases only with the agreement of non-attribution. This is because pointing out these biases within institutions can lead to more resistance and barriers to implementation.

This is why gender biases are seldom documented in publically available research and remain hidden within governance institutions. This damaging phenomenon further exacerbates the deepening chasm between the growing numbers of policies we have on women, peace and security, and the lack of capacity we have to implement them. This narrative of gender bias has a direct negative impact on how security and development policy is operationalized, because it leads to gender blindness in the daily work of international security and peace.

Yet, the women, peace and security agenda called for security actors to examine not only what they say about how to create security and peace, but what they *do* to actualize these goals. They pointed to the need for the international community to engage in some critical self-examination about how we are "doing" security and peace. They especially emphasized the importance of applying a gender perspective in processes such as constitution drafting, peace negotiations, and security sector reform efforts, which shape future states.[11]

It is interesting to note that the international community spends an increasing amount of time trying to assess women's capacity for participating in matters of international peace and security matters effectively. However, international actors spend very little time on assessing their own capacity to execute the policies they have adopted with regard to the women, peace and security agenda.

Gender training within institutions is offered on an *ad hoc* basis, or is not standardized when it is offered. The result is uneven capacity and skill levels of security actors to understand and apply a gender perspective in their work. The push for gender training relies on the proclivities of the senior leadership to take "women's issues" seriously. When those few gender-sensitive leaders rotate out to other positions, the institution suffers a vacuum because it has no internal capacity to consistently apply a gender perspective to the daily work in matters of international peace and security. Based on the track record of the last decade, it is clear that what happens within our institutions—visible and invisible—greatly affects how security sector reform programs and policies are implemented, how peace agreements are negotiated, and how post-conflict reparations are made.

This behavior may not be intentional, but the personal gender bias of people within these national institutions becomes a kind of institutionalized practice of resistance to gender equality. It creates resistance to fully implementing women, peace and security within key national instruments of power—defense, diplomacy and development. These are key resources and powers that States deploy abroad to advance their national security interests and are highly relevant to women, peace and security mandates.

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[11] Efforts to integrate a gender perspective into transitional justice have come about over the last 15 years in response to the relative neglect of women's experiences during and after conflict. Recent developments in international law and on gender-based violations and Security Council resolutions such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, and other related resolutions (UNSCR 1820, 1888, 1960, and 2106) have emerged as soft law and strengthened the international community's commitment to combatting these crimes.

Gender Blindness Undermines Institutional Capacity

When the hidden gender biases discussed above are combined with a lack of capacity to employ a gender perspective, the result is a plethora of strategic blind spots in conflict situations, security analysis, and peace building. This is because ignoring hidden gender biases of policy-makers and security actors leads institutions to undermine their own policies on women, peace and security, and undermine their capacity to execute those policies in a coherent strategic framework.

Two important ways in which gender blindness undermines institutional capacity to function effectively and creates strategic blind spots are:

- Gender blindness leads to missing key information in security analysis
- Gender blindness focuses on "women," not the strategic interests of advancing security for all.
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Missing Key Information

Two specific examples of gender blind analysis can be seen in the lack of gender analysis in the literature on the effectiveness of peacekeepers and in the lack of a gender perspective in planning and delivery of post-conflict reparations payments.

The Lack of Gender Analysis on the Effectiveness of Peacekeepers

Virginia Page Fortna's well-known study, *Does Peacekeeping Work?,* examines how peacekeeping hinders conflicts from resuming and asks, "What difference does it make having peacekeepers present rather than absent?" However, her question is gender blind, meaning, she does not ask what difference it makes to have male or female peacekeepers present rather than absent.

Fortna's study about the effectiveness of consent-based UN peacekeeping missions under Chapter VI of the UN Charter show three key findings that are relevant to the evidence about the effectiveness of the presence of female peacekeepers and the inclusion of a gender perspective in operations. She writes, "… Controlling for other factors that affect both where peacekeepers go and the prospects for peace, the statistical tests show clear evidence of a strong empirical effect. The risk…of another war is significantly lower when peacekeepers are present…"[12] Fortna also specifically identifies three key areas where the

presence of peacekeepers make a significant impact: reducing uncertainty and fear, preventing and controlling accidents, and preventing political abuse.[13]

Over the last decade, a body of empirical evidence has emerged on the presence of: women and the inclusion of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations that further refines Fortna's conclusions on the impact of peacekeepers' presence. These studies, which ask specifically about the presence of female peacekeepers show multiple improvements in operational effectiveness in exactly the areas that Fortna identifies in her gender blind study. First, they show that the presence of women and mixed teams in peacekeeping missions enhances credibility and legitimacy of the mission, helps to alleviate fear and mistrust, enhances force protection, and reduces security dilemmas.[14] And second, both an increase in the

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[12] Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War (*Princeton*:* Princeton University Press, 2008), 125.

[13] Ibid, 102.

[14] See for example, United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *DPKO/DFS Guidelines: Integrating a Gender Perspective Into the Work of The United Nations Military In Peacekeeping Operations* (New York, March 2010) 21,23; Johanna Valenius, "Gender Mainstreaming in ESDP Missions, Challiot Paper No 101," Institute for Security Studies, European Union, Paris, May 2007, 34-36; The Swedish Defense Research Agency, *Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325: Practices and Lessons from Afghanistan* (Stockholm, May 2009), 115.

number of women present in a mission and the consistent application of a gender perspective in the day-to-day work of a Mission helps to prevent political abuse by strengthening basic law and order institutions through underscoring international human rights standards, especially international agreements on women's human rights.[15] Using a gender perspective in the work of the mission has been shown to also improve situational awareness, resulting in a more comprehensive understanding of the area of operation, therefore reducing uncertainty and helping to prevent unintended negative consequences.[16].

But women's "presence" is an uncomfortable subject for feminists and mainstream policy-makers alike. Feminist scholars, and some policy-makers, feel that saying women's mere presence has any impact on peace and security is a form of essentializing women. Essentialization means attributing natural, essential characteristics to members of specific culturally defined group (defined by gender, age, ethnic, and socio-economic status for example). Essentializing groups of people, assumes that individual differences can be explained by inherent, biological, characteristics shared by members of a group, and it results in thinking, speaking and acting in ways that promote stereotypical and inaccurate interpretations of individual differences. For example, feminists note that people essentialize women when they assume that girls and women are naturally emotional versus rational, or naturally peaceful versus violent or aggressive.

A number of experts who do not use a gender perspective in their work have described the "mere presence of peacekeepers as having a calming effect that can prevent escalation or deter spontaneous local violations of a peace accord."[17] Their gender blind work makes no distinction between male or female peacekeepers but nonetheless finds that the benefits of "presence" translate into force acceptance, the enhanced trust and confidence of the civilian population in the force present. And yet, when we debate the effectiveness of female peacekeepers and their presence in operations, we feel uncomfortable with attributing peaceful behavior to female peacekeepers and simultaneously somehow remain blind to the data on peacekeepers presence that exists for peacekeepers in general.

This is only one example. Gender blind analysis perpetuates the gender blind worldview of the decision-makers in charge. This is one reason why good policy intentions fail to be followed through in practice.

To change this, security actors must do the hard work of reconciling their stereotypes about men and women. The capacity and skill to apply a gender perspective is necessary to produce thoughtful studies that examine, explore, and reveal new perspectives for decision-makers to find new, and more effective solutions.

Lack of Gender Analysis on Reparations Payments

One transitional justice mechanism that is often included in post-conflict reconstruction is a portfolio of reparations programs which can consist of individual grants or compensation payments; community reparations, which are intended to acknowledge areas worst affected by past violence; the provision of preferential access to services for victims; and symbolic measures, which might include memorialization efforts and official apologies. Reparations can be critically important for women, who as the majority of the surviving population in many post-conflict situations are also the base of the productive economy for the new state.

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[15] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *DPKO/DFS Guidelines: Integrating a Gender Perspective Into the Work of The United Nations Military In Peacekeeping Operations* (New York, March 2010).
[16] See for example, The Swedish Defense Research Agency, *Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325: Practices and Lessons from Afghanistan* (Stockholm, May 2009); NATO Gender & Education Training, *How Gender Can Make A Difference to Security Operations,* (2011), 25,29: See "Canadian PRT in Kandahar" and "Swedish PRT in Mazar-e-Sharif."
[17] Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 96, quoting Rikye 1984 and Hillen 2000.

Unfortunately, there is a lack of sex-disaggregated data on reparations available. For example, in the final truth commission reports for South Africa and Peru, there are no sex-disaggregated data available for crimes committed against youth and children. A study of truth commissions in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Peru, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Timor-Leste found that the majority of the past truth commissions and fact-finding bodies did not adequately include gender issues in questionnaires and forms used to collect data and testimonies from survivors.[18] That report concluded that, "Such omissions weakened the ability of the commissions and reparations programs to address gender-based and sexual violations, and this particularly disadvantaged those who were girls when they were victimized."[19] Sex-disaggregated data and gender analysis could help with developing appropriate and effective reparations programs.[20]

There is also a lack of sex-disaggregated data on reparations payouts. For example, the UN report, *Making Transitional Justice Work for Women*, states that some of the available data is from the Timor-Leste truth commission, and from the UN Peacebuilding Fund in Sierra Leone. This report notes that in Timor-Leste, 73 percent of recipients of urgent interim reparations in the form of cash grants were men. Only 23 percent were women. In the Sierra Leone program, approximately 7000 women who were either victims of sexual violence, or war widows, were given $100 each. The reparations payouts did not include other categories of victims such as amputees.[21]

And yet, in the community of practitioners, there is a wealth of anecdotal evidence on the problems that women have with any receiving unequal reparations compensation to men, if they receive any reparations payments at all. These experiences are not widely documented but need to be made visible.

While twenty-six indicators have been identified to close the gap on the lack of data on the implementation of UNSCR 1325, simply tracking the percentages of resources distributed through reparations programs is not enough.[22] A gender analysis combined with sex-disaggregated data of the conflict-affected population would provide more nuanced and comprehensive information to better inform reparations programs. It could help to minimize the factors that affect women's access to reparations including access to bank accounts, the ability to travel and register as beneficiaries, and to access formal legal documents. If the people who collect the data and design these programs do not actively consider what the different experiences of men and women, boys and girls, in conflict and their different roles, status, needs and priorities before, during and after a conflict, the programs and mechanisms created are destined to perpetuate inequality in post-conflict societies and newly formed states.

Seeing Women, Not Security

In foreign policy debates, women's participation in international peace and security remains sidelined.

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[18] Dyan Mazurana and Khristopher Carlson, *Children and Reparations: Past Lessons and New Directions,* Innocenti Working Paper, June 2010.

[19] Dyan Mazurana and Khristopher Carlson, *Children and Reparations: Past Lessons and New Directions,* Innocenti Working Paper, June 2010, 9.

[20] Dyan Mazurana and Khristopher Carlson, in *The Gender of Reparations: Unsettling Sexual Hierarchies While Addressing Human Rights Violations*, ed. Ruth Rubio-Marin, Cambridge University Press, 2009, 179.

[21] Nahla Valji, *Making Transitional Justice Work for Women*, UNIFEM, September 2010, 20. "At the end of UN peace operations in Timor-Leste, the international community had provided urgent interim reparations in the form of cash grants to 516 men (73 per cent) and 196 women (23 per cent)…In Sierra Leone, the Year 1 project paid out $100 each to 2,918 victims of sexual violence and 4,745 war widows. In addition, 235 women received fistula surgery or medical treatment for health issues arising from sexual violence. There is, however, no sex-disaggregation of data for the other categories of victims who received compensation, such as amputees."

[22] The Secretary General's Annual Report on Security Council Resolution 1325 for 2010 established 26 indicators for members states and the UN to monitor the implementation of key elements of the resolution at a global level.

Women and women's organizations that advocate for gender equality are brought together with security actors on an *ad hoc* basis. The threats and security risks they identify are not given close attention or are not acknowledged by international actors who engage in official processes.

After more than two decades of negotiations, the Middle East peace process remains a good example of this. In 2010, US Special Envoy George Mitchell met with members of the International Women's Commission, a group of Israeli and Palestinian women engaged with the peace process, but no formal mechanism was created to include their voices in the Track I peace negotiations. The Quartet—the United States, The European Union, Russia, and the United Nations—insisted that, "Our mandate does not cover issues related to women."[23]

The Middle East negotiations are not unique in this regard. In 2005, during the peace negotiations in Naivasha, Sudan, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) included a few women among their delegation. However, one of the SPLM delegates at Naivasha, Dr. Anne Itto, recalls that women and women's organizations were routinely ignored and left out of the main talks. In fact, she says, at times they were forced to present their recommendations to the parties by pushing their documents under the closed doors of the negotiation room.[24] Itto writes that,

> *"Even when women were consulted about gender issues or directly included in the peace negotiations, it was only a gesture to showcase democracy and inclusiveness: their perspectives and their experiences in peacebuilding and negotiation were not recognized or fully utilized."[25]*

Whereas, in contrast, the Northern Ireland peace talks in the United Kingdom in the late 1990's present a transformative approach. Only political parties with significant electoral support were invited to participate in negotiations. Catholic and Protestant women joined forces to form the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) after they were told they would not be able to participate in the talks as civil society representatives. Their primary platform was to bring women' concerns to the negotiation process and to ensure an inclusive peace accord. The NIWC was one of ten political parties popularly elected to participate in the Good Friday negotiations, which brought an end to the conflict in Northern Ireland. The NIWC's political platform was promoting human rights, inclusion and equality. They specifically sought full reintegration of decommissioned fighters into their economically marginalized communities.[26]

Today, gender blindness and gender bias are reflected in the separate but parallel "women's" conferences, with women leaders, when discussing how to negotiate or resolve the conflict, and what the future of the state architecture might be. Unfortunately, these discussions are hardly ever integrated into the "main event"—the back channel meetings and public negotiations that receive the full attention, funding and support of the international community.[27]

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[23] *What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325 A Case Study Assessment*, International Civil Society Action Network and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010, 37.
http://web.mit.edu/cis/pdf/WomenReport_10_2010.pdf
[24] UNIFEM, *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections Between Presence and Influence,* April 2009, 6.
[25] Itto, Anne, "Guests at the Table? Role of Women in Peace Processes," in Conciliation Resources (2006)
http://www.c-r.org/sites/c-r.org/files/Accord18_19Guestsatthetable_2006_ENG.pdf Accessed 8/8/13.
[26] *Inclusive Security Curriculum for Women Waging Peace*, Peace Negotiations and Peace Processes Module. Published 2009.
[27] See also Sirkku Hellsten, *Transitional Justice and Aid*, Working Paper No 2012/06, United Nations University, January 2012, 18-20; and Christine Bell and Catherine O'Rourke, *Does Feminism Need a Theory of Transitional Justice? An Introductory Essay*, The International Journal of Transitional Justice, Vol. 1, 2007, 30-32.

For example, in the case of Syria, although women were the first to demonstrate against the Assad-regime, women remain under-represented in local opposition councils inside Syria and in opposition bodies outside of Syria. Attempts to raise women's profile and participation in the Syrian crisis have resulted in more women's conferences, such as a 2012 conference that gathered 40 Syrian women in Cairo to convene the Syrian Women's Peace Forum, and a conference hosted by the Women's Democracy Network (WDN) in Doha in January 2013.[28] Female representatives from the leading Syrian opposition groups met and founded the Syrian Women's Network with the aim of discussing women's roles in "Syria's transition to a peaceful democracy bound by the rule of law…" The WDN charter calls for equal rights and representation for all Syrians, and demands that women have equal participation in all international meetings, negotiations, constitution drafting, conflict resolution and reconciliation and in elected governing bodies. It also outlines the prevention of and prosecution of violence against women in the rebuilding of Syria. Another organization, the Center for Civil Society and Democracy in Syria, has called for women to play a more integrated role in transitional justice and governance, and has set a target of increasing women's representation in the future Syrian government to 50 percent.[29] With a view towards a future war crimes tribunals, Syrian women continue to document incidents of torture and sexual violence.[30]

Yet reality falls short of expectations. Most of these women's conferences and gatherings take place separately from the main dialogues and negotiations between the Syrian opposition coalition and members of the international community.[31] In 2013, only three members of the Syrian opposition coalition were officially recognized by the international community are women.[32]

The fact that women are sidelined to the "women's table" is a type of bureaucratic resistance that gender advisors and gender equality advocates identified within and from both governmental and development institutions. When women and a gender perspective are discussed in *ad hoc* measures such as in the forum of separate women's conferences and meetings, but excluded during the selection of priority objectives and strategies at the earliest stages of official dialogues, they remain tangential and *ad hoc* concerns at best. This form of gender blindness hinders women's equal ability to contribute to setting the agenda in state architecture.

But officials within government and development institutions do not view these *ad hoc* measures as a form of resistance to gender equality. Instead, they openly admit the lack of women's participation in the leadership positions in political negotiations, and confirm that these concerns are not being addressed. And they do not take the further step to formulate specific objectives to address this problem, such as how to implement the existing policies on the inclusion of women and a gender perspective in the official peace negotiations.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that women's conferences cannot be truly effective if the recommendations and action plans generated by women's organizations outside officially sanctioned political meetings are not integrated into official negotiation processes, donor-pledge meetings,

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[28] See "Syrian Women's Forum for Peace Convenes in Cairo" http://www.prweb.com/releases/2012/10/prweb10077759.htm Accessed 8/8/13.
[29] See "Is There Hope for Women's Rights in Post-Assad Syria?" by Kylie Schultz, April 9, 2013. http://www.theinternational.org/articles/392-is-there-hope-for-womens-rights-in-post- accessed 8/12/13.
[30] Christia Fotini, How Syrian Women Are Fueling the Resistance, Foreign Affairs, March 6, 2013. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136248/fotini-christia/how-syrian-women-are-fueling-the-resistance
[31] Confidential interviews with former UN officials, New York, July 2013. See also, "Syrian Opposition in Exile Fails to Elect Women," by Karin Laub on the Associated Press website, http://bigstory.ap.org/article/syria-s-main-opposition-group-elects-new-leaders accessed 8/12/13.
[32] See "General Assembly Meeting of the Syrian Coalition in Istanbul" May 23, 2013. http://www.aa.com.tr/en/rss/185053--general-assembly-meeting-of-syrian-national-coalition-in-istanbul accessed 8/12/13.

constitution writing, and other acts of creating state architecture. This might seem an obvious conclusion. Yet we continue to witness *ad hoc* interventions, not a framework of coherent interventions that can effectively inform statecraft with the principle of gender equality.

The Path Forward: Employing a Gender Perspective as a Best Practice

Just naming hidden gender biases can help men and women within institutions understand that they are telling an old story of resistance.[33] Calling attention to gender blindness and gender biases can help men and women within institutions choose a gender aware perspective on their work. Instead of preserving current gender biases, making the dominant narrative of resistance to gender equality within institutions visible can free men and women to act more strategically and effectively in the interests of global security and peace.

Military planners, security actors, and policy-makers need some tools to name the hidden biases about women and gender equality, and have a dialogue about how this can improve the effectiveness of their daily work. A gender perspective is a critically useful analytical tool in this regard.

A gender perspective is an analytical tool used to understand the power relationships between men and women, power relations among women, and power relations among men. A gender perspective sheds light on who has access to and control of resources, who participates fully in decision-making in a society, what the legal status of men and women is, and what the beliefs and expectations are of how men and women live their daily lives. Because a gender perspective is about analyzing power dynamics, and seeks to understand how to transform these dynamics, it is a future-oriented tool that can help us generate new ideas about the way things could be. Institutional capacity to apply a gender perspective can be increased through training that empowers people within institutions to take personal and direct action to address the structural inequality in the policies and programs they are responsible for implementing.

A gender perspective is a security capability and a force multiplier that illuminates immediate and long-term strategic interests. This type of critical analysis uncovers hidden biases and reveals how these biases are a deciding factor on the success or failure of policies and programs. Using a gender perspective gets to the heart of power imbalances and looks for ways to correct the imbalance.

Instead of focusing on increasing the numbers of women in peace negotiations and peacekeeping, a gender aware approach can illuminate the reasons behind how peace processes and peace operations can become more effective by including both men and women. For example, studies show that gender-balanced professional teams were much more likely to be innovative, share knowledge and fulfill tasks, regardless of whether the team leader was a man or a woman.[34] Another

> **What is a Gender Perspective?**
>
> *With respect to any social phenomenon, policy or process, exposing gender-based differences in status and power, and considering how such discrimination shapes the immediate needs, as well as the long-term interests, of women and men.*
>
> *1995 Beijing Platform for Action*

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[33] Herminia Ibarra, Robin Ely, and Deborah Kolb, "Women Rising: The Unseen Barriers," *Harvard Business Review*, September 2013, 62-66.

[34] Lucy Ward and John Carvel, "Best Ideas Come From Work Teams Mixing Men and Women," The Guardian, October 31, 2007 http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2007/nov/01/gender.world See also, BEAR, J. B., & WOOLLEY, A. (2011). The role of gender in team collaboration and performance. Interdisciplinary Science Reviews, 36(2), 146-153.

private sector study reveals that when the gender mix of teams is balanced or favors women, the team outperforms homogenous teams where the balance favors men; and gender mixed teams also do better at constructive group processes.

A specific security example about the effectiveness of a gender perspective in identifying hidden caches of small arms and light weapons is illustrative. Because women have a presence in both the public and private spheres, they can observe locations of weapons caches and have explicit knowledge about individuals within armed groups and the placement of hidden explosives. For example, women in the Mano River area exchanged information on guerilla movement, including arms transfers, within and across borders in Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, which positioned them as facilitators of negotiations, encouraging individuals and groups to lay down their arms.[35]

These studies and examples are highly relevant to improving the effectiveness of peace processes and peacekeeping operations.

It is important to be reminded, as well, that a gender perspective includes examining the experiences of men and boys. For example, men and boys are often overlooked as victims of sexual violence, and they do not receive the same support or services that women do. Using a gender perspective on men and boys' experiences during conflict shows that they are specifically targeted for mass conscription and killings. In many cases they are forced to witness acts of sexual violence against female family members in order to be subdued and humiliated. Even when men and boys are not the victims of sexual violence, they are often forced to use sexual violence as part of initiation into an armed group.[36]

Collecting sex-disaggregated data can help to shed light on the different experiences of women, men, girls and boys in the case of sexual violence in armed conflict. The collection of sex-disaggregated data can lead to significant insights about who is being attacked and why. For example, in the context of a peace operation, if there is a spike in abductions in an area of operation, reporting on whether the abductees are men or women or both can influence the tactical level interventions required.[37] It can also inform future transitional justice initiatives when the conflict ends and the new state is seeking to address grievances that can be destabilizing for future generations.

Conclusion

Gender blindness can be overcome by paying close attention to what is right infront of us. The path forward is to first name the hidden biases that exist within institutions. Naming these biases can help men and women understand they are telling an old story of resistance. Second, building the capacity of men and women to apply a gender perspective in their daily work effectively can help to operationalize women, peace and security policies in a systemic way and coherently actualize the rights embedded within the women, peace and security agenda. Institutional capacity to apply a gender perspective can be increased through training that empowers people within institutions to take personal and direct action to address the inequalities in the policies and programs they are responsible for implementing. A gender perspective is inherently transformative because it illuminates imbalances in power relations, and seeks to change them.

If we truly want to see forward movement on implementing the women, peace and security agenda, practitioners within institutions need to make their experiences of hidden gender biases visible. By making institutional experiences with resistance to gender equality visible, and engaging in self-

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[35] https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/NATO-Report_8.pdf

[36] Gary Barker, *Men and Masculinities in Post-Conflict and Conflict Settings, Implication for Action*, International Center for Research on Women, presentation, undated.

[37] UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and UNIFEM, *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice*, June 2010, 41.

examination of our own values and attitudes, we may have a chance at changing the dominant narrative and telling a new story. A breakthrough may come from the realization that the bias of the practitioner and security actor informs the culture and actions of the institutions they work in. Refining the quality of focused attention with a gender perspective will make visible that which has remained invisible for so long in matters of global security. In short, we need to redirect our attention to the dancing gorilla in the room.

The Idea in Brief		
The Challenge	**The Research Shows**	**The Path Forward**
While progress on implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) is often portrayed by observing the increasing numbers of policies, resolutions, and national action plans as synonymous with real change toward substantive equality in matters of international peace and security, little progress has been made.	The rights-based approach of focusing on increasing women's representation and on women's victimization by sexual violence in armed conflict has obscured subtle gender biases that create institutionalized resistance to fully implementing WPS. Instead strategy to fully implement WPS should focus on increasing operational effectiveness of international actors.	• Make the gender biases of international actors and organizational practice visible. • Increase security actors' effectiveness through training on applying a gender perspective to their daily work. • Use a gender perspective to examine power imbalances and transform inequalities for the future.

Operationalising United Nations Security Council
Resolution 1325 within the Australian Defence Force

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ABSTRACT

This literature review surveys and analyses the existing literature, policy and practice in order to support Headquarters Joint Operations Command's comprehensive incorporation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 into Australian Defence Force (ADF) operational planning and conduct. It draws upon academic literature as well as practitioner reports on military implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. The literature review will enhance understanding of good practice and inform the development of measures of effectiveness for the ADF's implementation of Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018.[1]

[1] AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 2012. Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018. Canberra: Australian Government.

Executive Summary

This literature review has been commissioned as part of a broader project to support the operationalisation of Women, Peace and Security into Australia's joint military planning and the conduct of operations domestically, regionally and internationally. The report will enhance understanding of good practice and inform the development of measures of effectiveness for the Australian Defence Force's implementation of Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018.[2] Firstly, it will situate this project in the relevant theoretical literature, it will also provide an analysis of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) on Women, Peace and Security. Lastly, it will review empirical academic research on thematic issues of relevance to the military implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda in the context of population centric operations.

There is little academic research addressing the widespread military operationalisation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. However, valuable theoretical and practical research has been undertaken within the context of specific thematic issues that are integral to the deliberate planning and conduct of joint military operations. These issues include the legal framework for operations; intelligence process for conflict analysis; deliberate planning processes and products; security sector reform; disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; transition assistance; and disaster response. Consideration of the gendered dimensions of each of these key issues allows for the strategic integration of Women, Peace and Security into the planning, conduct and transition of joint military operations domestically, regionally and internationally.

Acronyms

AC-FLOC   Adaptive Campaigning - Future Land Operating Concept

ADF   Australian Defence Force

DDR   Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration

IHL   International Humanitarian Law

JMAP   Joint Military Appreciation Process

NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NAP   National Action Plan

SSR   Security Sector Reform

UN   United Nations

UNSCR   United Nations Security Council Resolution

WPS   Women, Peace and Security

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[2] AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 2012. Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018. Canberra: Australian Government.

1. Introduction

This literature review has been commissioned as part of a broader project to support the operationalisation of Women, Peace and Security into Australia's joint military planning and the conduct of operations domestically, regionally and globally. The literature review will enhance understanding of good practice and inform the development of measures of effectiveness for implementing *Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018.*[3] Firstly, it will situate this project in the relevant theoretical literature, it will also provide an analysis of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) on Women, Peace and Security. Lastly, it will review empirical academic research on thematic issues of relevance to the military implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda in the context of population centric operations.

The thematic issues discussed here are based on requirements of the Australian Defence Force (ADF). However, they are relevant to many militaries with obligations to implement the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. Despite having slightly different approaches to employment of women in the defence force, and slightly different doctrinal approaches to stabilisation, counterinsurgency and peace operations; the insights provided in this literature review may prove useful for allied nations including America, Britain, Canada and New Zealand as well as other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

There are two key terms used throughout this literature review that need to be defined from the outset: sex and gender. Sex is the anatomy with which a person is born. Here, derivatives of the terms man and woman are used, though issues related to transsexual individuals are also relevant to this area of study.[4] On the other hand gender is defined as the socially constructed roles given to people, often based on their sex. The relevant terms for gender include masculinity and femininity. These roles are not fixed and it is important to note that because they are socially constructed, they are not specific to individuals, and may vary between and within cultures. In an operational context, the differences between sex and gender need to be understood in order that our presuppositions don't interfere with one's understanding of the operational environment and the effective security operations.

2. Theoretical context

2.1 Constructivism

Traditionally, International Relations scholars were only interested in the relationships between states. However, constructivist scholars within the discipline have helped us understand the inter-state relationships by looking at the individual actors and the structures within which they act. Constructivists maintain that the acts of individuals affect the structures of international relations, and reciprocally the structures affect the behaviour of individuals[5]. This fundamental principle of constructivist International Relations theory is paramount to understanding how an international policy agenda can be implemented by organisations and structures of national government.

The work of Egnell, Hojem and Berts reinforces the utility of constructivist theory in understanding the operationalisation of WPS in military organisations. Of the three key factors identified as reasons for the successful implementation of WPS in the Swedish Armed Forces, they identified two key constructivist ideas: the importance of the work and agents of change, and the organisational placement of one of those

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[3] AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 2012. Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018. Canberra: Australian Government.

[4] DOLAN, C. 2014. Letting go of the gender binary: Charting new pathways for humanitarian interventions on gender-based violence. *International Review of the Red Cross,* 96, 485-501.

[5] WENDT, A. 1992. Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organizations,* 46, 391-425.

agents of change. "The strategic placement of the Gender Advisor and the focus on operational effectiveness not only amplified the implementation of a gender perspective in the Swedish Armed Forces as a core issue of output in terms of operations, but also sent a strong signal to the organisation regarding the importance of a gender perspective in the conduct of military affairs."[6]

2.2 Feminist International Relations

Much of the academic literature on Women, Peace and Security draws on feminist traditions in the discipline of International Relations.[7] Within International Relations, maternal and cultural feminists argue that women's participation in peace and security institutions will inherently lead to a more peaceful world.[8] Liberal feminists argue that women's participation in peace and security is simply a matter of equal rights, but don't necessarily expect women to be inherently peaceful. While women's participation in peace and security processes is a matter of equal rights, this project is primarily concerned with peace and security outcomes.

As Egnell reminds us, "the core task of military organisations is to fight and win the nation's wars, or to apply organised violence, or threat of such violence in pursuit of the national leadership's political aims."[9] In Sweden much of the success of implementing the WPS agenda is credited to the fact that gender perspective was considered "an issue of operational effectiveness rather than just a largely politically-laden human resources issue of women's rights and participation."[10] As such, this literature review draws on critical feminist literature, reviewing material on a whole range of women's experiences of conflict and instability.

Enloe's seminal 1989 text, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* kick-started a feminist movement within the International Relations discipline. It broadened the considerations of key issues such as the placement of international military bases by including the concerns of local communities that were 'hosting' bases into the understanding of security.[11] Subsequently, there has been an increase in the attention paid to the impact of armed conflict on women and children. However, most of this research focuses on women as victims, particularly of sexual violence,[12] at the hand of an aggressor, such as in the mass rapes in Berlin at the end of WWII.[13] Scholars like Karam have catalogued a range of victim centric studies on women in war and shown there is a lack of analysis of women's agency in conflict.[14]

More recently, increasing attention has been given to the role of women in peace literature,[15] and in addition we know that women play a vast range of roles in conflict.[16] [17]From ancient to modern history,

[6] EGNELL, R., HOJEM, P. & BERTS, H. 2014. *Gender, Military Effectiveness, and Organisational Change - The Swedish Model,* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan. pp6

[7] TICKNER, J. A. 2001. *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era,* New York, Columbia University Press.

[8] CHARLESWORTH, H. 2008. Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-Building. *Feminist Legal Studies,* 16, 347-361.

[9] EGNELL, R., HOJEM, P. & BERTS, H. 2014. *Gender, Military Effectiveness, and Organisational Change - The Swedish Model,* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan. pp7

[10] Ibid. pp7

[11] ENLOE, C. 2014. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases,* Berkeley, University of California Press.

[12] HEATHCOTE, G. & OTTO, D. 2014. *Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security,* London, Palgrave MacMillan.

[13] MESSERSCHMIDT, J. 2006. The Forgotten Victims of World War II - Masculinities and Rape in Berlin, 1945. *Violence Against Women,* 12, 706-712.

[14] KARAM, A. 2001. Women in War and Peace-building: The Roads Traversed, The Challenges Ahead. *International Feminist Journal of Politics,* 3, 2-25.

[15] PORTER, E. 2007. *Peacebuilding: Women in international perspective,* Oxon, Routledge.

[16] COHN, C. 2013. *Women & Wars,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

women have been known as the Amazonian warriors[18] and genocidaires in Rwanda.[19] Women have been combat troops in regular armed forces of cutting edge militaries around the world;[20] women have been involved in special operations with United States' armed forces; and have been armed combatants in non-state armed groups in Sri Lanka, Columbia, Kurdistan.[21] In Ethiopia[22] and Bougainville[23] women have forced fighting men from their combat zones to the peace table. Women have organised extremely influential protest movements like 'Mothers of the *Plaza de Mayo* '[24] and organisations like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom have maintained a feminist peace movement for over a century.[25] This literature review passes no judgement or limitation on the roles women may play in conflict and instability. Instead, it aims to capture women's diverse experiences, articulating them in a manner that shows their relevance to the design and conduct of contemporary military operations.

2.3 Population Centric Operations

Population Centric Operations is a concept that evolved from *Adaptive Campaigning -Future Land Operating Concept*[26] (AC-FLOC). AC-FLOC is the capstone concept of operations for the Australian Army. First published in 2009, it was updated and re-released by Chief of Army in 2012. AC-FLOC includes five lines of operation to respond to conflict in the future operating environment. Those lines of operation are: joint land combat, population protection, information actions, population support, and indigenous capacity building. Conceptually, two of those lines of operation, population protection and population support have been merged in the concept of population centric operations. However, the indigenous capacity building line of operation is also relevant to this project, particularly as it pertains to thematic issues such as security sector reform; disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; and transition assistance.

The population support line of operation reflects the widespread understanding that there is a correlation between development and security. Indeed the Sustainable Development Goals, the internationally agreed development framework due to replace the Millennium Development Goals, include a goal on peace and justice, although the relationship is a complex one. The Feinstein Institute undertook a large study on the relationship between aid and security in Afghanistan. The findings of which showed that security driven by aid had limited effect on long-term stability because it often lacked a focus on the drivers of conflict and alienation. Furthermore, they found an insufficient understanding of the political economy which

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[17] PORTER, E. & MUNDKUR, A. 2012. *Peace and Security: Implications for Women,* Penguin.
[18] HERRMANN, I. & PALMAIERI, D. 2010. Between Amazons and Sabines: a historical approach to women and war. *International Review of the Red Cross,* 92, 19-30.
[19] JONES, A. 2002. Gender and genocide in Rwanda. *Journal of Genocide Research,* 4, 65-94.
[20] AMIR, M. 2014. Women Speaking of National Security: The Case of Checkpoint Watch. *International Political Sociology,* 8, 363-378.
[21] SHAMSI, P. 2015. The Sub-Conflict Between ISIL and the Kurdish Forces: Women's Participation Beyond Armed Struggle. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS.* Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.
[22] TUSO, H. 2000. Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution in Oromo Society. *In:* ZARTMAN, I. W. (ed.) *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict "Medicine".* United States of America: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.
[23] POLLARD, A. 2003. Women's organizations, voluntarism, and self-financing in Solomon Islands: a participant perspective. *Oceania,* 74, 44-60.
[24] BOUVARD, M. G. 1994. *Revolutionizing motherhood: the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo,* Oxford, SR Books.
[25] VELLACOTT, J. 1993. A place for pacifism and transnationalism in feminist theory: the early work of the women's international league for peace and freedom. *Women's History Review,* 2, 23-56.
[26] HEAD MODERNISATION AND STRATEGIC PLANNING 2012. Army's Future Land Operating Concept. *In:* AUSTRALIAN ARMY HEADQUARTERS (ed.) Second ed. Canberra: Department of Defence.

meant security directed aid in fact contributed to destabilisation by fuelling corruption and delegitimising the government and international community. [27]

From a gender perspective, Egnell makes it clear that Gender Advisors should focus their energy on internal organisational matters, such as deliberate planning, and that external aid projects for women should be abandoned. He goes on to say "there are several reasons for this. Most importantly, such 'external projects', performed by military units, have seldom improved women's conditions in the area of operations, or won the 'hearts and minds' of the local population. Even if external projects may at times produce small measurable improvements in women's rights or local support, the limited nature of such results must be measured against the potential to increase military effectiveness by helping the rest of the unit conduct operations, win local legitimacy, and increase its cultural understanding of a gender perspective."[28]

Neither set of findings implies that no support should be provided to the population. Indeed, there are a range of legal obligations to do so. International humanitarian law (IHL) states that the survival needs of the population must be accounted for. Local authorities have the responsibility to address these needs. If they do not provide for the survival of the local population they must permit free passage of relief operations.[29] The Hague Regulations state that an occupying force must restore an occupied territory to its pre-war state and facilitate a return to 'normal life', although that does not always equate to equality for all. "The authority of the legitimate power having in fact passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all measures in his power to restore, and ensure, as far as possible, public order and safety"[30] This includes the maintenance and provision of infrastructure, shelter, health, education, quality of life and public works.

Population protection is a line of operation that goes beyond the legal obligations to protect civilians in the Geneva Conventions. Protection is a key pillar of the Women, Peace and Security agenda and will be discussed further, as well as in the section on the legal framework. The population protection line of operation in AC-FLOC is closely related to the same principle in counterinsurgency theory, as well as stabilisation operations.

3. Background to Women, Peace and Security

3.1 The Resolutions

In October 2000, the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS). This resolution was the first to recognise not only that women and girls are disproportionately affected by armed conflict, but that women's participation in peace processes is not only lacking but is vital to international peace and security. Indeed, the first operative clause of the resolution "urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict."[31] It goes on to call for the protection of women and girls in accordance with IHL, as well as urging "special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict." [32] Implementing the WPS agenda requires a concerted effort from a large range of international

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[28] EGNELL, R., HOJEM, P. & BERTS, H. 2014. *Gender, Military Effectiveness, and Organisational Change - The Swedish Model,* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan. pp9-10

[29] 1977. Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts Article 18, paragraph 2

[30] 1907. Hague Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land., Article 43

[31] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1325. (2000).

[32] Ibid.

and national agencies including UN Women, national militaries, development agencies, nongovernment organisations and civil society groups.

Subsequent to UNSCR 1325, the Security Council passed six additional WPS resolutions. The agenda is broadly split into the two components of that first resolution: protection from sexual violence, and participation in peace and security activities. These two components are connected; they are mutually reinforcing. But in many ways, they are considered separately in both policy and practice. Resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009),[33] 1960 (2010), and 2106 (2013), are concerned with sexual and gender-based violence in armed conflict. Most significantly, they label the widespread and systemic use of sexual violence against women and girls as a crime against humanity and constituent of genocide. Resolution 1889 (2009) and 2122 (2013)[34] go into great detail about increasing women's participation and supporting women's leadership in all aspects of conflict prevention, mitigation and recovery. Each of these resolutions will be referenced throughout the literature review. In late 2015, a new resolution[35] from the Security Council on participation, conflict prevention and countering violent extremism emerged.

3.2 Protection

Four of the six subsequent resolutions are concerned with the *protection* of women and children from sexual violence during armed conflict. The protection agenda has led to stronger mandates for peacekeeping missions; the deployment of women protection advisors to political and peacekeeping missions; and the Stop Rape Now campaign, uniting the work of thirteen UN entities with the goal of ending sexual violence in conflict. The protection agenda relates strongly to the work of military and police, although in practice it allows for a broader human security approach than would otherwise be considered by those agencies.[36] It incorporates work to effectively respond to the specific needs of survivors, gender responsive disaster relief, addressing impunity and supporting accountability efforts.[37]

Conflict related sexual violence occurs within the greater context of the political economy of violence against women.[38] According to the World Health Organisation, the "underlying purpose is frequently the expression of power and dominance over the person assaulted."[39] Conflict can exacerbate existing inequalities within a community power structure, and lead to an increase in sexual and gender-based violence. In East Timor one in four women reported sexual violence during the crisis. After the crisis, this figure dropped to one in eight.[40] However, this does not mean there is a simple continuum of violence against women. Not all sexual and gender-based violence occurring within a conflict environment, is related to the conflict. Some violence may simply be opportunistic or entrenched in widespread beliefs and norms about the subordinate status of women.[41] Other factors may include a breakdown in law and order and prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder.

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[33] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1888. (2009)-a.

[34] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 2122. (2013)-b.

[35] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 2242. (2015)

[36] HUTCHINSON, S. 2009. Human Security in the ADF. *Australian Defence Force Journal,* 58-69.

[37] FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH OFFICE 2014. International Protocol on the Documentation and Investigation of Sexual Violence in Conflict. First ed. London: Government of United Kingdom. pp6

[38] TRUE, J. 2012. *The Political Economy of Violence Against Women,* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

[39] KRUG, E., DAHLBERG, L., MERCY, J., ZWI, A. & LOZANO, R. 2002. Sexual Violence. *World Report on Violence and Health.* Geneva: World Health Organization. pp149

[40] UNITED NATIONS 2010. Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice. New York: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women),.

[41] SHTEIR, S. 2014. Conflict-related Sexual and Gender-based Violence - An Introductory Overview to Support Prevention and Response Efforts. *Civil-Military Occassional Papers.* Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre.

"Sexual violence not only affects hundreds of thousands of women and girls, but also affects and victimises men and boys."[42] Sexual violence against men and boys is described as "regular and unexceptional, pervasive and widespread."[43] It can be used "as an instrument of terror and collective punishment, during detention and interrogation, as an expression of ethnic hatred and humiliation, and to emasculate and shatter leadership structures."[44] Rape can be committed by foreign objects such as guns, sticks, and broken bottles and can be committed by men or women; to men or women.[45] Data on sexual violence is notoriously difficult to gather. This is even more so for sexual violence against men and boys. Despite this, sexual violence against men and boys has been reported in more than 25 conflicts in the past decade.[46] In the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, 23.6% of men, and 39.7% of women reported being subject to sexual violence and for 64% of these men, the sexual violence was conflict-related.[47]

Australia has operational experience in places where gender-based violence has been rife. In some of those contexts, it would be considered mission creep to intervene in what might appear to be cases of domestic violence. There are two key considerations for this issue. The first is about having the ability to collectively identify when sexual violence is widespread and systematic, thereby being used as a weapon of war. Commanders have an obligation to report this to relevant national and international authorities. If patrols are simply ignoring violence against women they see, it is unlikely aggregate data will be gathered.[48]

The second consideration speaks more broadly to the strategic objectives relating to stabilisation. "In addition to the extreme physical and psychological trauma suffered by survivors/witnesses, sexual violence may engender and aggravate ethnic, sectarian and other divisions in communities. This engrains conflict and instability and undermines peace-building and stabilisation efforts."[49] Indeed, UNSCR 1820 stresses that sexual violence "can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security."[50]

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[42] FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH OFFICE 2014. International Protocol on the Documentation and Investigation of Sexual Violence in Conflict. First ed. London: Government of United Kingdom. pp6

[43] SHTEIR, S. 2014. Conflict-related Sexual and Gender-based Violence - An Introductory Overview to Support Prevention and Response Efforts. *Civil-Military Occassional Papers.* Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre. pp 17.

[44] UNITED NATIONS 2010. Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice. New York: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women),.

[45] ASKIN, K. 2004. A Decade of the Development of Gender Crimes in International Courts and Tribunals: 1993 to 2003. *Human Rights Brief.* Washington D.C.

[46] SHTEIR, S. 2014. Conflict-related Sexual and Gender-based Violence - An Introductory Overview to Support Prevention and Response Efforts. *Civil-Military Occassional Papers.* Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre. pp 17.

[47] JOHNSON, K., ASHER, J., ROSBOROUGH, S., RAJA, A., PANJABI, R., BEADLING, C. & LAWRY, L. 2008. Association of combatant status and sexual violence with health and mental health outcomes in post-conflict Liberia. *Journal of the American Medical Association,* 300, 676-690.

[48] UNITED NATIONS 2010. Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice. New York: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women),.

[49] FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH OFFICE 2014. International Protocol on the Documentation and Investigation of Sexual Violence in Conflict. First ed. London: Government of United Kingdom. pp6

[50] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1820. (2008).

3.3 Participation

The recent Secretary General's Report on WPS "strongly underlined the need for increased and enhanced participation of women in all areas of peace and security decision making, both on the basis of human rights obligations and because women's effective and meaningful participation contributes to greater operational effectiveness."[51] For the purposes of this project, we need to consider two key aspects of women's participation in peace and security processes. One is the presence of international women in an intervention. The other is local women's contributions to the peace and security processes of their own community. Both of these aspects are important to military operations.

Internationally, one measure of women's participation is the number of women who sit on the Security Council, as are women who are peace envoys. From a military perspective we could look at women's participation in international governing bodies such as the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, NATO[52] or other regional organisations like the Pacific Island Forum Regional Security Committee.[53] Increasing women's participation in peace operations requires the consideration of the promotion of female police and military personnel within their respective domestic institutions, then their deployment on international operations. Progress on this matter has varied across UN Member States but the largest police and troop contributing countries have made the least progress. Around the world, servicewomen face a range of obstacles to operational deployment. Some of these issues could be considered in Australia's Defence Cooperation Program. The Defence Cooperation Program could be used to provide professional development for servicewomen, and to increase the understanding of WPS in partner countries. For example, the United States Pacific Command has been including women's participation in its regional engagement with countries such as Bangladesh and Korea as part of the implementation of its NAP.[54]

An important element for operationalising WPS is a female engagement capacity. When women are employed in a security force they have proven effective for "work in areas such as the implementation of protection innovations and the possibility of engaging with women in the community."[55] Recent reports from workshops run by UN Women[56] have shown that women can make some of the best peacekeepers.[57] There have been mixed results from the use of Female Engagement Teams (FET) in Afghanistan.[58] Limitations on the effectiveness of FETs include the fact that they have not been considered as a capability, often employed with little consideration of broader strategy and without suitable training. A similar effect has been sought through the use of mixed Cultural Support Teams, with greater success.[59]

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[51] UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL 2015. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. New York: United Nations. para 6

[52] LACKENAUER, H. & LANGLAIS, R. 2013. Review of the Practical Implications of UNSCR 1325 for the Conduct of NATO-led Operations and Missions. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

[53] HUTCHINSON, S. 2015. Women, Peace and Security in the South Pacific. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS.* Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

[54] WALKER, J. 2015. Supporting the Integration of Women in the Military Environment. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulting and Safeguarding Components of WPS.* Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

[55] UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL 2015. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. New York: United Nations. para 80

[56] ALLISON, S. 2015. Are Women Better Peacekeepers? *The Guardian,* 17 September.

[57] HORSFALL, D. B. D. 2009. Increasing Operational Effectiveness in UN Peacekeeping: Toward a Gender-Bapanced Force. *Armed Forces & Society,* 36, 120-130.

[58] MCNIERNEY, B. 2015. Female Engagement Teams: An Evaluation of the Female Engagement Team Program in Afghanistan. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS.* Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

[59] KATT, M. 2014. Blurred Lines: cultural support teams in Afghanistan. *Joint Force Quarterly,* 75, 106-114.

Local women's participation in the peace and security processes of their own country is a matter of multi-agency concern. It may require diplomatic and development assistance for women's organisations involved in leadership, human security or other community safety initiatives.[60] All too often local women's individual and collective views on peace and security are excluded from formal, international peace and security interventions. Recently, we have seen reporting on female Kurdish fighters; women who were university students, mothers and grandmothers.[61] But women in Iraq and Syria are not just taking up arms; they are also working towards peace. For example, in the suburbs of Damascus, a women's group negotiated a 40-day ceasefire between regime and opposition forces to allow the passage of essential supplies.[62] The international community need to see women and girls not just as subject to gross sexual violence, economic strife and the psychological trauma of a war, but as active participants whose work is central to long-term stabilisation and peace.[63]

3.4 Action Plans

The Security Council encourages the development of National Action Plans (NAP) as a tool for governments to articulate priorities and coordinate the implementation of WPS at the national level. So far, fifty countries have developed National Action Plans.[64] The latest two countries to launch their plans are Mali and Afghanistan.[65] New Zealand is in the process of drafting their first National Action Plan,[66] as are Solomon Islands and Japan.[67] These National Action Plans are important public policy responses to the WPS agenda.

There are also six Regional Action Plans. Regional Action Plans can provide opportunities to share economic resources and experience in comparable cultural and historical contexts. The Pacific Island Forum developed the *Pacific Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2015,* providing a framework "to accelerate implementation of existing international, regional and national commitments on women, peace and security."[68] However, even where national or regional plans exist, there remain

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[60] HUGHES, M. & MENDELSON-FORMAN, J. 2015. Strategic Blindness: The Women in Community Security Project. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS.* Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

[61] SHAMSI, P. Ibid.The Sub-Conflict Between ISIL and the Kurdish Forces: Women's Participation Beyond Armed Struggle.

[62] WILLIAMS, K. & BARSA, M. 2014. Syrian Women Know How to Defeat ISIS. *The Institute for Inclusive Security.*

[63] HUTCHINSON, S. 2014. Our Forgotten Allies Against Islamic State: Iraqi and Syrian Women. *The Conversation.*

[64] THE INSTITUTE FOR INCLUSIVE SECURITY. *National Action Plan Resource Centre* [Online]. Washington D.C.: The Institute for Inclusive Security. Available: http://actionplans.inclusivesecurity.org/ [Accessed 3 September 2015.

[65] MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS 2015. Afghanistan's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325-Women, Peace, and Security 2015-2022. Kabul: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

[66] MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE 2015. Draft New Zealand National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions, including 1325, on Women, Peace and Security 2015-2019. Wellington: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

[67] PRESCOTT, J., IWATA, E. & PINCUS, B. 2015. Are Western National Action Plans Likely Models for the Integration of UNSCR1325 into the Japan Self-Defence Forces' Operations. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS.* Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

[68] PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM SECRETARIAT 2012. Pacific Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. Suva: Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat. Pp3

significant barriers to effective implementation. The most significant of these barriers are resourcing (including personnel and funding) and effective tools for monitoring, evaluation and reporting.[69]

The Australian Government released its first National Action Plan on WPS in 2012. It is a whole of government policy, providing a blueprint for government implementation of WPS for a six year period. The document was developed largely due to pressure from civil society within Australia. Agencies responsible for implementing the NAP include the Department of Defence (including the Australian Defence Force), Attorney General's Department, Australian Federal Police, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Australian Civil-Military Centre, coordinated by Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet.[70]

Australia's NAP has been subject to reporting and analysis through inter-departmental committees, parliamentary process, academic research[71] and civil society consultations.[72] Initial criticisms related to non-implementation of the NAP and in addition there is an ongoing concern about the utility of the NAP's Monitoring and Evaluation Framework.[73] The Australian Government released the first Progress Report on the NAP in 2014,[74] the nature of that product highlighted the weaknesses in the Monitoring and Evaluation Framework.

Throughout the life of the NAP, non-government organisations have released an Annual Civil Society Report Card on the implementation of Australia's National Action Plan. The most recent of these Report Cards included agency specific commentary, identifying opportunities for Defence to solidify its WPS commitments through the expansion of WPS training, working to ensure WPS issues were included in the forthcoming Defence White Paper, and the provision of support to the Pacific Regional Action Plan through the Pacific Island Forum Regional Security Committee. [75] Australia's NAP is currently undergoing an independent interim review. The results of this review are due to be finalised by the end of 2015.

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[69] LIPPAI, Z. & YOUNG, A. 2014. What Matters Most: Measuring Plans for Inclusive Security. Washington D.C.: The Institute for Inclusive Security.

[70] AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 2012. Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018. Canberra: Australian Government.

[71] PRESCOTT, J., IWATA, E. & PINCUS, B. 2015. Are Western National Action Plans Likely Models for the Integration of UNSCR1325 into the Japan Self-Defence Forces' Operations. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS.* Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.

[72] HUTCHINSON, S. & LEE-KOO, K. 2015. Shadowing the National Action Plan. *The difference that gender makes to international peace and security.* Brisbane: International Feminist Journal of Politics.

[73] AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM - AUSTRALIAN SECTION, AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR UN WOMEN & AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY - GENDER INSTITUTE 2013. Annual Civil Society Report Card on Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. Canberra.

[74] AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 2014. Progress Report - Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2012-2018. *In:* DEPARTMENT OF PRIME MINISTER AND CABINET (ed.). Canberra: Australian Government.

[75] AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM - AUSTRALIAN SECTION, AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR UN WOMEN & AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY - GENDER INSTITUTE 2014. Annual Civil Society Report Card on Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. Canberra. pp21-22

4. Thematic issues

4.1 Legal Framework

There are a range of legal frameworks relevant to WPS and the conduct of military operations. This section will firstly discuss the gendered impacts of international sanctions and embargoes, as well as their ongoing security consequences, and the explicit gender considerations in enforcement and reporting of the Arms Trade Treaty. It will then go on to discuss evolutions in international criminal law, including as it relates to sexual and gender-based violence and as it can be applied internationally and domestically. Lastly, there will be a brief discussion of how these legal considerations differ in the context of peace operations.

International sanctions and embargoes affect women and men differently. While this should be considered in the negotiation of sanctions and embargoes, it also has long-term consequences for security. Drury and Peksen analysed international sanctions for the period 1971-2005, discovering women often suffer significantly from the effects of such external shocks due to their vulnerable socioeconomic and political status. [76] In turn, this affects women's ability to contribute to security in their community. Al-Jawaheri has shown that 13 years of international economic sanctions in Iraq led to an increase in violence against women. In addition she shows the gender related impact of sanctions on women included their employment, education, family relations and domestic responsibilities. In turn, she goes on to show the upsurge in sectarian violence since 2003 has intensified gender inequality and the future prospects for women's security in Iraq.[77]

The Arms Trade Treaty is the first ever legally-binding regime that recognises the link between gender-based violence and the international arms trade. Australia did not introduce new legislation to give effect to the Arms Trade Treaty because the existing legislative framework and policy met the requirements of the treaty. The treaty is managed by Defence and was ratified after Australia launched the NAP. Article 7, paragraph 4 of the treaty outlaws the transfer of weapons if there is a risk that the weapons will be used to facilitate gender-based violence. In practice, this means that those conducting risk assessments for the export and import of weapons have to take into account gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women and children as part of the analysis of overriding risks of an arms transfer.[78]

There is a thriving academic community of scholars working on gender justice in international criminal law. De Brouwer reminds us that "edicts banning wartime sexual assaults were inserted into ancient warrior codes. International conventions, such as the 1929 Geneva Convention prohibited infliction of sexual assaults upon female and male prisoners of war. In the immediate aftermath of the World War II, martial law decrees such as Control Council No. 10 explicitly proscribed rapes as acts of crimes against humanity."[79] But there was still a dearth of investigations and prosecutions. This situation is slowly beginning to change.

Over the past 20 years, there have been major legal developments in the international criminalisation and prosecution of sexual and gender-based violence. International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda set a non-binding, but highly authoritative precedent for the prosecution of

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[76] DRURY, C. & PEKSEN, D. 2014. Women and economic statecraft: The negative impact economic sanctions visit on women. *European Journal of International Relations,* 20, 463-490.

[77] AL-JAWAHERI, Y. 2008. *Women in Iraq: The Gender Impact of International Sanctions,* Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

[78] REACHING CRITICAL WILL 2015. Gender-Based Violence and the Arms Trade Treaty. Geneva.

[79] DEBROUWER, A.-M., KU, C., ROMKENS, R. & VANDENHERIK, L. 2013. *Sexual Violence as an International Crime: Interdisciplinary Approaches,* Cambridge, Intersentia.

gendered crimes.[80] The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, a ground-breaking treaty due to its codification of international criminal law and its recognition of the crimes committed against women in times of war and conflict, entered into force in 2002. It established a permanent court with jurisdiction to prosecute rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced sterilisation, forced pregnancy and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity, as war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. [81] The principle of complementarity of the International Criminal Court also obliges States Parties to investigate and prosecute the crimes outlined in the Rome Statute. There are domestic/international hybrid courts adjudicating gendered crimes in East Timor, Cambodia and elsewhere. UNSCR 1820 calls upon Member States to prosecute persons responsible for such crimes and subsequent resolutions call for an end to impunity for sexual violence in armed conflict.

For sexual violence to be considered "a constitutive act with respect to genocide,"[82] it needs to have been committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part a national, ethnical, racial or religious group. The precedent for rape as an instrument of genocide was set in the Akayesu Case of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. A more recent example of rape used in this way may be as part of the Daesh genocide against the Yazidi people.[83] Genocide is justiciable internationally, but has also been a crime under Australian domestic law since 2002, when the federal government passed the *Genocide Convention Act 1949*.

Rape is recognised as a war crime when it is committed in a widespread or systematic way. The Celebici judgement of the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia set the standard for holding a military leader responsible for crimes committed by subordinates under their authority or control, which they failed to prevent, halt, or punish.[84] Having known or had reason to know subordinates committed sexual abuses on male detainees, the superiors in the Celebici Camp were charged with superior responsibility for 'wilfully causing great suffering' and 'inhumane treatment' as grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, or 'cruel treatment' as a violation of the laws or customs of war.

Rape can also be prosecuted as a violation of the laws or customs of war, Common Article 3 to the Geneva Conventions, the Fourth Geneva Convention, or both Additional Protocols I and II to the Geneva Conventions.[85] In Australia, war crimes and violations of the laws and customs of war are criminalised in the *Geneva Conventions Act 1957* (last updated in 2009) and the *War Crimes Act 1945* (last updated in 2010). These two acts have been incorporated in Division 268 of the *Criminal Code Act 1995*.

In peace operations, the tolerance, or legal threshold for sexual and gender-based violence is much lower than armed conflict. In peace operations, human rights law is more dominant and peacekeepers will likely be mandated to prevent 'serious breaches of human rights.' Sexual violence easily falls into the category of serious breach of human rights.[86] There are also stronger considerations of sexual exploitation and

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[80] ASKIN, K. 2004. A Decade of the Development of Gender Crimes in International Courts and Tribunals: 1993 to 2003. *Human Rights Brief.* Washington D.C. pp4

[81] CHAPPELL, L. 2015. *The Politics of Gender Justice at the International Criminal Court,* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

[82] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1820. (2008). Operative clause 4

[83] UNKNOWN. 2015. ISIL may have committed genocide, war crimes in Iraq, says UN human rights report. *UN News Centre,* 19 March.

[84] ASKIN, K. 2004. A Decade of the Development of Gender Crimes in International Courts and Tribunals: 1993 to 2003. *Human Rights Brief.* Washington D.C.

[85] Ibid. pp4

[86] SELLERS, P. V. 2011. The Prosecution of Sexual Violence in Conflict: The Importance of Human Rights as Means of Interpretation. . *Reports on Sexual Violence in Conflict & Protection in Post-Conflict.* Geneva: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

abuse by peacekeepers of local women and children. The UN has a policy on gender equality in peacekeeping,[87] and a zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse.[88]

4.2 Conflict Analysis

UNSCR 1889 calls for the data collection, analysis and systematic assessment of the particular needs of women and girls, including "information on their needs for physical security and participation in decision-making and post-conflict planning, in order to improve system-wide response to those needs."[89] There is a great deal of overlap between the deliberate planning and conduct of an operation, and the ongoing conflict analysis. This section will consider gendered analysis of conflict as it might occur before an operation, during deliberate planning, and during the conduct of tactical operations. It will include information on the context within which an operation is due to take place, analysis of the operational environment, as well as ongoing information requirements and collection.

Some of the intelligence issues outlined here may be remedied with guidance from the commander. For example, gender specific information could be included in the commander's critical information requirements or identified as priority information requirements. Or data on sexual violence may be identified as an area of intelligence interest, or an aspect "of the environment and threats likely to affect the outcome of current and future operations."[90] This may require intelligence staff to request support from external organisations such as coalition forces and strategic assets. But it is likely that a gender perspective will need to be applied at a range of levels within the intelligence system which is responsible for the provision of intelligence on threats from the operational environment. [91] It has been suggested that military intelligence organisations designate a Gender Advisor to improve implementation of a gender perspective in intelligence and information gathering.[92]

It is well understood that "understanding the human factors of an area of operations is central to counterintelligence and counterinsurgency operations - for example a group's culture, demographics or behaviour and an individual's values, beliefs or intentions."[93] For population centric operations to respond to the security needs of the whole community, this understanding must be gendered. Hughes notes however, that "security assessments, plans and analysis appear to exclude serious considerations of women's contributions to community resilience, sustainable peace, and local security... it appears as though, when it comes to gender, security assistance has not been informed by an accurate understanding of the operating environment."[94] Indicators of the extent to which conflict analysis is gendered might include the appearance of words such as women, wife, mother, children, sexual violence, and rape. While

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[87] DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS 2010. Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Operations. New York: United Nations.

[88] CONDUCT AND DISCIPLINE UNIT 2010. Sexual Exploitation and Abuse Policy. New York: United Nations.

[89] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1889. (2009)-b. Operative clause 6

[90] JOINT DOCTRINE CENTRE 2015. Joint Military Appreciation Process. *In:* AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE FORCE (ed.) Second ed. Canberra: Defence Publishing Service. pp1A-3

[91] Ibid. pp1A-2

[92] EGNELL, R., HOJEM, P. & BERTS, H. 2012. Implementing a Gender Perspective in Military Organisations and Operations. Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research. pp40

[93] JOINT DOCTRINE CENTRE 2015. Joint Military Appreciation Process. *In:* AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE FORCE (ed.) Second ed. Canberra: Defence Publishing Service. pp1A-3

[94] HUGHES, M. & MENDELSON-FORMAN, J. 2015. Strategic Blindness: The Women in Community Security Project. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS.* Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College.pp169

other government departments may have some of the relevant information it will also likely to appear in reports from non-government organisations,[95] women's civil society groups,[96][97] and in UN reporting.

Threat assessments need to include threats to women. These threats may include sexual and gender-based violence, or they may be more general. What are the differences between threats to men and women? What are the threat courses of action? The same questions apply for assessment of strengths and weaknesses; women are not just recipients of security, but are "countering the complex problems that threaten peace and stability"[98] in a broad range of ways. Hughes highlights a range of contributions to what she calls community security, although women contribute to regular and irregular armed forces, clandestine services, they provide hospitality to insurgents, and raise the next generation into violent behaviours or otherwise. They participate in peacebuilding, negotiate ceasefires and support traditional non-violent conflict resolution processes. [99] It is unlikely that women can be categorised as an amorphous group. Women's groups may not wish to be too closely associated with international forces, nevertheless can specific women's groups be considered friendly, neutral or spoilers?

Men and women may use infrastructure and basic services differently. The Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations has compiled practical examples of gender perspectives in operational planning, including the different effects of local road blocks on women and men, girls and boys.[100] A classic example of 'gender neutral' planning was a de-mining effort that did not consult with women in the community. Having consulted with the men, they proceeded to de-mine certain sections of road. Unfortunately women and children were still being injured by mines and agricultural production remained low. Women in that community travel with their children through the fields, tending to crops to feed their families. It was the fields that needed to be de-mined for the community to return to safety and self-sufficiency.

Egnell notes that "systematic collection of data regarding a gender perspective from the field, including sex-disaggregated data, is important for the evaluation of the effects of operations. Information regarding sexual and gender-based violence and human trafficking should be included in such data."[101] The data required for operational assessments comes from a broad range of friendly force and intelligence sources. [102] Accordingly, a gender perspective will need to be applied across a large range of organisations to ensure ongoing operational assessments account for the security of both men and women. This necessitates changes to the collection plan all the way down to the tactical level.

In order to achieve this, the Irish Defence Forces have mainstreamed a gender perspective into all unit and sub-unit patrols. They have updated standard operating procedures and reporting proformas for tactical

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[95] LEHMANN, H., BAIN, A. & PANDIT, E. 2014. Are We Listening? Acting on Our Commitments to Women and Girls Affected by the Syrian Conflict. New York: International Rescue Committee.

[96] BOOKEY, B. 2010. Our Bodies are Still Trembling: Haitian Women's Fight Against Rape. Port au Prince: Institute for Justice & Democracy om Haiti.

[97] WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF BURMA 2014. Same Impunity, Same Patterns. Chang Mai: Women's League of Burma.

[98] HUGHES, M. & MENDELSON-FORMAN, J. 2015. Strategic Blindness: The Women in Community Security Project. *Constructive Pathways: Stimulating and Safeguarding Components of WPS.* Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College. pp170

[99] BUCHANAN, C. (ed.) 2011. *Peacemaking in Asia and the Pacific: Women's participation, perspectives and priorities,* Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

[100] HAMMAR, L. & BERG, A. 2015. Whose Security? Practical Examples of Gender Perspectives in Military Operations. Stockholm: Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations.

[101] EGNELL, R., HOJEM, P. & BERTS, H. 2014. *Gender, Military Effectiveness, and Organisational Change - The Swedish Model,* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan. pp13

[102] JOINT DOCTRINE CENTRE 2015. Joint Military Appreciation Process. *In:* AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE FORCE (ed.) Second ed. Canberra: Defence Publishing Service. pp1-12

manoeuvre units, sub-unit patrols and CIMIC village assessments. Information from these reports is collated in the regular Gender Advisor report that is collated by the Deputy Commander.[103] Reports now include sex-disaggregated population data; female leaders and influencers; women's groups; roles of men and women in security forces, armed groups intelligence and law enforcement; access to social services; sex disaggregated list of protection threats; and differences between men and women's economic participation. All of this information is then used within the deliberate planning phase.

4.3 Deliberate Planning

While there is significant overlap between conflict analysis and deliberate planning, deliberate planning also has significant ramifications for other thematic issues including security sector reform and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. The Secretary General's Report WPS called on all actors "to ensure gender analysis and women's participation are part of all planning processes."[104] This section will cover gender aspects of who does deliberate planning in the Australian Defence Force, as well as planning considerations, processes and outcomes.

The difference between sex and gender becomes particularly important in the context of deliberate planning. In the Australian Defence Force, men and women undergo the same training regardless of sex, with only some minor differences between physical fitness tests. Broadly speaking, the technical and professional training is the same. The ability for serving women to 'just do their jobs,' and do them well, regardless of their sex has been of the utmost importance personally and professionally.

While women's participation is an important aspect of the WPS agenda, increasing the number of servicewomen in operational planning cells may have limited utility, particularly if their professional training and roles are largely the same as male planners. There is an argument that servicewomen who are mothers may be more likely to think about the consequences of a certain plan on women and children in the area of operations, but this is not how they are trained to act. Furthermore, servicemen who are fathers may well exhibit similar tendencies to consider the impact of a plan on children, an argument that may be corollary to business research finding that when a male CEO has a daughter, he moves to close the gender pay gap at his company.[105]

However, in the operational environment, it is likely that there will be greater differentiation between gender roles. Indeed, Hudson has shown empirically that the greatest indicator of conflict is not degree of democracy, religious identity, or other socio-cultural indicators. The best indicator of conflict is gender equality.[106] The larger the gender gap is, "the more likely a country is to be involved in intra- and interstate conflict, to be the first to resort to force in such conflicts, and to resort to higher levels of violence. On issues of national health, economic growth, corruption, and social welfare, the best predictors are also those that reflect the situation of women. What happens to women affects the security, stability, prosperity, bellicosity, corruption, health, regime type, and (yes) the power of the state."[107] The reality of women's lived experience of conflict remains important for the development of effective supporting plans for information operations; intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance; and health.

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[103] HINDS, B. & McMINN, K. 2013. Mid-Term Progress Report: Implementation of Ireland's National Action Plan for UNSCR 1325. Dublin: Irish Government

[104] UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL 2015. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. New York: United Nations. para 162

[105] DAHL, M., DEZSO, C. & ROSS, D. G. 2012. Fatherhood and Managerial Style: How a Male CEO's Children Affects Wages of His Employees. *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 57, 669-693.

[106] HUDSON, V. M., BALLIF-SPANVILL, B., CAPRIOLI, M. & EMMETT, C. F. 2012. *Sex & World Peace,* New York, Columbia University Press.

[107] HUDSON, V. 2012. What Sex Means for World Peace. *Foreign Policy* [Online]. Available from: http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/04/24/what-sex-means-for-world-peace/ [Accessed 24 April.

The utility of these plans can be largely based on the accuracy of the planning assumptions and the information they are based on.

The dominant narrative will often exclude the true role of women in armed forces, particularly irregular and neutral forces. Although the portion of women in national armies, guerrilla forces or armed liberation movements varies, it ranges from 10-30%. In Sri Lanka, women comprised a third of fighting forces.[108] In Liberia, the dominant narrative described women's experience of the civil war as one of victimhood, particularly as victims of sexual violence at the hands of male combatants. However, data shows that 20-40% of combatants were women, and the primary role of 70% of those women was as a combat soldier.[109] After the conflict, 20% of women could envision fighting again for material goods, but only 11% of men would.[110] This sort of discrepancy has implications for targeting, both kinetic and non-kinetic, as well as other ongoing planning considerations such as protection, transition assistance, security sector reform; and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration.

The Joint Military Appreciation Process (JMAP) provides doctrinal guidance for planning Australian Defence Force campaigns and operations. Recent developments in the JMAP support better integration of WPS into deliberate planning. Changes to the doctrine[111] are not specific to either gender or WPS, nonetheless they facilitate a cognitive approach which is more open to these concerns. The changes are positive, but for WPS to be effectively implemented in the JMAP, producing a concept of operations and operational plan, the doctrine needs to be read in conjunction with specific WPS material. This critical approach is encouraged in the doctrine, emphasising the value of professional military education and describing critical thinking as "an important skill for planners to develop and exercise because it enables them to challenge accepted norms, to determine the right questions to ask and to answer those questions with an intellectual rigour that might otherwise lack depth."[112] The JMAP retains a focus on threats to Defence, which does not necessarily facilitate consideration of threats to the local population, setting up a tension between the doctrine and the population centric operations described in AC-FLOC. However, the doctrine does discuss the use of JMAP in a non-adversarial environment[113] and discusses contexts when the threats under consideration may be to the mission, rather than Defence.

The new first step of the JMAP, 'Framing and Scoping,' provides an excellent opportunity to incorporate WPS considerations into planning. A WPS expert could join the small group of skilled personnel from within the joint planning group as a subject matter expert alongside an anthropologist and religious scholar. This would ensure gendered considerations of the problem as well as the initial commander's critical information requirements, and consideration of force elements for the provision of Cultural Support or Female Engagement Teams. Having said that, WPS expertise needs to not only be applied at the scoping phase.

Feminist scholars would argue that the minimum required questions to frame the problem cannot be answered without consideration of details such as gender and ethnicity. The JMAP repeatedly refers to 'human factors', 'society' and 'actors'. "Often relationships among actors are multifaceted and differ depending on the scale of interaction and their temporal aspects (history, duration, type and

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[108] WANG, P. 2011. Women in the LTTE: Birds of Freedom or Cogs in the Wheel? *Journal of Politics and Law,* 4, 100-108.

[109] PUGEL, J. 2007. What the Fighter's Say: A Survey of Ex-combatants in Liberia. Monrovia: United Nations Development Programme.

[110] HILL, R., TAYLOR, G. & TEMIN, J. 2008. Would you Fight Again? *Special Report.* Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

[111] JOINT DOCTRINE CENTRE 2015. Joint Military Appreciation Process. *In:* AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE FORCE (ed.) Second ed. Canberra: Defence Publishing Service.

[112] Ibid. pp 1-8

[113] Ibid. pp1-9

frequency)."[114] However, there is a vast array of scholarship to indicate that one cannot have a meaningful understanding of these interrelationships, power, exclusion or conflict in a society if we are blind to identities such as gender, ethnicity, class, and income. Without accessing groups other than the most dominant, planners will not be able to answer questions like "why have the current circumstances arisen?"[115] Which related conditions, actors or relationships may oppose us; which may help us? "What broad resources can we draw upon to achieve our goals?"[116]

4.4 Security Sector Reform

Security sector reform (SSR) has been a topic of great interest in recent years, as an important means for addressing issues of instability around the world. Several of the Security Council resolutions on WPS discuss security sector reform. There are three main issues that can be drawn from the resolutions: consultation with women about SSR, women's participation within the security forces, and excluding individuals who have perpetrated sexual violence from the security forces. Each of these issues will be discussed here.

Security sector reform is part of a broader process of improving governance and stability.[117] UNSCR 1820 requests "consultation with women and women-led organizations as appropriate, to develop effective mechanisms for... security sector reform."[118] This view is reflected in work undertaken by the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces who recognise the integration of gender issues as a key to local ownership and strengthened oversight. In their toolkit for gender inclusive SSR, they have shown that increasing the recruitment of female staff, preventing human rights violations, and collaborating with women's organisations contributes to creating an efficient, accountable and participatory security sector which responds to the specific needs of men, women, girls and boys. [119]

The preamble to UNSCR 1888 recognises that women's participation in the national armed and security forces helps to build a "security sector that is accessible and responsive to all, especially women."[120] A range of academic sources repeat this point, as do reports from non-government organisations.[121] Women's presence in justice and security sector institutions can increase trust in, access to, and can encourage women to report sexual and gender-based violence.[122] For example, data from 39 countries shows a positive correlation between the presence of women police officers and sexual assault reporting.[123] One Afghan woman affected by gender-based violence explained "a policewoman would have been good for me. If there are policewomen we can easily say everything to them - she understands how women feel."[124] Security forces that are responsive, effective, professional and accountable are more

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[114] Ibid. pp2-14

[115] Ibid. pp2-15

[116] Ibid. pp2-15

[117] SCHNABEL, A. & FARR, V. 2011. *Back to the Roots: Secrity Sector Reform and Development,* Geneva, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces.

[118] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1820. (2008). Operative clause 10

[119] BASTICK, M. & VALASEK, K. 2008. *Gender & Security Sector Reform Toolkit,* Geneva, Geneva Centre for Democtratic Control of Armed Forces.

[120] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1888. (2009)-a.

[121] OXFAM INTERNATIONAL 2012. The Accountability of National Security Forces to Civilians. *Oxfam Policy Compendium Note.* Oxford: Oxfam International.

[122] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1960. (2010).

[123] TURQUET, L. 2011. Progress of the World's Women 2011-2012: In Pursuit of Justice. New York: UN Women.

[124] OXFAM INTERNATIONAL. *For Afghan women, police should protect, not abuse* [Online]. Oxford. Available: https://www.oxfam.org/en/countries/afghan-women-police-should-protect-not-abuse [Accessed 14 April 2015].

likely "to be a source of protection for populations and a tool of stability for governments, rather than a source of instability."[125]

Women's participation in the security sector is further encouraged in UNSCR 2106 which requests women's participation in "security sector reform processes and arrangements, including through the provision of adequate training for security personnel, encouraging the inclusion of more women in the security sector."[126] This provision of training for security personnel provides another opportunity to advance WPS more broadly. For example, professional military education and even trade training can cover the importance of WPS for operational effectiveness. This might apply to counterinsurgency training in Iraq, or to officer exchanges for military education purposes.

UNSCR 2106 requests "effective vetting processes in order to exclude from the security sector those who have perpetrated or are responsible for acts of sexual violence."[127] In practice, excluding individuals who have perpetrated acts of sexual violence is an issue that is very difficult to navigate. Many nations who contributed to the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan felt forced to work alongside a range of individuals suspected of sexual violence. Security sector actors are often among the main perpetrators of violence during and after conflict. Vetting security sector recruits for conflict related crimes against women, including sexual and gender-based violence is an important step toward re-establishing the community's trust. The intent of UNSCR 2106 is to address widespread or systemic use of sexual violence as a tactic of war and to address impunity for such behaviour. For example, there are several reports of the Burmese Army using sexual violence in conflict in a strategy that has political and economic dimensions, against particular ethnic groups. [128] In those contexts, the issue becomes much more salient.

4.5 Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration

UNSCR 1325 "encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants."[129] DDR programming is notoriously flawed, it is rarely suitably funded, planning is rarely conducted with a comprehensive campaign in mind, nor is it coordinated across all the relevant agencies. Most notably the reintegration phase is often ill considered. Communities and development agencies are often not included in the initial planning required for the program continuum to succeed. However, there have been several developments in gender inclusive DDR since UNSCR 1325. This section will discuss the increasing academic critique of DDR, gender specific case studies, and some relevant examples of DDR policy.

"Successful and inclusive DDR offers a rare opportunity to transform a war-torn community where combatants can become citizens and civilians can begin to rebuild shattered lives under the protection of the rule of law. To leave women and girls behind in such a crucial moment is not only to violate their right to participate but also to undermine the very objectives of DDR, namely sustainable and equitable development."[130] All too often, human and financial resources have been inadequately committed to DDR. In this context, pragmatic decision-makers have focused DDR efforts on the problem of disarming

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[125] OXFAM INTERNATIONAL 2012. The Accountability of National Security Forces to Civilians. *Oxfam Policy Compendium Note.* Oxford: Oxfam International.
[126] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 2106. (2013)-a. Operative clause 16, para b
[127] Ibid. Operative clause 16, para b
[128] WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF BURMA 2014. Same Impunity, Same Patterns. Chang Mai: Women's League of Burma.
[129] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1325. (2000). Operative clause 13
[130] DOUGLAS, S., FARR, V., HILL, F. & KASUMA, W. 2004. Getting it Right, Doing it RIght: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration. *In:* DOUGLAS, S. & HILL, F. (eds.). New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women.

men with guns. However, this approach fails to address the fact that women can also be armed combatants or that women play essential roles in maintaining and enabling armed groups. Leaving women out of the process underestimates the extent to which peace requires women to participate equally in the transformation from a violent society to a peaceful one.

Over the past decade, women have been active combatants in at least 55 countries, involved in internal armed conflict in 38 of those countries and a large number of international armed conflicts.[131] In East Timor, Kent and Kinsella have noted that "women contributed to all aspects of the Resistance."[132] However, women who served have still been excluded from the current veteran's scheme that includes a pension and access to health and education opportunities. FRETILIN included a women's wing, whose membership comprised over 60 percent of the 'Clandestine' front. They played "key roles as couriers, supplying those on the front lines with food and other necessities, seeking support within the church and local communities for the independence movement and hiding senior members of the Resistance."[133] Women also coordinated the provision of supplies to the front line, managed armouries and kept guard against enemy infiltration of bases.[134] Their exclusion from the veteran's scheme is akin to excluding Australian members of ordinance, transport and intelligence corps from entitlements from the Department of Veteran's Affairs.

Good DDR programing requires accurate understanding of the operational context. Each conflict is unique and DDR processes need to be designed accordingly. In non-state armed groups, women generally serve in three ways: combatant, support worker or wife/ dependant. They can fill these roles voluntarily or under duress and often fill more than one role at once. A woman might be a dependent and also be involved in the planning and execution of war. She may be a fighter, spy, cook and mother all at the same time, filling multiple inseparable roles.[135] Data must be gathered in order to develop a more accurate picture of the particular roles women filled during a specific conflict.[136]

Gender inclusive DDR programs need to have a wider range of eligibility criteria than just having handed in a weapon. "A relatively large number of women, compared with men, operate in armies as cooks, messengers, doctors, logisticians etc. They are not directly engaged in fighting, and therefore tend not to carry a weapon. Without a weapon, they often cannot prove that they have participated in armies during conflict and thus get excluded from DDR assistance."[137] When women are wives or dependents they may follow their male counterparts into the bush and live in the direct vicinity of the barracks and camps. When the conflict is over, she too will need to take up civilian life again.

There are two relevant examples of gender specific DDR policy. The Dutch draft DDR policy targets all women and men in armed forces with post-conflict assistance. The disarmament and demobilisation trajectory is gender sensitised, and the reintegration phase responds to the different economic, social and psychosocial needs of men and women. They have also developed a donor checklist on gender and DDR. The list covers the planning phase (including assessment, mandates, scope, international arrangements,

[131] BOUTA, T. 2005. Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration - Building Blocs for Dutch Policy. The Hague: Conflict Research Unit.

[132] KENT, L. & KINSELLA, N. 2015. A Luta Kontinua (The Struggle Continues). *International Feminist Journal of Politics,* 17, 473-494. p477

[133] Ibid. pp478

[134] Ibid.

[135] BOUTA, T. 2005. Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration - Building Blocs for Dutch Policy. The Hague: Conflict Research Unit.

[136] DOUGLAS, S., FARR, V., HILL, F. & KASUMA, W. 2004. Getting it Right, Doing it RIght: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration. *In:* DOUGLAS, S. & HILL, F. (eds.). New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women.

[137] BOUTA, T. 2005. Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration - Building Blocs for Dutch Policy. The Hague: Conflict Research Unit.

the package of benefits), assembly and cantonment, resettlement, social reintegration into communities and economic reintegration.[138]

The Integrated DDR Standards draw upon the lessons learnt and best practices of the UN. They provide guidance and operational tools for all aspects of the DDR process. Gender is mainstreamed as a cross cutting issue throughout the standards. Rather than just being gender inclusive, the Integrated DDR Standards state that the "design and implementation of DDR programmes should aim to encourage gender equality based on gender-sensitive assessments that take into account these different experiences, roles and responsibilities during and after conflict. Specific measures must be put in place to ensure the equal participation of women in all stages of DDR — from the negotiation of peace agreements and establishment of national institutions, to the design and implementation of specific programmes and projects."[139]

4.6 Transition Assistance

UNSCR 1325 called for measures to "ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary."[140] SSR and DDR form part of Defence contributions to transition assistance. However other transition tasks can include support to elections, governance and the rule of law.

There are a range of security considerations for women's participation in electoral processes. Threats and violence are used as a deliberate tactic to deter women from political participation and need to be considered in security support.[141] Women political candidates and politicians are often exposed to different threats than their male colleagues. Women also face different barriers for voting registration and turnout.

While broader questions of governance concern a whole range of agencies, Defence may subsume some of these functions. UNSCR 1889 "encourages Member States in post-conflict situations, in consultation with civil society, including women's organizations, to specify in detail women and girls' needs and priorities and design concrete strategies, in accordance with their legal systems, to address those needs and priorities, which cover inter alia support for greater physical security and better socio-economic conditions, through education, income generating activities, access to basic services, in particular health services, including sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights and mental health, gender-responsive law enforcement and access to justice, as well as enhancing capacity to engage in public decision-making at all levels."[142]

The state functions of rule of law and access to justice are also important to broader objectives of stabilisation and security.[143] Rule of law is crucial to the legitimacy of the state. "But counter-intuitively, efforts to re-establish law's centrality and legitimacy may actually be counter-productive for women."[144] According to Aolain and Hamilton, "some of the most gendered and problematic dimensions of rule-of-

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[138] Ibid.

[139] UNITED NATIONS 2006. Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards. New York: United Nations.

[140] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1325. (2000). Operative clause 8

[141] UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL 2015. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. New York: United Nations.

[142] UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. Resolution 1889. (2009)-b. Operative clause 10

[143] MASON, W. 2011. *The Rule of Law in Afghanistan: Missing in Inaction,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

[144] AOLAIN, F. & HAMILTON, M. 2009. Gender and the Rule of Law in Transitional Societies. *Minnesota Legal Studies Research Paper.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Law School. pp108

law discourse and practice can arise with intensity in post-conflict or post-repressive societies."[145] It is for this very reason that UNSCR 1889 includes specific provisions on women and girls needs in designing strategies for law enforcement and justice. Donors are often torn between traditional approaches to the law and international principles of justice.[146] But Grina argues that "mainstreaming a gender approach in rule of law initiatives is crucial to long-term success."[147]

4.7 Disaster Response

There is overwhelming evidence that men and women experience disasters differently and that the best disaster responses are gender sensitive. Women and men die at different rates in disasters and survivors have different needs. This section will discuss key issues of gendered mortality rates, gendered health needs, and gendered contributions to a response. It will first address disaster response in the international context, then explore response to disasters within Australia.

Internationally, women are more likely to die during natural disasters. A report that sampled mortality data from 141 countries found that on average, natural disasters and their ongoing impact kill more women than men, or kill women at an earlier age than men.[148] Within the Asia Pacific region, data shows the gender mortality gap to be particularly high. Ninety per cent of the 140 000 victims of a 1991 cyclone in Bangladesh were women. Over 60 per cent of fatalities in Myanmar from Cyclone Nargis were women. In some villages surveyed in Aceh after the Indian Ocean tsunami, women accounted for 77 per cent of fatalities.[149] There are a range of reasons for this gender gap, some of which relate to socio-economic vulnerability and other pre-existing inequalities.

Women and girls have specific health needs during and in the aftermath of disasters. "Due to social norms and their interaction with biological factors, women and children-particularly girls- may face increased risk to adverse health effects and violence. They may be unable to access assistance safely and/or to make their needs known. Additionally, women are insufficiently included in community consultation and decision-making processes, resulting in their needs not being met."[150] Pregnant, lactating and menstruating women and girls are particularly vulnerable during disasters. They have greater food and water needs, but are less mobile. The physical and psychological stress of a disaster can bring on childbirth. Pregnant women also face higher risks of miscarriage, stillbirth and infant and maternal mortality. After the Indian Ocean tsunami, the toilet conditions in Tamil Nadu were so poor that women and girls suppressed the urge to defecate and urinate, leading to an increase in urinary tract infections. After floods in Pakistan, privacy around the lavatories meant women waited till dark to use the bathroom, increasing their vulnerability to disease and attack.[151]

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[145] Ibid.

[146] PUTZEL, J., ESSER, D. & MOENS, L. 2010. *Do No Harm: International Support for Statebuilding,* Paris, OECD Publishing.

[147] GRINA, E. 2011. Mainstreaming Gender in Rule of Law Initiatives in Post-Conflict Settings. *William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law,* 17, 436-473.

[148] NEUMAYER, E. & PLUMPER, T. 2007. The gendered nature of natural disasters: the impact of catastrophic events on the gender gap in life expectancy, 1981-2002. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 97, 551-566.

[149] SHTEIR, S. 2013. Gendered Crisis, Gendered Responses - The Necessity and Utility of a Gender Perspective in Armed Conflicts and Natural Disasters: An Introductory Overview. *Civil-Military Occassional Paper.* Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre.

[150] WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION. 2015. *Gender and health in disasters* [Online]. Geneva: World Health Organization. [Accessed 23 September 2015].

[151] SHTEIR, S. 2013. Gendered Crisis, Gendered Responses - The Necessity and Utility of a Gender Perspective in Armed Conflicts and Natural Disasters: An Introductory Overview. *Civil-Military Occassional Paper.* Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre.

Women are often at the forefront of recovery and rehabilitation efforts. Ferris explains "women serve their communities as leaders in ways that often go unrecognized by national governments and international organizations. While they may not hold positions of visible political leadership (for example, as mayors), women are key to a society's social fabric and hence, its capacity for resilience."[152] Women transmit culture and shape behaviour and knowledge through the family and social networks that are critical to response efforts and risk reduction. They serve as teachers, nurses and social workers and are in positions to assess community needs and implement relief and recovery programs. For example, in Aceh, six months after the Indian Ocean tsunami, 70 per cent of the community organisations following up with disaster response were primarily 'staffed' by women.[153]

"Despite evidence that gender is a factor in disaster vulnerabilities and strengths, and recognition at international, regional and domestic policy levels, Australian state and territory and national emergency recovery plans reveal a pervasive gender-blindness."[154] A key difference in vulnerability in Australian bushfires is when women are left alone or with dependents in the home.[155] However, unlike the international data, figures show that the majority of fatalities in Australian bushfires and floods are men. "This may be related to Australian men being more likely to be involved in frontline emergency management roles, outdoor activities and engaging in high risk behaviour."[156] Men and women also have different mental health risks and responses that need to be accounted for in the context of post-disaster assistance.[157]

Both domestically and internationally, women are at increased risk of violence and exploitation during and after disasters. Disasters exacerbate known risk factors such as disability, homelessness and trauma. Parkinson has undertaken a review of domestic violence in the aftermath of the Black Saturday bushfires, suggesting there was a marked increase in violence against women. Data gathered following the 2011 Christchurch earthquake also suggests the increase in family violence was as much as 50 per cent.[158]

5. Conclusion

This literature review has been prepared concurrent to the Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325. In his 2015 report on Women, Peace and Security, United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon observed that "these review processes coincided with one of the most brutal waves of organized violence in modern history. Over the past few years, armed conflict has erupted or escalated in multiple locations... The growing spread of violent extremism during this period was marked by abuses and

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[152] FERRIS, E., PETZ, D. & STARK, C. 2013. Disaster Risk Management: A Gender-Sensitive Approach is a Smart Approach. *The Year of Recurring Disasters: A Review of Natural Disasters in 2012*. Washington D.C: The Brookings Institution. pp72

[153] SHTEIR, S. 2013. Gendered Crisis, Gendered Responses - The Necessity and Utility of a Gender Perspective in Armed Conflicts and Natural Disasters: An Introductory Overview. *Civil-Military Occassional Paper*. Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre.

[154] HAZELEGER, T. 2013. Gender and disaster recovery: strategic issues and action in Australia -See more at: https://ajem.infoservices.com.au/items/ AJEM-28-02-12#sthash.zzbClwzx.xbOQhDkp.dpuf. *Australian Journal of Emergency Management,* 28.

[155] PARKINSON, D. 2011. Gender, Disaster and Violence. Wangaratta: Women's Health Goulburn North East.

[156] HAZELEGER, T. 2013. Gender and disaster recovery: strategic issues and action in Australia -See more at: https://ajem.infoservices.com.au/items/ AJEM-28-02-12#sthash.zzbClwzx.xbOQhDkp.dpuf. *Australian Journal of Emergency Management,* 28.

[157] DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN SERVICES 2014. Psychosocial support: a framework for emergencies. Melbourne: Victorian Government.

[158] SHTEIR, S. 2013. Gendered Crisis, Gendered Responses - The Necessity and Utility of a Gender Perspective in Armed Conflicts and Natural Disasters: An Introductory Overview. *Civil-Military Occassional Paper*. Queanbeyan: Australian Civil-Military Centre.

violations on women and girls' rights."[159] In her foreword to the Global Study, Radhika Coomaraswamy noted that UNSCR 1325 was one of the most inspired achievements of the Security Council, but "we struggle to bridge the declared intent of international policymaking and the reality of domestic action in the many corners of the world where resolution 1325 is most needed."[160] Using a constructivist analysis, this literature review has provided a unique contribution to the discourse on the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda by considering the issues described within the suite of resolutions, as they apply to existing, explicit priorities of a pre-eminent national security organisation.

This literature review provides a valuable gap analysis, offers examples of ways to improve implementation, and will support ongoing implementation of the Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security. It has brought together the operative clauses of the suite of Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security with key, pre-existing, explicit issues in the planning and conduct of military operations. Little academic research has been undertaken into the comprehensive military operationalisation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. However, valuable theoretical and practical research has been undertaken within the context of specific thematic issues that play out in the deliberate planning and conduct of joint military operations. These issues include the legal framework for operations; intelligence process for conflict analysis; deliberate planning processes and products; security sector reform; disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; transition assistance; and disaster response. By considering the gendered dimensions of each of these key issues, we can strategically integrate Women, Peace and Security into the planning, conduct and transition of joint military operations internationally and at home.

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[159] UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL 2015. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. New York: United Nations. Paragraph 5

[160] COOMARASWAMY, R. 2015. A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace. New York. Pp5

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PART 2. GLOBAL COMMUNITY DISCUSSIONS

Women as Agents in Counter-ISIL Strategy

by Zala Ahmadzaa, Danielle Angel, Morgan McDaniel, and Diana Park

Executive Summary

The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) depends on women. Without the contribution of women, ISIL's recruitment, morale, and key components of its societal structure would collapse. Current U.S. government (USG) policy has not been adequately tailored to reflect this reality. There are no current programs specifically designed in conjunction with local women's groups, nor are there any tailored to local women in ISIL-controlled territory. This lack of programming reflects a heavy focus on men in ISIL, rather than a more wholistic perspective that recognizes the central role of women within the organization.

Policy Proposal: Integrating Women

To acknowledge the central role that women play in perpetuating ISIL's continued functionality, the USG should announce a new policy prioritizing the importance of women in countering ISIL. This policy can be launched by initiating a new program within the State Department's existing counter-ISIL messaging portfolio to target women in ISIL-controlled territories. This program will mobilize existing women's civil society organizations (CSOs), including representatives from all sectarian groups, to initiate and sustain contact with women in ISIL-controlled territories.

Women in ISIL-controlled territories have been primed for messages of empowerment and women's rights. Interviews with escapees indicate that taking an active and participatory role in ISIL's activities and structures was the only avenue for mobility and agency. They described surprisingly feminist explanations for their decision to flee. Therefore, themes of engagement should include alternative means of empowerment, women's rights, desire for peace, resources for reintegration, and pathways to escape. The program should emphasize both the localized nature of its implementation, as well as the power of communication via female channels. To the extent possible, women previously affiliated with ISIL should be encouraged to help other women and children, particularly those who have been enslaved, to escape. The program must work with local civil society groups to craft and refine appropriate and effective messaging.

The program should begin with an initial coordination conference among women activists and civil society leaders in Baghdad, Iraq. Upon formalization and approval of key messages, Iraqi women will be engaged to conduct the communications with targeted women within ISIL-controlled territory using email, text messaging, and various forms of social media. As safety of program participants is the foremost concern, anonymous platforms, strong firewalls, and VPN services will be incorporated to allow participants on both sides to remain anonymous throughout their exchanges. Program staff should coordinate with organizations to provide legal and psychosocial support services that facilitate reintegration for women fleeing ISIL. The program would utilize existing resources offered by organizations such as MADRE, the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq (OWFI), the Baghdad Women's Association (BWA), and the Sadr City Women's Center and Legal Clinic.

Appraisal of Potential Challenges

- **Access:** Communication systems available to women in ISIL may be severely limited, which hinders the ability to establish and maintain contact. The proposed program will use existing

infrastructure, such as underground railroad programs to deliver additional communication devices in ISIL-held territory.

- **Targeting and Sabotage:** To prevent sabotage by ISIL operatives, we need to ensure that the program avoids detection. This can be accomplished through coordination with the intelligence community to ensure the proper vetting of contacts.

- **Security:** Risks to women who are found to be subverting ISIL authority and engaging in rebellious activity are grave. The program must use secure communication devices, VPNs, and other tools, to ensure that evidence of communication is properly hidden from those who will seek to incriminate and execute these women.

- **Overcoming Fear:** Many women residing within ISIL-controlled territories have undergone serious trauma and psychological manipulation. Reaching out to anti-trafficking organizations who already have experience extracting women from organized crime organizations will be helpful in breaking through the psychological barriers.

- **Anti-Americanism:** Anti-Americanism is deep-rooted amongst women in ISIL who had been personally affected by fighting during the war. Overt American branding of the program would have serious repercussions to its viability. Iraqi ownership of the program, including local employees and locally-designed messages, will address this concern.

Introduction

The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) depends on women. Without the contribution of women, ISIL's recruitment, morale, and ability to function would collapse. Current U.S. government (USG) counter-ISIL programs have not been adequately tailored to reflect this reality and may benefit from integrating ways to weaken ISIL through a female-focused approach.

Women in Iraq and Syria are both willing and unwilling supporters of ISIL. The majority of women under ISIL control are involved as a result of circumstances beyond their control and are responding to the extraordinarily challenging living circumstances in which they find themselves. Others are convinced of the group's ideology and join to support the cause. Women in both groups find that the loss of agency, as well as the unequal treatment favoring foreign women, quickly renders life under ISIL control insufferable. These women are potentially receptive to counter-ISIL messages of women's emancipation.

Despite evidence that women's inclusion in peace processes increase the chances that the agreement will succeed, women's organizations in Iraq and Syria have largely been excluded from security-based discussions on how to dismantle and defeat ISIL. These groups have traditionally been ignored to the detriment of U.S. security. Iraqi women have developed sophisticated civil society organizations and have knowledge, networks, and expertise that has not yet been leveraged in counter-ISIL efforts. Therefore, we propose a milestone counter-ISIL messaging program targeting women as active participants and support systems for ISIL.

Literature Review

The Role of Women in Militant Organizations

The emerging field of women, peace, and security has mostly focused on women's roles in building peace and preventing violence. However, several scholars in the field have begun using gender analysis to understand the vital ways in which women contribute to violence. They explore how gender roles uphold militant organizations, both in terms of women's contributions to the war effort and the gendered aspects of underlying rationale for war. Their work provides a theoretical structure to approach women's roles in ISIL.

Jennifer G. Mathers discusses the ways in which gender underlies and supports militarization. Women support every aspect of the military organization through paid and unpaid work based on traditionally feminine roles. This can be in the form of "good" wives, mothers, sisters, etc. who maintain a family life while their men are away at war, and care for them when they are back. It can also be in the form of sex work. Furthermore, the very idea of war is predicated on dichotomous gender roles, namely the masculine protector and the helpless women in need of protection. Militaries rely on and perpetuate ideas about gender, and depend on women and men to internalize and act on these beliefs, making war seem gendered and natural.[1] Dyan Mazurana provides a feminist analysis of how non-state armed groups (NSAGs) draw on, manipulate, and attempt to militarize masculinities, femininities, and patriarchies in order to carry out armed insurgencies. She argues that paying attention to gender identities, both inside and outside of the group is critical to maintaining insurgencies. Women and girls join NSAGs both voluntarily and by force. Some join to fight violence, injustice, and inequality, or get revenge against abusive governments. Others are abducted by NSAGs, particularly as young women. They may be beaten, tortured, or sexually assaulted, and then rejected by their families. Joining the group becomes the only option to ensure self-preservation.

Several case studies demonstrate parallels with ISIL. Al-Shabaab, a jihadist terrorist group based in Somalia, recruits women for roles out of the public eye, such as fundraisers, recruiters, and fighters' wives. They frame the decision to join as allowing women to fulfill a purpose that they do not find elsewhere in their lives. Hamas emphasizes significance of jihad for both men and women; however, for men this means taking up arms and for women it means raising children with Islamic values. Originally, the organization was opposed women suicide bombers on these grounds, but now considers them a tactical advantage and, therefore, acceptable.[2]

In a USAID Research Brief, Laura Sjoberg argues that women have participated in violent extremist organizations in the Middle East and North Africa for decades, but their roles have been overlooked in research on radicalization and recruitment. As a result, strategies target male recruitment, not the drivers and tactics related to female recruitment. Some drivers for women overlap with those for men, but some are specific to women, such as romanticizing conflict, desiring adventure, and seeking social and political agency. Current Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) strategies view women as facilitators and supporters of violent extremist oganizations, not participants, and therefore views them as tools through which to address male radicalization, ignoring their direct roles. This leaves a gap in current CVE programming that needs to be addressed.[3]

Sanam Anderlini's work discusses the implications of women's involvement in militant organizations for disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) processes. Women in armed groups have specific DDR needs that are overlooked because women are assumed to be civilians, when they may have played roles as combatants or auxiliary support staff. The exclusion of women in DDR reflects ignorance about the roles of girls and women in armed groups. Additionally, women and girls play a fundamental role in the maintenance of armed movements. Anderlini argues that the limited effort to reach out to women is a missed opportunity to undermine these groups.[4]

Women's Roles in ISIL

Women play crucial roles in supporting ISIL's internal operations, recruitment, and military strategies. The group's ideology depends on a specific view of the role of women in which their agency and freedom

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[1] Mathers, Jennifer G. "Women and State Military Forces." Women and Wars. Ed. Carol Cohn. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2013. 124-145. Print.

[2] Mazurana, Dyan. "Women, Girls, and Non-State Armed Opposition Groups." Women and Wars. Ed. Carol Cohn. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2013. 146-168. Print.

[3] Sjoberg, Laura. "People, Not Pawns: Women's Participation in Violent Extremism Across MENA." USAID. September 2015. Web.

[4] Anderlini, Sanam. *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters.* Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007. Print. Chapter 4.

are restricted as the basis for the social order they seek to establish. Women play several different roles. The wives of high-level fighters, as well as foreign women who travel to Syria and Iraq to join ISIL, enjoy a high social status and influence and play leadership roles. Local women in communities occupied by ISIL may marry fighters and take on roles within ISIL in order to survive, help their families, and gain a certain amount of freedom. Women captured from minority communities are considered slaves and are the victims of systematic rape.

ISIL uses violence against women to terrorize religious minorities in Iraq. Thousands of women from the Yezidi minority have been captured and then sold as sexual slaves for ISIL fighters.[5] The institutionalized rape of Yezidi women, in particular, is a strategy to demoralize and decimate the Yezidi community and recruit young men with the promise of sex slaves. The practice is justified through ISIL's radical misogynist theology, in which the rape of Yezidi women is permissible, beneficial, and even accepted as a form of religious devotion.[6]

A highly organized and detailed infrastructure supports the slave trade. Over 5,000 Yezidis were abducted from July 2014 to August 2015, and at least 3,144 were still being held. The group has developed procedural documents dictating the rules of slaves ownership, as well as complex bureaucratic structures to enforce those governing principles.[7]

A propaganda document released by the all-female Al-Khansaa Brigade entitled "Women in the Islamic State: Manifesto and Case Study" provides insight into ISIL's ideology in regards to gender. According to the document, women are to be happy leading a secluded, sedentary lifestyle. Their responsibilities focus on motherhood and household maintenance, though in certain limited circumstances it might be permissible for them to take active roles in fighting. It is a woman's "appointed role [to] remain hidden and veiled and maintain society from behind."[8]

The Al-Khansaa Brigade is reported to have originated in response to security threats posed by anti-ISIL male fighters dressing as women to evade inspection by male guards at checkpoints.[9] There are indications that their responsibilities and powers have expanded, according to testimonies that refer to an incresingly ruthless implementation of tactics. The regions in which the Al-Khansaa Brigade operate have increased in the past year.[10]

There are no official reports on the number of Muslim women living under ISIL control. [11] Reports indicate that daily life for these women is extremely restricted. Women have been prevented from attending school, working outside of the home, or even appearing in public without a male guardian.[12] Women are expected to wear abayas and niqabs that cover their faces, and are punished for lack of modesty.[13] They are also expected to serve fighters as sexual partners, wives, and homemakers.[14] Girls

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[5] "Understanding ISIL: A Women's Rights Perspective." *Wadre.* 10 September 2014. Web. 9 January 2016.

[6] Callimachi, Rukmini. "ISIS Enshrines a Theology of Rape." *She New York Times.* 13 August 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Winter, Charlie. "What ISIS Women Really Want." *She Daily Beast.* 6 February 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

[9] Gilsinan, Kathy. "The ISIS Crackdown on Women, by Women." *She Atlantic.* 25 July 2014. Web. 28 February 2016.

[10] Gilsinan, Kathy. "The ISIS Crackdown on Women, by Women." The Atlantic. 25 July 2014. Web. 28 February 2016.

[11] Youssef, Nancy. "The Women Who Secretly Keep ISIS Running." *She Daily Beast.* 5 July 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

[12] "Understanding ISIS: A Women's Rights Perspective." *MADRE.* 10 September 2014. Web. 9 January 2016.

[13] Erlanger, Steven. "In West, ISIS Finds Women Eager to Enlist." *The New York Times.* 23 October 2014. Web. 9 January 2016.

[14] Youssef, Nancy. "The Women Who Secretly Keep ISIS Running." *She Daily Beast.* 5 July 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

can be married at ages as young as nine years old.[15] Women are repeatedly married to fighters who are sent on suicide missions, and then remarried within three months after their husbands are killed. Contrary to ISIL ideology about motherhood, these women are encouraged to use birth control because men with children are less likely to agree to participate in suicide missions.[16]

High-ranking women play a crucial role in policing the behavior of other women. A woman's rank is dependent on the rank of her husband, and the wives of senior ISIL members have authority over other women. This parallel hierarchy holds responsibility for women's recruitment and retention, managing sexual slaves, and enforcing religious standards on other women. The Al-Khansaa Brigade enforces dress codes and behavioral standards on other women.[17] The brigade receives training in religion and weapons.[18] Recruiters exploit sectarian tensions, targeting women who feel oppressed as Sunnis and might want to regain political agency by joining the police.[19]

However, the fact that a woman joins the Al-Khansaa Brigade does not neccesitate that she has bought into ISIL's ideology. A *Sew York Times* profile of women who escaped after living under ISIL in Raqqa, Syria shows that women living under occupation began cooperating with the group by degrees in order to keep their families in good standing with the organization, while gaining a certain amount of agency, first by marrying ISIL fighters and then joining the Al-Khansaa Brigade. As the article states, "in the moment, each choice seemed like the right one, a way to keep life tolerable: marrying fighters to assuage the Organization and keep their families in favor; joining the Khansaa Brigade to win some freedom of movement and an income in a city where women had been stripped of self-determination." These accounts are extremely valuable because they provide insight into the pressure points that may cause other women to also abandon ISIL and seek to escape as well.[20]

Foreign recruits make up another significant population of women living under ISIL's control. About 500 women on Twitter claim to be ISIL residents, and use the internet to recruit other women.[21] Through online forums, female recruiters depict ISIL territory as an Islamic haven from the challenges and alienation many young Muslim women feel in Europe. Recruitment images are both romantic and violent, depicting women caring for children as well as women carrying weapons. They provide advice for travel, as well as logistical support.

An estimated ten percent of Western recruits are women, and the majority of these are between 18 and 25 years old. The largest numbers of young women coming from the West come from France and Britain, but others come from Austria, Belgium, and Spain.[22] As Sasha Havlicek from the Institute of Strategic Dialogue testified to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on July 29, 2015, "the Caliphate offers adventure, belonging and sisterhood, romance, spiritual fulfillment and a tangible role in idealistic utopia-

[15] Winter, Charlie. "What ISIS Women Really Want." *She Daily Beast*. 6 February 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

[16] Moaveni, Azadeh. "ISIS Women and Enforcers in Syria Recount Collaboration, Anguish and Escape." *She New York Times*. 21 November 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

[17] Youssef, Nancy. "The Women Who Secretly Keep ISIS Running." *She Daily Beast*. 5 July 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

[18] Moaveni, Azadeh. "ISIS Women and Enforcers in Syria Recount Collaboration, Anguish and Escape." *She New York Times*. 21 November 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

[19] Gowrinathan, Nimmi. "The Women of ISIS." *Soreign Affairs*. 21 August 2014. Web. 9 January 2016.

[20] Moaveni, Azadeh. "ISIS Women and Enforcers in Syria Recount Collaboration, Anguish and Escape." *She New York Times*. 21 November 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

[21] Youssef, Nancy. "The Women Who Secretly Keep ISIS Running." *She Daily Beast*. 5 July 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

[22] Erlanger, Steven. "In West, ISIS Finds Women Eager to Enlist." *She New York Times*. 23 October 2014. Web. 9 January 2016.

building. Very few youth sub-cultures or movements can claim to offer so much." However, once young women arrive, their movements are restricted and their passports are confiscated.[23]

Policy Proposal: Integrating Women

The USG has funding dedicated to counter-ISIL messaging and international partners' outreach programs. While some of these programs specifically target women vulnerable for recruitment as foreign fighters, there are no current programs specifically designed in conjunction with local women's groups, nor are there any focused on local women in ISIL-controlled territory.

To acknowledge the central role that women play in perpetuating ISIL's continued functionality, as both passive supporters and active participants, the USG should announce a new policy prioritizing the importance of women in countering ISIL. This policy can be launched by initiating a new program within the State Department's existing counter-ISIL messaging portfolio to target women in ISIL-controlled territories.

As women tend to be more cooperative across social and political divides, in both politics and peacemaking, the USG should capitalize on women's pivotal role in supporting and sustaining ISIL, as well as their willingness to work across sectarian lines. This program will mobilize existing women's civil society organizations (CSOs), including representatives of all sectarian groups, to initiate sustained contact with women in ISIL-controlled territory. [24]

Women in ISIL territories have been primed for messages of empowerment and women's rights. As noted above, interviews with escapees indicate that participating in ISIL's activities and structures are the only means of mobility and agency. The same women described surprisingly feminist explanations of their decision to flee, such as being forcibly remarried without adequate time for mourning and feeling as if they were only valued for the bodies. Simultaneously, the women were made to inflict increasingly harsh abuses on the women in their areas, including the elderly. [25] Therefore, themes of engagement should include alternative means of empowerment, women's rights, desire for peace, resources for reintegration, and pathways to escape. Local partners should adapt these themes, and any others they deem appropriate, to best reflect what is likely to effectively appeal to women directly and indirectly supporting ISIL. To the extent possible, women affiliated with ISIL should be encouraged to help other women and children, particularly those who have been enslaved, to escape.

The program will begin with an initial coordination conference among women activists in Baghdad. If the security situation does not permit a women's conference in Baghdad, alternative venues should be considered. The conference organizer will coordinate feedback among invited organizations and individuals. This network should be formalized and encouraged to coordinate and advocate on women's rights and counter-ISIL messaging independently from the messaging program. The USG should support future women's network coordination meetings under this program to update messaging and coordinate responses to current events. For the initial conference, the program should reach out to a broad range of women's organizations from different areas of the country, inviting delegates from each organization. There are many civil society organizations in Iraq, from a broad range of regions and provinces. Including women from across ethnic and sectarian lines will represent a pan-Iraqi effort to reach out to women under ISIL's control.

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[23] Richey, Warren. "What Draws Women to ISIS." *She Christian Science Monitor.* 1 October 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.
[24] Anderlini, Sanam. *Somen Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters.* Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007. Print. Chapter Five: Postconflict Governance and Leadership.
[25] Moaveni, Azadeh. "ISIS Women and Enforcers in Syria Recount Collaboration, Anguish and Escape." *She New York Times.* 21 November 2015. Web. 9 January 2016.

Upon formalization and approval of key messages, Iraqi women will be engaged to conduct the communications with targeted women. Program staff will be trained by conference participants in a series of small workshops.

Communications will begin on Twitter and other social media on which ISIL members are active. However, other means of communication, such as email or text messaging, will be made available as well, to accommodate irregular access to internet in ISIL-controlled territory. As safety of program participants is the foremost concern anonymous platforms, strong firewalls and VPN services will be incorporated to allow program participants on both sides to remain unidentified throughout their exchanges.

The international women's rights organization MADRE is establishing an "underground railroad" that facilitates the movement of threatened women out of ISIL-controlled territory. MADRE works with the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq (OWFI) as a local partner on the ground in order to create a safe passage.[26] MADRE and OWFI can be key partners to provide logistical support for women the program reaches who are convinced of the need to escape. This support is crucial because if the women do not have confidence that they can escape without retribution, they will not feel safe participating in the program.

In addition to our formal policy proposal we recommend program staff to coordinate with organizations to provide legal and psychosocial support services that will help women reintegrate upon fleeing ISIL. Several organizations on the ground already provide services to survivors of gender-based violence in the Kurdish region, as well as central Iraq. Women's shelters are not legal in central Iraq, but several shelters run by CSOs operate in the Kurdish region.[27] These CSOs, such as Heartland International and Asuda, provide support services and psychological support for survivors of trauma.

Appraisal of Potential Challenges

Access

There are considerable challenges to targeting the right women with this program. First, the communication systems available and accessible to women in ISIL territory may be severely limited due to censorship and denial of access, and the population that we are targeting may be a small percentage of the total female population. In addition, ISIL, knowing already that its vulnerabilities may come from unsanctioned communication conducted by residents within its territory, may have already taken measures to take away private communication capabilities. This may include the confiscation of cell phones, cell phone coverage, and internet connectivity. For example, in Raqqa, ISIL banned all WiFi access and only allowed internet usage in internet cafes, where citizens can be monitored.

This can be mitigated by delivering additional cell phones or more sustainable communication devices, such as satellite phones, through partners working on the Underground Railroad. Additional information can be collected through interviews with women who had already escaped to discover vulnerabilities within ISIL communication systems. This information can be used to help ensure communication is possible and that the correct population is being targeted.

Targeting and Sabotage

In order to prevent sabotage by ISIL operatives, the program must be able to avoid detection. Without being able to verify those we are reaching women within ISIL territory, the program runs the risk of

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[26] "Iraq: Women Confront ISIS and Demand Rights." *MADRE*. Web. 12 January 2016.
[27] "Lifting the Ban on Women's Shelters in Iraq: Promoting Change in Conflict." *Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq*. Web. 12 January 2016.

continued communication with the wrong actors, such as ISIL members seeking to expose and punish others involved with sabotage.

One approach is coordinating with the intelligence community to ensure the proper vetting of the targeting operations. The intelligence community could verify whether the IP addresses of those involved in communication belong to the personal cell phones of ISIL male operatives or from within ISIL internet cafes. However, this approach may limit the openness with which we can operate with partner organizations within Iraq.

Security

The program also runs the risk of endangering the same women who we are seeking to help. Risks to women who are found to be subverting the ISIL authorities are grave. Death is a very real possible consequence of being discovered. The program must incorporate stringent security measures, such as secure communication devices, VPNs, and other tools, to ensure that evidence of communication is properly hidden from those who will seek to incriminate and execute these women.

Issues of security also stem outward to the partner organizations that work in the underground railroad to help women escape from within ISIL-controlled territory. In addition to secure communication methods and systems, a partnership with the military and intelligence could provide greater physical security for in-country partners.

Overcoming Fear

Many women residing within ISIL-controlled territories have undergone serious trauma and psychological manipulation. Without more information on vulnerabilities to ISIL control and security, it will be difficult to convince the women within the territories with first-hand understanding of the security infrastructure of ISIL that they will be able to escape without further assurances.

Anti-trafficking organizations who already have experience extracting women from organized crime organizations can apply their expertise to address this issue. Organizations such as International Justice Mission can provide insight into methods that have worked to convince individuals living under duress to believe escape is possible.

Anti-Americanism

Anti-Americanism runs deep among women in ISIL who had been personally affected by fighting during the war. The lure of ISIL make sense to those who deeply resent U.S. forces for detaining or killing their relatives because of their involvement in AQI. Therefore, overt American branding of a program that stems from this policy could have serious repercussions to its viability.

A possible mitigation for this is to ensure that the program is not attributable to the United States. There should be enough Iraqi intermediaries, including local employees, to ensure that there is no overt public knowledge of American funding and support for the project. In addition, during communication with women behind ISIL lines, the messaging should focus on Iraqi nationalism and treatment of fellow Iraqi citizens as a rationale for opposing the policies and actions of ISIL.

Alignment with U.S. Government Priorities

This program will support U.S. national security objectives. Secretary Kerry and Secretary Carter outlined five lines of effort to degrade and defeat ISIL. This program will support the fifth, exposing ISIL's true nature, by recognizing ISIL's manipulation of gender and disempowerment of women.

In December 2015, the Obama administration announced a revamped strategy to counter ISIL propaganda. The administration charged the Department of State with crafting more localized messaging in both content and language.[28] This program would bring the Department of State into compliance with this directive, by working closely with local CSOs to identify culturally relevant content and to carry out the counter-ISIL communications.

Finally, this program will contribute toward U.S. efforts to defeat ISIL. It will undermine support for the group among members of the Al-Khansaa brigade and other female components. These women can be expected to exert "informal authority" upon the male leaders in ISIL to whom they are married. Additionally, as the women in ISIL territory flee, they will take with them crucial support mechanisms based on women's roles upon which ISIL relies, including emotional support, food preparation, home maintenance, recruitment, and policing.[29] If Sunni women can be convinced to assist Yezidi women escape, the loss of "property" and the economic boon of the sex trade will hurt morale and markets within ISIL-controlled territory.

Conclusion

Expanding the USG's current counter-ISIL messaging portfolio to target both national and foreign women within ISIL-controlled territories will play a strong role in dismantling the foundation of ISIL. This strategy seeks to counteract methods used by ISIL to involve women in the organization, including the promise made to male fighters that they will have one or more wives upon pledging to the organization. Because women fulfill multiple roles within ISIL, including domestic and military, they are critical to the stability of ISIL. Without female participants, the structure of ISIL would weaken substantially, thus strengthening the ability of the U.S. to degrade and ultimately defeat ISIL.

The emphasis of this program will be placed on providing alternative means of empowerment for women, resources for reintegration, and pathways to escape that emphasize their desire for women's rights and peace. Through the medium of women-to-women communication, we will be able to work towards strengthening the capacity of women to not only escape ISIL but also encourage them to demotivate other women from joining the oppressive organization. Implementation of this cost-effective program is critical towards enhancing the safety and protection of women in Iraq, initiating a strong offensive against ISIL, and reducing the mounting military costs involved in Operation INHERENT RESOLVE.

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[28] Miller, Greg. "Obama Administration Plans Shake-Up in Propaganda War Against ISIS." *She Washington Post.* 8 January 2016. Web. 12 January 2016.

[29] Anderlini, Sanam. *Somen Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters.* Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007. Print. Chapter Four: Disarming, Demobilizing, and Reintegrating Fighters.

The Impact of Religiosity on Women in Muslim-Majority Countries:

Conflict, Tolerance, Rights, Terrorism and Security

Sofia Kluch

Religions significantly shape how people choose to live their lives. Though widely studied, religiosity is often misunderstood and rarely quantified in a comparable manner across global populations. Using data from the Gallup World Poll, the only consistent measure of world public opinion, this paper will explore how differences in religiosity, specifically in women residing in Muslim-majority countries, relate to opinions, attitudes and behavior. The analysis explores how religiosity can aid or distract from peace and conflict, shape religious tolerance and views of other religious groups, influence women's rights and roles, and affect women's perceptions of terrorism and security in their countries. The objective of this research is to examine relationships between religiosity and different topics, as well as the strength and direction of each relationship, to better understanding religion's role in shaping the attitudes and behaviors of women from various regions.

Eight key findings resulted from this research:

1. Religiosity is associated with peaceful means of conflict resolution with Western nations.
2. Religiosity and democracy are not in conflict.
3. Peaceful ideology toward the West is associated with mosque attendance.
4. Religiosity can empower women, while still facilitating misogyny in men.
5. Religiosity is a source of women's liberation in Muslim-majority countries through jobs and leadership positions and does not oppress women's rights.
6. Religiosity is positively related to religious tolerance and is less likely to lead to very negative views of other religious groups.
7. More religious women are less condemning of terrorism.
8. Religiosity acts as a buffer for criminal victimization.

Data for this analysis are derived from the Gallup World Poll, a standardized measure of 98% of the world's population, conducted on an annual basis since 2005. Data are based on nationally representative samples of each country and region (see Appendix A) with samples of 1,000 adults aged 15 and older. Using multi-stage stratification sampling, first country-level geographic units, then households and finally respondents were randomly selected and interviewed face-to-face in their homes. This methodology was used in each of the 48 Muslim-majority countries included in the study. For the items compared with Northern America[1] and European Union countries[2] (EU), data in these regions and countries were collected via random-digit-dial (RDD) samples and randomly selected household respondents who completed the survey via computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI). All data used in this analysis are from 2008 to 2012 and are projection weighted to the populations and regions described herein, resulting in 211,819 responses from 56 countries with an overall margin of error of less than +/- 0.05.

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[1] Northern American is used to denote Canada and the United States, excluding Mexico.
[2] See Appendix for countries included. This represents six European Union countries.

The first section of this analysis seeks to describe how women in Muslim-majority countries generally view conflicts between Muslim and Western[3] populations, and based on their religiosity, how they view their government, the governments of other countries, religious leaders in government and the use of Sharia law. The objective is to shed light on the role of religion as a strength or obstacle to peace or conflict.

Peace and Conflict: Muslim-Majority Versus Western Countries

Culture, Politics and Religion
The way that people view conflict between Western and Muslim-majority countries provides insight into how they may approach a solution or way forward. Women in Muslim-majority countries were all asked: "Thinking about the tensions between the Muslim and Western worlds -- do you think they arise more from differences of religion or differences of culture or from conflicts about political interests?" Women were categorized by their answer to that question and examined by the three groups (culture, religion and politics). Two groups, religion and political interests (politics), were evenly divided with just over a third of all women in each group. Fewer women gave the responses of culture and don't know. This analysis compares three core groups — culture, religion and politics — yielding several consistent demographic findings and opinion-related differences across the groups.

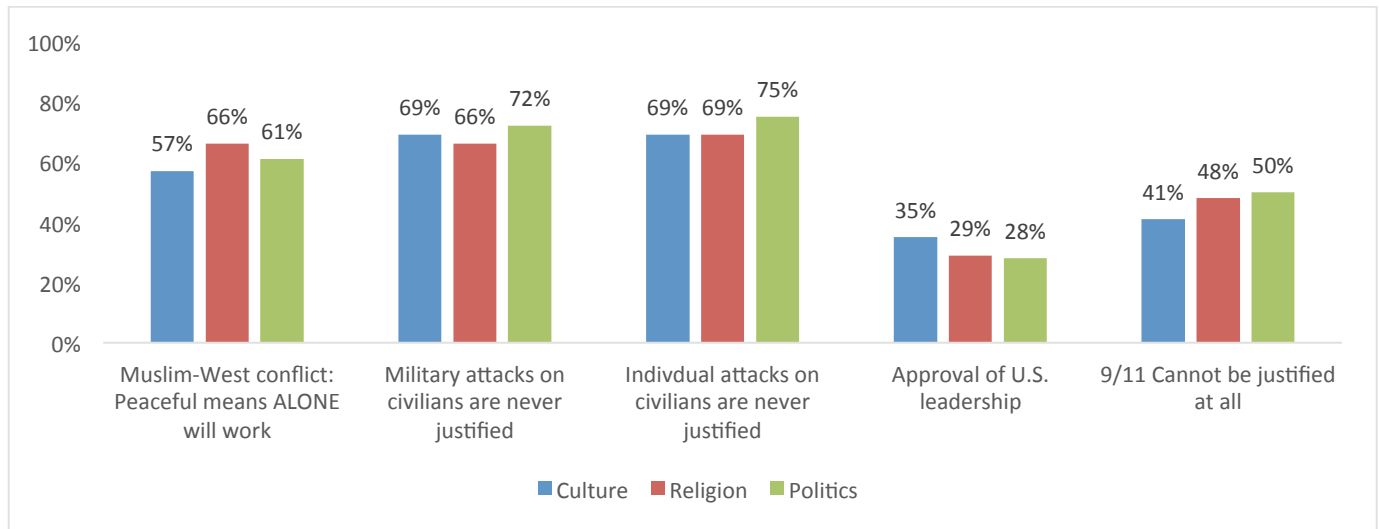| Thinking about the tensions between the Muslim and Western worlds — do you think they arise more from differences of religion or differences of culture or from conflicts about political interests?				
Differences in Culture	Differences in Religion	Differences in Political Interests	Don't Know	Refused to Answer
11%	36%	36%	15%	1%

The first difference among the three groups of women relates to education; the women in the politics group were most likely to have higher (secondary) education, compared with the culture and religion groups, with significantly higher proportions of the culture and religion groups in the elementary or less education group. The politics group is also younger, and these women identified their marital status as single. The group that identified religion as the cause for tensions is also more likely than the culture group to identify religion as important.

Terrorism Versus Conflict Resolution: Those Believing That Conflict Is Rooted in Religion Are Most Likely to Believe a Peaceful Means Alone Can Solve the Conflict.
Regarding other opinions and attitudes shared by these women, the religion and politics groups are more likely than the culture group to say that the events of 9/11 cannot be justified at all. The politics group is more likely than the religion group or the culture group to say that individual attacks on civilians are never justified. The politics group is also more likely than both the religion and culture groups to say that military attacks on civilians are never justified.

KEY FINDING 1: Religiosity is associated with peaceful means of conflict resolution with Western nations. While the politics group is most likely to say that any attacks are never justified, *the religion group is more likely than the culture or political group to say that peaceful means alone will work for the Muslim-West conflict*. Compared with the religion and politics groups, the women in the culture group show the highest rating of U.S. leadership.

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[3] The term "Western" is used throughout questions and analyses and were designed as follow-up research to the post-9/11 narratives emerging in global discourse and clash of civilizations.
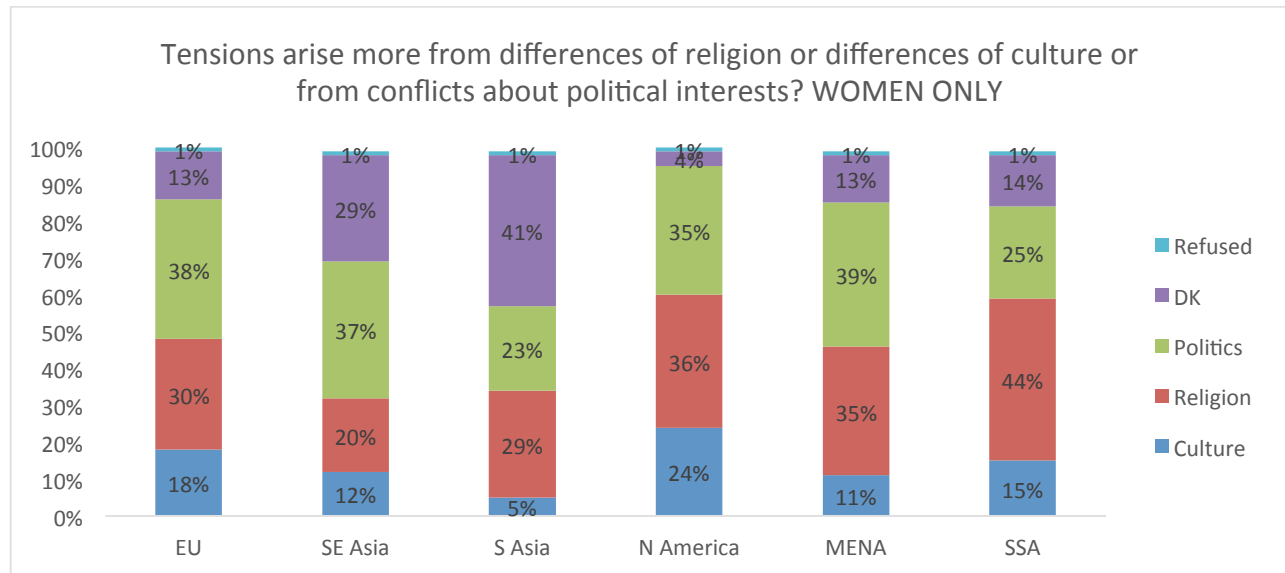
Women from Muslim-majority countries that identified the origin of Muslim-West tension as based in religion are more likely to be religious themselves, older, married and less educated; however, they are also more likely than the culture group to view the events of 9/11 as never justifiable, and they are the most likely to say that peaceful means alone could end the conflict between Muslims and the West. Women who labeled the origin of the conflict as culture are similarly older, married, less educated and less religious (comparatively). Their views differ from the religion and politics groups regarding 9/11, individual attacks on civilians and military attacks on civilians, which they condemn to a lesser extent. Despite this, the culture group is more favorable to U.S. leadership. Finally, women in the politics group are younger, more educated and more likely to be single. These women are most condemning of 9/11 and attacks against civilians by military or individuals. These data only provide an overview of women living in Muslim-majority countries. Specific demographic differences emerge when women are examined within geographic regions.

Culture, Religion and Politics by Region
In sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), women in the lowest education category (elementary or less) are disproportionately high in the culture group (67%). In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), the culture and religion groups are similarly lower educated than the politics group. In South Asia and in Southeast Asia, the politics group is more educated than the religion group. For the regional comparison, women from Northern America and Europe were added to the analysis. In the Northern American and EU countries included, there are no differences in education among women in the culture, religion and education groups. Women attributing conflict to politics are younger than those in the other groups in Europe, Northern America, MENA and SSA, but not in Southeast Asia.
Religiosity Varies by Region Among the Culture, Politics and Religion Groups
In the EU countries and Southeast Asia, there are no differences in religion's importance among the three groups of women reporting culture, politics or religion. In South Asia, the politics group reports higher importance in religion (99%) than the religion group (97%). In Northern America, the religion group reports the highest importance of religion (78%). Women in the religion group are most likely to say that religion is important in MENA compared with the politics and culture groups. In SSA, there are no religion importance differences. On the same topic, there are no differences in religious attendance in the EU or Southeast Asia. In South Asia, the women in the culture group are least likely to report attending a religious service. In Northern America, the women in the religion group are most likely to report attending a service, similar to the MENA group. In SSA, there are no differences among the three groups of women. Finally, in MENA, the EU and SSA, the culture group is most approving of U.S. leadership.

Tensions arise more from differences of religion or differences of culture or from conflicts about political interests? WOMEN ONLY

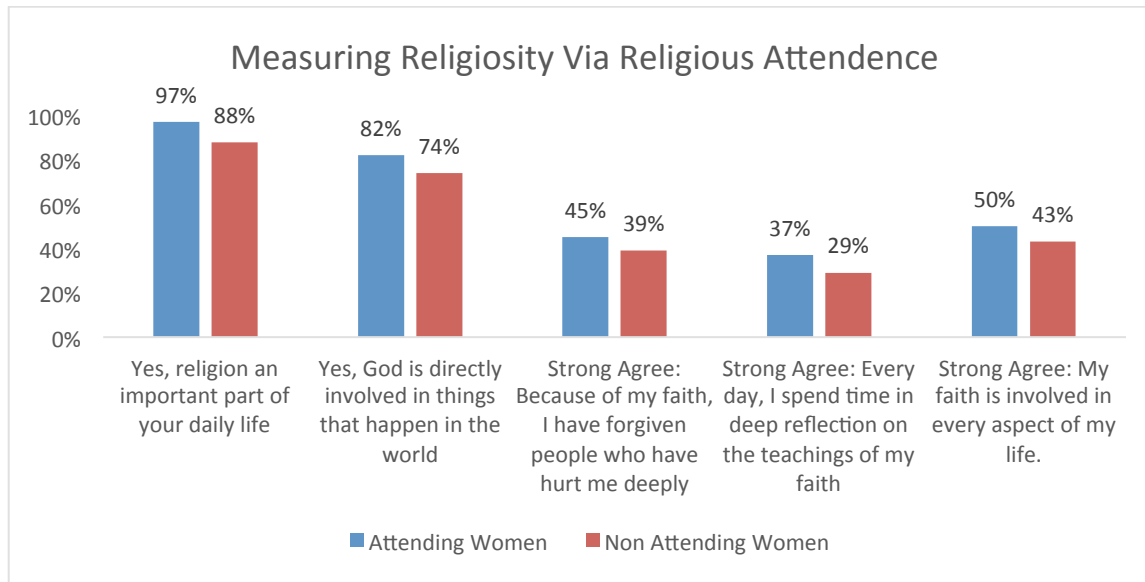| Region	Culture	Religion	Politics	DK	Refused
EU	18%	30%	38%	13%	1%
SE Asia	12%	20%	37%	29%	1%
S Asia	5%	29%	23%	41%	1%
N America	24%	36%	35%	4%	1%
MENA	11%	35%	39%	13%	1%
SSA	15%	44%	25%	14%	1%

The analysis showcases the regional distinctions among women and their views about the root of Muslim-West tensions. It's of interest to note that across regions, culture is selected as the reason most often in Northern America. The root is seen most as religion in SSA. There is large agreement in the proportion seeing the tensions as rooted in politics among women in the EU, Southeast Asia and MENA. There is nearly an equal split in those seeing the conflict as religious and political in Northern America. It is arguably helpful to determine which populations see the conflict as political in nature, because politics are more dynamic — likely to change and evolve — than religion or culture.

A principal objective of this paper is to determine the degree to which religiosity affects various attitudes and behaviors. Before further exploring the effect of religiosity on Muslim-West issues, here is a brief description of the method Gallup uses to categorize religiosity.

Religiosity

The Gallup World Poll uses two core items about religion that measure importance and attendance. First, Gallup asks: "*Is religion an important part of your daily life?*" Second, Gallup asks: "*Have you attended a place of worship or religious service within the past seven days?*" Throughout this analysis the attendance of a religious service in the past seven days is used as a metric of religiosity. The analysis uses the phrases "more religious" or "highly religious" to clarify that while an overwhelming majority of women in Muslim-majority countries consider religion an important part of their daily life, there is a distinction between proclamation and action. This is not to deem non-attenders as unreligious, especially as there are various reasons for non-attendance. Rather, it is to denote that recent attenders of a service are different from those who have not attended recently. The analysis further explores the religiosity or spirituality of religious service attenders using the following data.

Of principal note, women who attended a religious service in the past seven days are more likely to say religion is an important part of their daily life. They are also more likely to say that God is directly involved in things that happen in the world. Attenders of a service in the past seven days are more likely to describe themselves as more religious now than they were 10 years ago and to say they are more religious than their parents were. In practicing the basic tenets of religion, attenders are also more likely to say that they have forgiven someone because of their faith, that they had spent time in deep reflection on the teachings of their faith and that faith is involved in every aspect of their life, when compared with non-attending women.

Measuring Religiosity Via Religious Attendence

	Attending Women	Non Attending Women
Yes, religion an important part of your daily life	97%	88%
Yes, God is directly involved in things that happen in the world	82%	74%
Strong Agree: Because of my faith, I have forgiven people who have hurt me deeply	45%	39%
Strong Agree: Every day, I spend time in deep reflection on the teachings of my faith	37%	29%
Strong Agree: My faith is involved in every aspect of my life.	50%	43%

In short, while an imperfect measure, there is sufficient evidence that religious attendance can be a proxy to compare highly religious women with less religious women for this analysis.

Religious Importance and Attendance
Across Muslim-majority countries, there is general agreement that religion is important, making it difficult to use this item to parse out religiosity. Religious attendance can depend on various factors, including places for women to worship, distance to worship facilities and children and family needs that keep women from attending religious services, along with cultural expectations and norms for women to attend or not attend. Despite these limitations, the data on religious attendance do suggest meaningful and theoretically sound findings, showing that these women, as a whole, are more religious than their non-attending counterparts.

	Religion important			Of those saying religion is important, % who attended service	
-	Men	Women		Men	Women
EU	35%	47%		55%	57%
Balkans	55%	66%		53%	48%
CIS[4]	55%	58%		40%	21%
SE Asia	97%	97%		87%	72%
S Asia	96%	96%		87%	46%
N. America	57%	69%		63%	63%
MENA	90%	92%		73%	41%
SSA	95%	96%		87%	80%

Among Muslim-majority women, most view religion as an important part of their daily lives. However, there is a significant difference between women who have recently (in the past week) attended a religious service (97%) and those who have not (88%).
Religiosity and Drafting Legislation: Higher Religiosity Is Associated With Greater Desire for Constitutional Freedoms Among Women

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[4] Commonwealth of Independent States

All women in Muslim-majority countries are asked what freedoms they would include if they hypothetically could craft a new constitution for a new government.[5] **KEY FINDING 2) Religiosity and democracy are not in conflict.** Highly religious women are more likely to say that a new constitution should include freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of assembly, compared with less religious women.

	More Religious	Less Religious
Freedom of Speech	88%	81%
Freedom of Religion	84%	73%
Freedom of Assembly	74%	67%

Women are further asked, *"What role, if any, should religious leaders have in writing national laws: Religious leaders should have an advisory role, religious leaders should have a direct role or religious leaders should have no role."* Highly religious women are more favorable about religious leaders playing a part in government, both in an advisory role (50% vs. 39%) and in a direct role (32% vs. 26%) compared with less religious women. When examined by region, negligible differences are found between more and less religious women in MENA and SSA regarding having religious leaders in an advisory role. In fact, in most regions the advisory role is the most popular response. Regionally, religious leaders having no role is most popular in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and MENA countries.

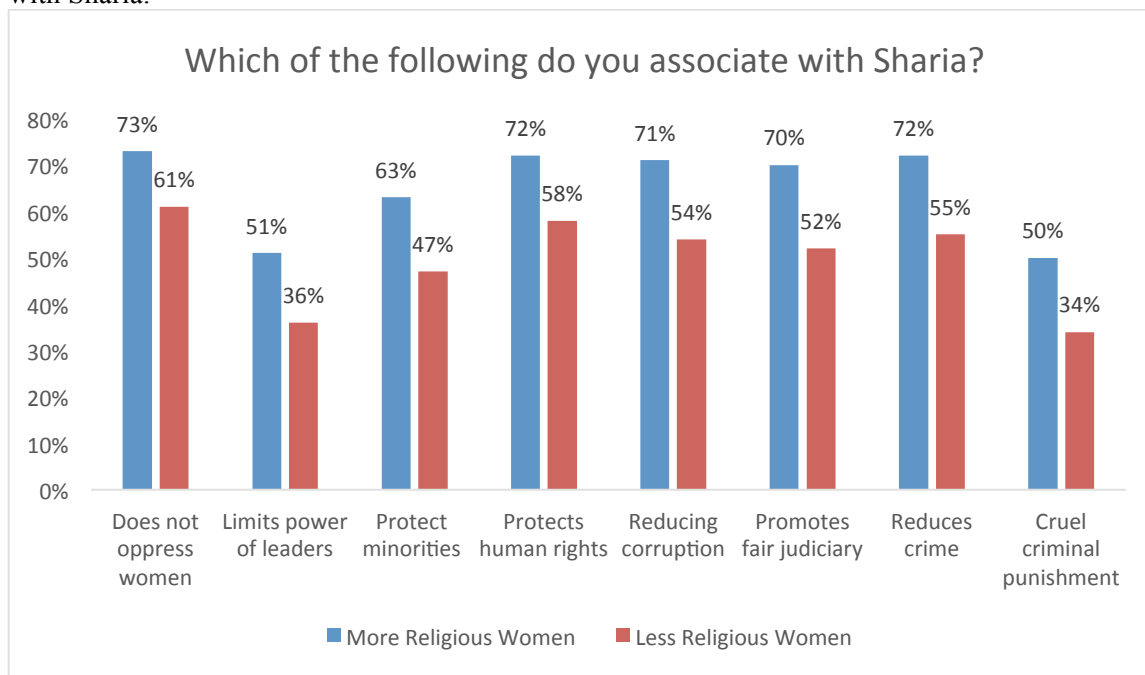|	CIS		SE Asia		South Asia		MENA		SSA	
-	More Religious	Less Religious	More Religious	Less Religious	More Religious	Less Religious	More Religious	Less Religious	More Religious	Less Religious
Advisory Role	41%	37%	54%	47%	36%	29%	43%	41%	61%	60%
Direct Role	13%	6%	34%	34%	39%	30%	25%	22%	27%	30%
No Role	23%	28%	2%	4%	5%	8%	17%	24%	11%	9%
DK	20%	26%	9%	13%	20%	32%	9%	12%	0%	0%
Refused	2%	3%	0%	2%	0%	1%	5%	1%	0%	0%

Sharia
Islamic law, Sharia, was also explored with highly and less religious women equally likely to say that Sharia should apply to Muslims. However, highly religious women are more likely to say that Sharia should apply to both Muslims and non-Muslims. The results vary dramatically in the regions where Gallup asks these items. In Southeast Asia and SSA, both more and less religious women have similar views regarding the application of Sharia to Muslims and non-Muslims. Still, views vary between the two regions with women in Southeast Asia far more likely than those in SSA to indicate that Sharia should apply to Muslims and non-Muslims. In contrast, in South Asia and MENA there is far less consistency between more religious and less religious women.

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[5] Suppose that someday you were asked to help draft a new constitution for a new country. As I read you a list of possible provisions that might be included in a new constitution, would you tell me whether you would probably agree or not agree with the inclusion of each of these provisions? Freedom of speech -- allowing all citizens to express their opinion on the political, social, and economic issues of the day. AND Freedom of religion -- allowing all citizens to observe any religion of their choice and to practice its teachings and beliefs. AND Freedom of assembly -- allowing all citizens to assemble or congregate for any reason or in support of any cause.

	SE Asia		South Asia		MENA		SSA	
	More Religious	Less Religious	More Religious	Less Religious	More Religious	Less Religious	More Religious	Less Religious
Sharia should apply to both Muslims and non-Muslims	44%	45%	39%	12%	28%	16%	14%	16%
Sharia should only apply to Muslims	46%	49%	37%	23%	27%	28%	63%	66%
DK	9%	6%	23%	65%	32%	35%	14%	10%
Refused	*	*	1%	-	14%	21%	8%	8%

Across Muslim-majority countries where Sharia is asked about, highly religious women see Sharia as a benefit to women. Specifically, these women are more likely than less religious women to say that justice is associated with Sharia. While majorities of both groups agree — highly religious women are more likely to associate "does not oppress women" with Sharia than less religious women. In fact, women attending a religious service in the last seven days see large benefits from Sharia. All women are asked if they associate a variety of statements with Sharia. Highly religious women are more likely to associate Sharia with "limits power of leaders," "protects minorities," "protects human rights," "reduces corruption," "promotes fair judiciary" and "cruel criminal punishment" compared with less religious women. Highly religious women are more likely than less religious women to associate "reduces crime" with Sharia.
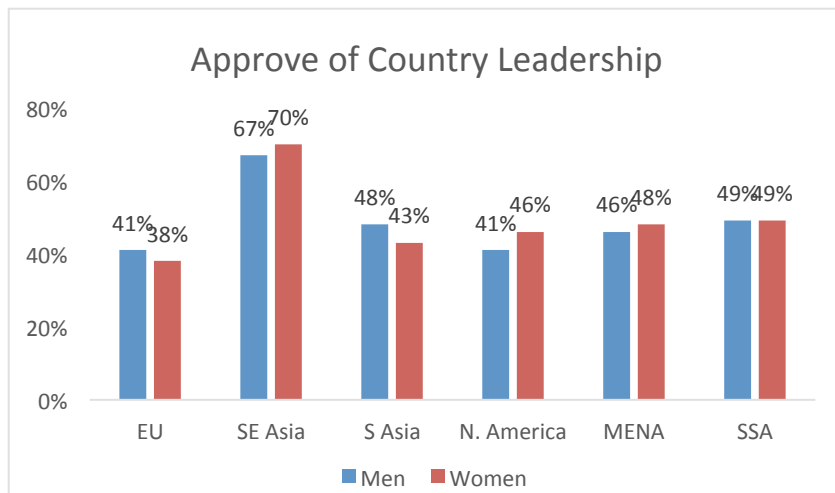

In summary, women showing evidence of higher religiosity are more likely than less religious women to include protections of basic rights (speech, religion, and assembly) into a new constitution. The more religious women are also far more supportive of Sharia, in terms of what it means to them (more positive associations) and also in the inclusion of religious leaders in the role of government.
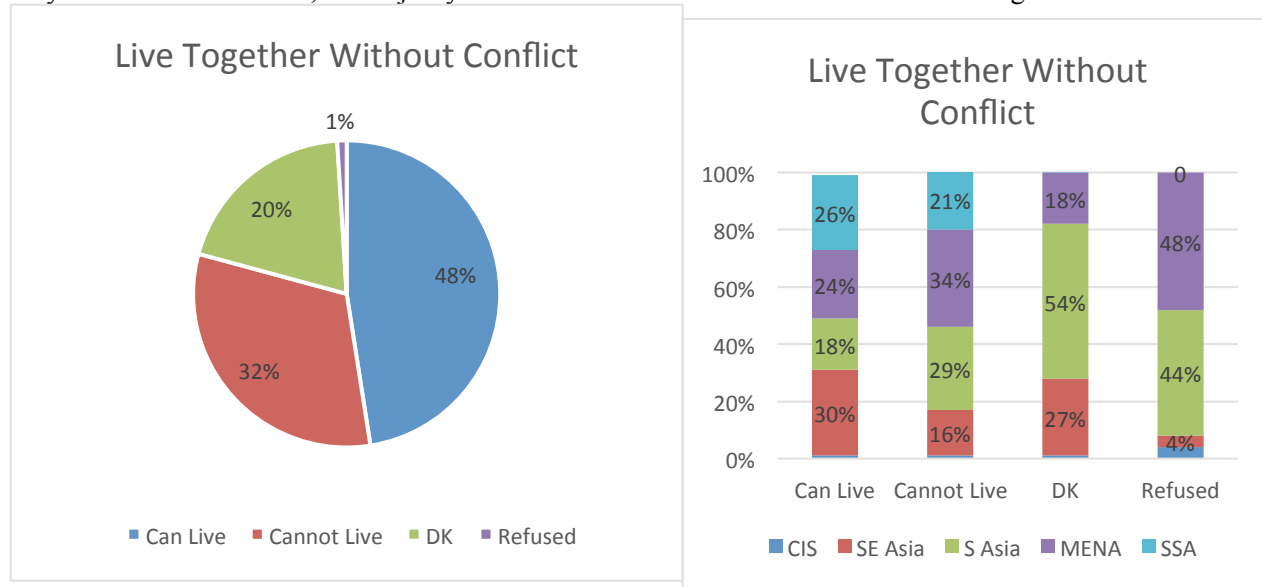
Country Leadership

Gallup asked a series of questions about the Muslim-West conflict beginning in 2008 through 2012. The data among Muslim-majority populations are definitive and strikingly consistent regarding men and women.

Women are more likely to provide a "don't know" answer to every single question about Muslim-West relations or specific Western countries' leadership. The resulting data show that men are simply more opinionated, offering both more and less favorable opinions on all topics when compared with women; and that women are most likely to not provide an opinion. The same holds true for all items about approval or disapproval of foreign countries' leadership. Women are more likely to report "don't know" when asked about every country (including the United States, United Kingdom, Russia, Germany, and China). The only exception

is when men and women are asked about their approval or disapproval of their own country's leadership. In this case, men and women are equally likely to approve of their country's leadership.

"Don't Know" Responses Among Women

To better understand the landscape of women's public opinion and the propensity of women to provide "don't know" responses, this analysis uses one item to shed light on the women who are replying "don't know." Full populations are asked: *"Do you believe Muslim and Western societies CAN live together without conflict, or do you believe they CANNOT live together without conflict?"* Across all Muslim-majority countries, 20% of women provided a "don't know" response. Responses varied by region, with the majority of the "don't know" responses coming from South Asia or Southeast Asia and a smaller proportion coming from the MENA region. Women from SSA and the CIS are essentially absent from the "don't know" group. Although overall only 1% refused to answer, the majority of refusals came from countries in the MENA region.

A focus on the women in the "don't know" respondent group suggests that they differ from their more opinionated peers in several critical ways. First, Muslim-majority women who provided the "don't know" responses are significantly more likely to be in the lowest education category (completing elementary school or less), compared with those expressing opinions. Those expressing opinions are significantly younger (average age of 34 for "can live" and 33.5 "cannot live") than those in the "don't know" group (38 years old). Both opinionated groups are more likely to say that they are living comfortably on their present income compared with those saying "don't know."
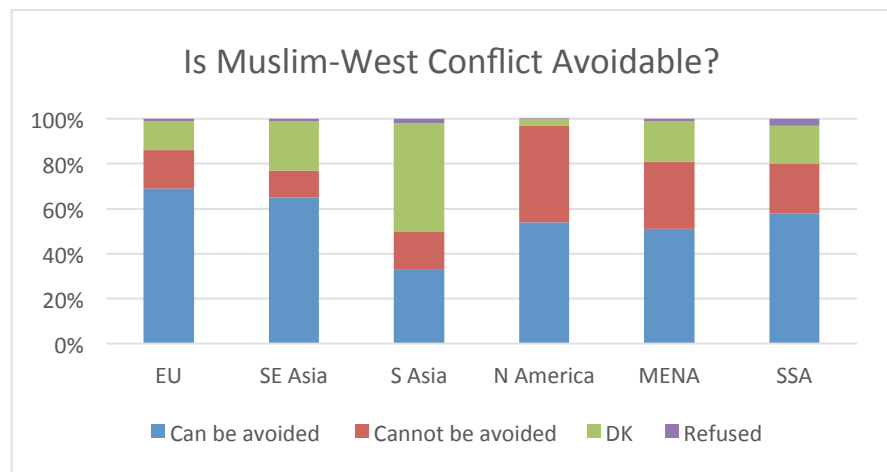
Religious Attendance Discouraging Radicalization Among Women
In looking beyond the women in the "don't know" category, there are other differences among the respondents. Although majorities in all groups say that religion is important, those refusing to answer the question are significantly less likely (77%) to report religion as important compared with all other groups (94% to 96%).

KEY FINDING 3)
Peaceful ideology toward the West is associated with mosque attendance.
Muslim-majority women who say Muslim and Western people can live together without conflict are more likely to have attended a religious service in the last week (66%) compared with the "cannot live" group (51%) and the "don't know" group (53%), countering the

Is Muslim-West Conflict Avoidable?

narrative that radicalization occurs in mosques. Finally, the "don't know" group is more likely to be married and widowed than the two opinionated groups.

Women from Muslim-majority countries differ significantly from women in Western countries on this item. When comparing women from Muslim-majority countries to women from Europe and Northern America, the principal difference is a lack of "don't know" responses. By region, women from the EU countries and Southeast Asia are significantly more likely to say that conflict can be avoided, compared with other regions. Women in Northern America are most likely to say that conflict cannot be avoided, followed by women in MENA. "Don't know" responses are highest in South Asia.

In summary, women from Muslim-majority countries, especially in South Asia and Southeast Asia, are less likely to provide opinions on Muslim-West issues or about leadership of Western countries, though they are equally likely to approve of their own host nation/country's leadership as men. We know that the women not providing an opinion tend to be older, less educated and less economically comfortable, and they are more likely to be married or widowed, but are not more religious.

The topics of politics, Muslim-West relations and religious law all suggest differences among women. There are distinctions in women's views of conflict as peacefully resolvable and also in the root causes of the conflict to begin with. Regional differences play throughout these trends. Finally, when examined through the lens of religiosity, highly religious women in Muslim-majority countries are more supportive of basic constitutional freedoms and are also more positive about Sharia law.

Women's Rights

Despite the Western perception that religious women, and specifically religious women in Muslim countries, are submissive when it comes to their rights or are treated in inferior ways to men, the data show a more nuanced story. Generally speaking, for many basic rights and equalities, religiosity does not affect women's perceptions at all. Where there is an effect of religiosity, every case illustrates a tendency of higher religiosity yielding more agreement on rights for women. In total, women in Muslim-majority countries are asked if they believe women in their countries are treated with respect, and then if women should be able to exercise several basic rights: to vote, drive, work, keep their earnings, hold certain positions and have the same rights as men. Data for these items are examined based on religiosity, via religious service attendance.

Religiosity and Women Treated With Respect

Women expressing higher religiosity are more likely to say that women in their country are treated with respect than less religious women. Incidentally, the same effect is found with men in Muslim-majority countries, with more religious men indicating women are respected, compared with less religious men. Among less religious women, there is no difference in the perception of respect for women of different age cohorts. More religious women do differ, with the youngest women (15 to 29 years old) less likely to say that women are treated with respect than all of the other age cohorts. Overall, women believing that women in their country are treated with respect varies among regions as well, and is lowest in the Balkans and highest in Southeast Asia.

Religiosity and Women's Rights

Before examining individual rights, it is important to note that for universal rights, there is no difference between more and less religious women in their belief that women should have the same rights as men; 88% of both groups agree to this. **KEY FINDING 4) Religiosity can empower women, while still facilitating misogyny in men.** While women overall are more in favor of men and women having the same rights, men are less likely to agree with them and more religious men (77%) are even less likely to agree than less religious men (81%).

Women Treated With Respect	Overall	15-29	30-45	46-60	60+
More Religious Women	70%	66%	71%	74%	75%
Less Religious Women	64%	63%	65%	63%	68%

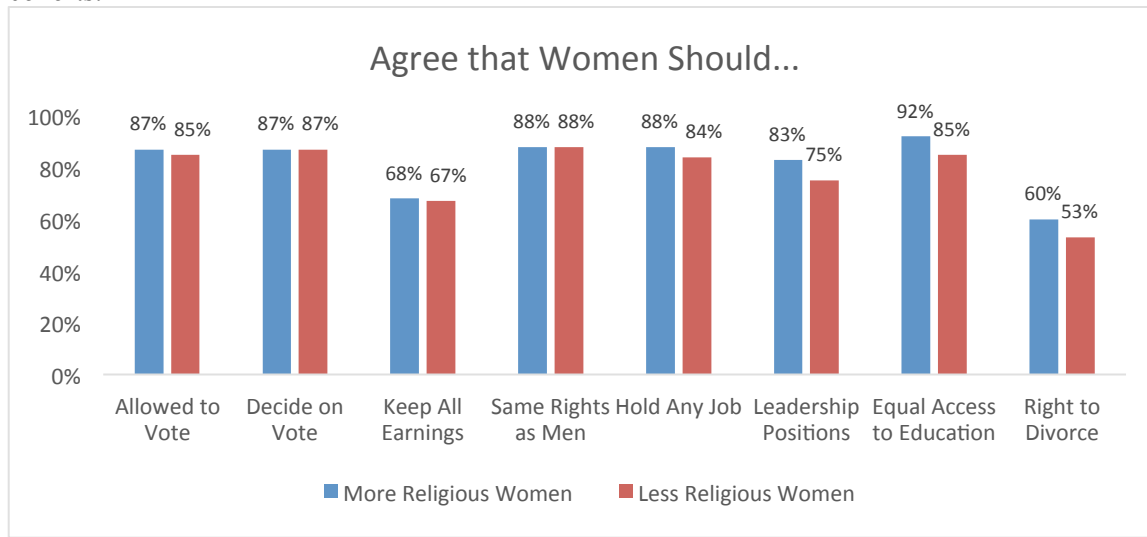|	Women Treated with Respect	
	More Religious Women	Less Religious Women
Balkans	42%	45%
CIS	74%	81%
SE Asia	83%	79%
S Asia	67%	63%
MENA	63%	55%
SSA	62%	66%

There is consensus of approval between more and less religious women on the right of women to vote, with majorities of both groups agreeing. Women further agree, regardless of religiosity, that women should be allowed to decide who they want to vote for themselves. Regarding the right to obtain a divorce, highly religious women are more likely to agree that women should have this right than less religious women. Although driving a car is not a basic right, highly religious women are more likely than less religious women to believe that women should be allowed to do so.

KEY FINDING 5) Religiosity is a source of women's liberation in Muslim-majority countries through jobs and leadership positions, and does not oppress women's rights. Women expressing high religiosity are more likely to agree that women should be able to hold any job that they are qualified for, compared with less religious women. Regardless of religion, similar proportions of women agree that women have the right to keep all of their earnings. Women specifically are asked if women should be allowed to hold leadership positions, and highly religious women are more likely to agree than less religious women.

There is a surprising near absence of statistical differences among the age groups with remarkable consistency on women's rights across generations — including women holding any job and leadership positions.

Jobs in general, and leadership in particular, can be heavily influenced by education and opportunities presented to girls, long before they are eligible to participate in the workforce. All women are asked their opinions about boys and girls having equal access to education. Highly religious women are more likely to agree to equality in education for boys and girls than less religious women. Highly religious older women over 61 years of age are less likely to agree on equal education compared with all other age cohorts.

The uniform agreement among women on the majority of rights suggests multiple conclusions. First is the lack of religiosity affecting women's rights; however, where it does, it is in the direction of more religious women expressing greater agreement in women having or exercising their rights or abilities. Despite the general lack of age differences, when they did occur, they tended to affect more religious women. A second conclusion relates to the definition of religiosity used in the analysis. It is possible that in societies where religious attendance is less expected or encouraged among women, those women who do attend services are generally more empowered than their peers and have a more empowered view of women's rights more generally. These women may already be defying norms to attend service, so they see the role of women in a fundamentally different way than their peers.

Women and Religious Tolerance
Religious tolerance differs by gender and by religiosity. For our purposes, religious tolerance is measured through two different sets of items. The first is items asking opinions of members of various religious groups. The second set contains five items where respondents rate their level of agreement on a scale of "1" (strongly disagree) to "5" (strongly agree):

- I always treat people of other religious faiths with respect.
- Most religious faiths make a positive contribution to society.
- I would not object to a person of a different religious faith moving next door.
- People of other religions always treat me with respect.
- In the past year, I have learned something from someone of another religious faith.

The following analysis focuses on the respondents who indicated "strongly agree" answers to each item.

Religiosity and Tolerance

The focus of the analysis explores the views of women in Muslim-majority countries who are more or less religious, as indicated through religious attendance. **KEY FINDING 6) Religiosity is positively related to religious tolerance and less likely to lead to very negative views of other religious groups.**
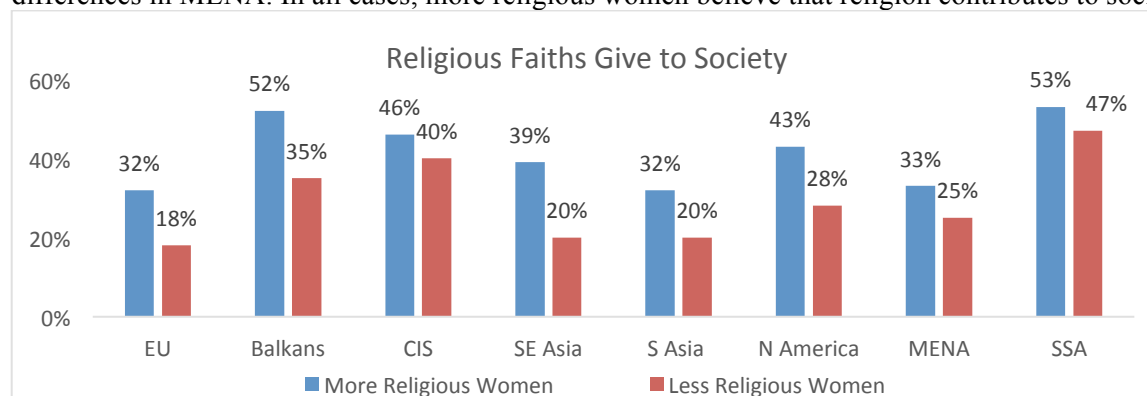
Tolerance is more likely to be expressed by highly religious women. For example, highly religious women are more likely to strongly agree that they have learned from a person of other faith compared with less religious women. They are also more likely than less religious women to strongly agree that they treat people of other faiths with respect and to strongly agree that religious faiths give to society. Highly religious women are more likely to say they have no objection to neighbors of other faiths compared with less

Religious Tolerance Items: Strongly Agree Responses

religious women and to strongly agree that people of other faiths respect them. Of interest, overall the item with the most support from all women was treating people of other faiths with respect and the lowest was learning from a person of another faith, an outcome that is dependent on interfaith interaction. In short, while a plurality of women believe they treat people of different faiths with respect, they appear to be lacking in the opportunity to interact in meaningful ways to gain from relationships with people of other religions. The consistent divide between more and less religious women on all items also suggests that being deeper in one's own faith is related to more openness toward those of different faiths.

On the perceptions of other religions, highly religious women are more likely to say they have very positive views of Christians than less religious women (17% vs. 8%). In contrast, less religious women are more likely to say they have very negative views of Jews than highly religious women (39% vs. 30%). Interestingly, the less religious women are more likely to say they have very negative views of atheists than highly religious women (54% vs. 47%)

Of the five tolerance items, the one with the greatest difference between more and less religious women is the item about religious faiths giving to society. There are differences on this item in all regions except SSA. The most extreme differences are noted in the Balkans and Southeast Asia, with far smaller differences in MENA. In all cases, more religious women believe that religion contributes to society.

Religious Faiths Give to Society

Tolerance and Age: Referring to only women in Muslim-majority countries, the analysis then focused on younger versus older respondents and examined them by religiosity. There are no age differences for any of the five tolerance items among the more religious. The same was noted for the less religious women. Among the less religious women, those 61 and older are less likely to have very negative views about Jews compared with the youngest less religious women and the middle-aged less religious women (both 40%). Among less religious women, those 61 and older are least likely to be very negative in their personal views of atheists compared with the youngest or the 30 to 45 age group.

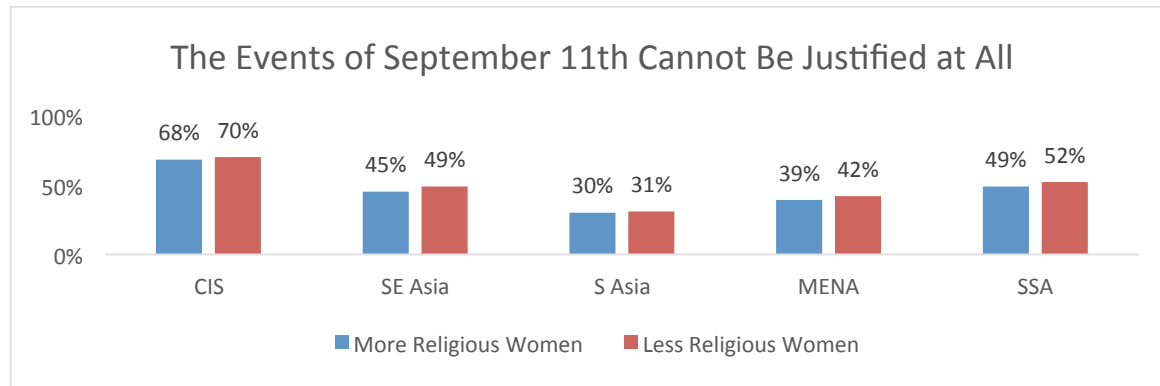|	More Religious Women Overall	15-29 More Religious Women	30-45 More Religious Women	46-60 More Religious Women	61+ More Religious Women	Less Religious Women Overall	15-29 Less Religious Women	30-45 Less Religious Women	46-60 Less Religious Women	61+ Less Religious Women
Percentage of Women Expressing Very Negative Views of Each Religious Group										
Jews	30%	32%	29%	30%	24%	39%	40%	39%	40%	29%
Christians	17%	18%	17%	10%	14%	8%	20%	19%	13%	13%
Atheists	47%	48%	47%	49%	39%	54%	55%	55%	53%	44%

Religiosity among women in Muslim-majority countries is generally associated with higher religious tolerance across all ages, and in all regions. Very negative views of other religious faiths are more pronounced by less religious women in the cases of Jews and atheists, but less in the case of Christians. This suggests that tolerance may not be universally expressed among different groups, and that it is not expressed consistently (even among more religious women) in every region.

Terrorism and Security

In addition to general women's rights, the analysis further explored differences in the views of women in Muslim-majority countries regarding security and terrorism based on religiosity. Three items specific to terrorism are fielded to women in Muslim-majority countries. They are asked if they feel the events of September 11th in the USA could be justified, if attacks on civilians could be justified and if they believe that their government is doing enough to fight terrorism.

Religiosity and Terrorism
Data suggest that less religious women take a stronger stance against terrorism. Less religious women are more likely to say that the events of 9/11 cannot be justified at all when compared with more religious women (47% vs. 42%). There are no differences among age groups within either the more or less religious groups. **KEY FINDING 7) More religious women are less condemning of terrorism.** The same trend is found with attacks on civilians, with less religious women reporting that these cannot be justified at all more often than highly religious women (67% vs. 57%). Less religious women are also more critical of their own governments, reporting that government efforts to fight terrorism are not enough (29% vs. 43%) when compared with highly religious women. Among more religious women, there are age differences with women 15 to 29 most likely to say that the government is NOT doing enough to fight terrorism, significantly higher than all but the 61 and older group, who are most likely to report "don't know." Less religious young women also stand out in their lack of satisfaction with government efforts to reduce terrorism, but they are only significantly higher than the 46- to 60-year-old women who say the same.

The Events of September 11th Cannot Be Justified at All

Region	More Religious Women	Less Religious Women
CIS	68%	70%
SE Asia	45%	49%
S Asia	30%	31%
MENA	39%	42%
SSA	49%	52%

Further exploring women's views on conflict, less religious women are more likely to say that military attacks on civilians are never justified (compared with more religious women -- 29% vs. 43%). Highly religious women differ and are more likely to say that not living in harmony cannot be justified compared with less religious women (38% vs. 30%).

Religiosity and Security

Moving from broad-based opinions on terrorism to safety and security in daily life, women are asked about their safety and security in the local areas where they live. Highly religious women are more confident in their local police than less religious women. Religious women are also more likely than less religious women to report that they felt safe walking alone at night in the area where they live. Compared with actual experiences, the sense of safety expressed by religious women is conflicted. **KEY FINDING 8) Religiosity acts as a buffer for criminal victimization.** When asked about assault, highly religious women are more likely to report that they were assaulted or mugged in the last year compared with less religious women. Similarly, when asked about theft of property or money, highly religious women are more likely to report having money or property stolen from them than less religious women.

	More Religious Women Overall	Less Religious Women Overall	All CIS Women	ALL SE Asia Women	ALL S Asia Women	ALL MENA Women	ALL SSA Women
Confident in local police	64%	57%	55%	80%	50%	68%	54%
Feel safe walking alone	65%	55%	57%	77%	57%	51%	55%
Money or property stolen	14%	10%	7%	8%	10%	15%	21%
Assaulted or mugged	7%	4%	2%	2%	4%	6%	14%

Perhaps the greater sense of personal safety and security, despite victimization, is evidence of religion as a way to feel safe and secure regardless of, or in spite of, one's environment. Across terrorism and personal safety, religiosity is associated with key differences, projecting less condemnation of terrorism, but a greater sense of personal safety.

Conclusion

Muslim-majority countries share one common thread – religion. But they are in very different places geographically, with differing cultural norms, development paths and socio-economic platforms for women in their populations. The vast majority of all women in these countries express the importance of religion in their daily lives, but those also attending services in the past seven days are different. They indicate higher religiosity, allowing for an exploration of how higher religiosity is related to political issues, religious tolerance, women's rights, terrorism and security.

Women who are more religious in these countries are complex. On one hand, they are more religiously tolerant, but less condemning of terrorism. They are more supportive of women's rights, religious leaders in government and Sharia, and they are also most supportive of basic legal rights of speech, assembly and religion. They are more victimized (via theft and assault) – yet say they feel more secure.

In societies such as Muslim-majority countries where religion is a prominent part of public life, and perception or the general appearance of piety carries considerable socio-political and cultural capital, religiosity can be used as a source of empowerment for women, and as a justification for some of the more misogynistic realities that women endure. Both feminists and misogynists hold claim on the power of religion to justify their viewpoints on various topics. The manner in which religion is associated with all of these factors — a cause, an effect or merely a covariate of some other socio-economic factor — is beyond the scope of this paper, but the mere systematic and consistent nature of the relationship warrants further research.

Appendix A.

Region	Design Effect	MOE	Countries				
Middle East North Africa	1.328	0.004	Egypt Turkey Kuwait Syria Palestinian Territories	Morocco Iran Libya Iraq	Lebanon Yemen Oman United Arab Emirates	Saudi Arabia Algeria Qatar	Jordan Bahrain Tunisia
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.466	0.005	Nigeria Burkina Faso Ivory Coast	Tanzania Sierra Leone Sudan	Mali Chad Senegal	Mauritania Comoros Guinea	Niger Djibouti Somaliland region
Balkans	1.737	0.017	Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Kosovo		
Commonwealth of Independent States	1.342	0.009	Kazakhstan Uzbekistan	Kyrgyzstan Turkmenistan	Azerbaijan	Tajikistan	
Southeast Asia	1.501	0.015	Indonesia	Malaysia			
South Asia	1.489	0.011	Pakistan	Bangladesh	Afghanistan		
Northern America	1.599	0.016	United States	Canada			
EU	1.567	0.008	United Kingdom Italy	France	Germany	Netherlands	Spain

Theological Trends Of Women To Build Peace In Africa

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Globally, women are utilizing the four pillars of United Nations Resolution 1325; prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery. These four pillars serve to fulfil the pledge to women's rights and peace. Areas of the world such as Africa have recently been the site of a growing number of international and global projects to promote peace. International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), which tracks global conflicts, states that African conflicts spiked from 1998 to 2011 are now trending downward. The United Nations (UN) has played an essential role in assisting with the reduction of discord in various regions of the world. It has also formed a resolution for women concerning peace and security. Acknowledging the distinct impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the UN has called for the adoption of a gender perspective to consider the individual needs of women and girls during a conflict. It also addresses needs during repatriation and resettlement, rehabilitation, reintegration, and post-conflict reconstruction during conflicts (p.6, Haywood and Marshall). Fortunately, in Africa women in large numbers are engaging in religious peacebuilding. Unfortunately, women are often invisible in many contemporary religious faiths where men tend to dominate.

This paper will concentrate on the region of Africa where the relationship between religion and peacebuilding has increased with female participation. The paper will also highlight the current theological trends and the challenges that women in Africa have faced in the consolidation of peace. Additionally, recommendations will be discussed along with the advantage women in the military can offer toward the process for peace.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL TRENDS IN AFRICA TRANSFORMATION

Historically, religious peacebuilding has been used in societal conflicts. Religion is a powerful component of cultural standards and principles. Bringing women into the decision- making process of peacebuilding can be an intimidating mission due to African cultural, political, and tribal restrictions. The lack of formal education can be a hindrance to peacebuilding. Women participation can assist in alleviating conflicts before one can start. Presently, female religious leaders along with faith-based

organizations are now providing a voice for each stage of conflict, prevention, mediation, and resolution. Both entities are working on peace education, conflict prevention, and mediation. Also, both are engaging in an extension of their traditional relief. In post-apartheid South Africa, 70 organizations joined the Women's National Coalition, outlining the sovereign rights for women in the "Women's Charter for Effective Equality". The charter addressed the women's protected right to education, liberties to free expression, choice of religion, and safety.

The role of female religious leaders has transformed into an advocacy for political and human rights. Throughout religious practices, women are regularly disregarded in formal religious settings. Today, many women are holding formal leadership status and have critical roles in several interfaith institutions. Lesser marginalization has released women from institutional restrictions and allowed them to work resourcefully to build peace. Scholar Cynthia Sampson classified advocates as concerned with the empowerment of the weaker portion of society in a time of conflict. Often women also find themselves taking the lead as political leaders. Women have the tendency to contribute to the peacebuilding process by basing it on their integrity and commitment to their community. In Liberia Ms. Leymah Gbowee is an example of a woman's faith and commitment to her community. Liberian social worker Leymah Gbowee was instrumental when she brought women in her church together to protest the war. She appealed to the Lutheran Church and recruited several hundred Christian and Muslim women. Additionally, she worked with journalist Janet Johnson Bryant on the radio to encourage the women at the capital Monrovia to speak out for peace. The women along with Gbowee demanded peace from the President Charles Taylor and the warlords. The women's actions contributed to ending the Liberian war. Ms. Gbowee won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011. Ms. Gbowee is an example of a path-breaking woman who has achieved formal recognition for peacebuilding.

Transformation of the current process of peacebuilding continues with women participation by utilizing the ability to reach across enemy lines to communicate. It is able to reach all conflict participants in a tense environment and to mobilize the women in the community. Peace negotiations in the past often failed, but it has been noted women have a positive influence on the outcome and with the advancement of security and stability through mediation. Women in Uganda were able to participate in peace talks between the Ugandan leadership and Lord's Resistance Army. The Lord's Resistance Army is one of Africa's most infamous armed factions. Talks for compensation for victims of violence, which included accessibility of heath care and education were secured but never implemented. Betty Bigombe a woman of faith was influential in seeking peace. As a former Ugandan government minister she negotiated directly with rebels and government leaders. After living for a period of time in the United States she returned to Uganda to lead the negotiations. She was willing to leave her love ones behind in the U.S. to provide a considerable contribution to bringing Uganda closer to peace.

WOMEN WORKING IN NETWORKS

The works of women who build peace from within religious communities are generally overlooked. Historical tendencies of male domination in security matters and violent conflict specifically accentuate women's invisibility (p.5, Hayward and Marshall). African women have taken peacebuilding into their own hands by representing themselves in large numbers. A collection of women led organizations from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have worked for peace in an assortment of ways. The DRC works in the eastern areas of the Congo and confronts the brutality and sexual assault against women that continues. Women peace builders in the DRC are combining direct action to support the victims of violence with powerful advocacy for action at national and international levels (p. 17, Hayward and Marshall).

Liberian women worked in large groups to bridge ethnic and religious differences to move their country toward peace. They took their fight to the streets in Liberia and worked outside of formal negotiations and secured peace to end their country's destructive civil war by forming the Liberian Women's Initiative

(LWI) to address their frustration. The LWI asked each of their representatives to pray for peace every night at ten o'clock to demonstrate unity in their cause to stop suffering and war.

More women networks and organizations are forming to disseminate information to their communities. The LWI paved the way for the Mano River Women's Network (MARWOPNET) (p.7, Hayward and Marshall). The power of the network was apparent in the Mano River Women's Peace Network. The network grew to put an end to fighting and suffering caused by their country's war. The MARWOPNET proved to be a significant connection to women in the West African region, bringing peace and serving as the official party to the Liberian peace agreements.

Another Liberian women's alliance, which was instrumental in bringing Muslim and Christian women together was the Liberian Women Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET). Many of the members were supporters of peace during the initial civil war and placed pressure on President Taylor to be present for peace talks. Leymah Gbowee and a chosen group of women from WIPNET monitored negotiations. Liberia proved women were able to stretch beyond religious and cultural dissimilarities to find mutual ground in the peacebuilding process.

CURRENT TRENDS IN TODAY'S MILITARY:

With the United States military's participation in building for peace, female chaplains can play a vital role in the peacebuilding process. Female chaplains are now serving in combat roles to act as advocates for women marked by their country's conflict. The recent conference for U.S. and South African Military Chaplains was held to join in "spiritual strength." The chaplains from both countries were able to collaborate during Exercise Allied Spirit IV, which took place in Germany. The American and South African chaplains met to establish a goal to build a relationship with shared and common interests. Allied Spirit IV is designed to prepare forces in Europe to operate together by exercising tactical interoperability and testing secure communications within NATO Alliance members and partner nations (Curchin, p.2). The training involves military chaplains to experience scenarios in simulated villages during hands-on training.   Participant U.S. Army Staff Sgt. Crystal Jones, chaplain, witness, coach, and instructor, wants to build religious support for an enhanced team approach. It is the hope with the growing number of female chaplains that women will be able to participate actively in the dialogue and be a part of a team that improves peacebuilding.

In conjunction with female chaplains, the use of Female Engagement Teams (FET) is essential for successful peacebuilding. The teams engage in outreach and dialogue while meeting with women in the community. With the team's interaction, women in the community speak of their concerns and provide their perspective. The teams also gather information without infringing on the cultural norm of the population. Initially, FET was used in Afghanistan and was very successful. The Female Engagement Teams can be utilized in Africa where cultural and tribal standards often limit direct interaction with men and women.

Furthermore, as a direct result of the U. S. military's increased involvement in peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance operations, women are now more likely to engage with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), private voluntary organizations (PVOs), and international organizations (IOs) (p. 2, McLaughlin). Nongovernmental organizations such as altruistic institutions benefit when women participate in the early stage of mediation. Regrettably, the amount of time of female involvement is contingent on military policy and doctrine.

 CHALLENGES WOMEN FACE IN PEACEBUILDING:

Women bring a different approach to peacebuilding because of life experiences and experiences faced by conflicts. The largest challenge comes from religious institutions, which often deter women from

leadership positions. Women do not receive the recognition in the peacebuilding process. Little attention has been paid to religious sources organizations and the religious dimension of women's work for peace. The role of religion in conflict and peacebuilding has received greater attention in recent years, as has the role of women in promoting peace (Hayward and Marshall, p.3).

Lack of attention has led to the failure to understand the character of the conflict. Careful observation will aid in promoting reconciliation that will lead to end conflicts. Additional challenges such as secular and religious efforts for peacebuilding are not well defined, integrated and organized. Additionally, the lack of support from external resources and peacebuilding training is prevalent among women who work toward building peace.

Militarily, significant obstacles remain. The relationship between nongovernmental organizations and chaplains are hindered due to inefficient military policy. The U. S. Navy policy and doctrine should be updated to allow chaplains to become involved in areas outside the strictly "religious", which would bring synchronization at the policy and doctrine level between the Navy, Marine Corps and Joint Task Force (McLaughlin, p. 3).

RECOMMENDATIONS:

To help women to overcome the challenges they face to build peace, women will need to continue networking across religious and cultural differences. Training should be initiated by women, to prepare organizations and all players in the peacebuilding process. The training will improve the ability to advocate their stance to the active participants (official and government). Donors and international organizations are also a central part of the support for women peacebuilding networks. International participants can enrich the knowledge of women's work in peacebuilding with religious organizations.

It is important to build bonds to connect women organizations and networks from nonreligious and religious groups. It is also important to hear the voices of women who have endured the tragedies of conflicts. This knowledge can lead to preventing the exclusion of women in peacebuilding. Evidence from around the world and across cultures shows the integration of women and gender considerations into peace-building processes will help promote democratic governance and long-term stability (United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, p 5). Women in Darfur through their devotion are an example of providing gender expertise in peacebuilding. They were crucial to the African Union-mediated talks, introducing critical issues into conversations that were previously disregarded. Building bonds and bridges can help with the coordination and incorporation of both secular and religious establishments.

Women that are a part of the military should be careful of cultural and societal differences, especially in areas of peacebuilding. Military women can be very useful in the appropriate areas of the peacebuilding operation. Compassion, sensitivity, and understanding cultural differences will assist them in relationship building that allows them accessibility to political and governmental leaders and populations.

CONCLUSION:

Today, the theological trends in women's peacebuilding have positive consequences to women's complete empowerment. Women's social and economic responsibilities are amplified and provide women with life-skills, which offer financial security. One tremendous impact achieved is long-term financial independence. In Rwanda, more women than men survived the conflict bringing a shift to more women in government and commercial positions. The change produced advancement to women to institute their rights during peacebuilding. Gender-based concerns such as domestic violence, social, and economic constraints must be placed as a part of the peacebuilding agenda. Moreover, the documentation of the results of the link between religion and women will improve the outcome of peacebuilding efforts; as well as recording their peacebuilding accomplishments. Lastly, the military can enhance peacebuilding operations in Africa. Most noted female chaplains have the advantage to be valuable contributors to progressing peacebuilding efforts. In addition, military units like the U. S. Marine Expeditionary Brigade Female Engagement Team can engage African women to advocate for successful peacebuilding.

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The 'Gulabi Gang' Model of Gender Justice and Security

Hayat Alvi

ABSTRACT

This analysis proposes the dynamic "Gulabi Gang Model" (GGM) of gender justice, which operates in extremely conservative, rural parts of India and has achieved remarkable success for women's rights and gender justice. This study also presents an assessment of the U.S. Marine Corps Female Engagement Teams (FETs) in Afghanistan, and lessons learned from the failure of U.S. policies and strategies to embrace gender justice and women's empowerment as a true part of the mission. FET involvement in future conflicts and post-conflict societies can entail self-defense training, legal advocacy, and gender justice activism through interagency efforts in coordination with local NGOs (the "FET Partnership") in order to help indigenous girls and women learn and utilize the methods of the Gulabi Gang Model. The GGM is presented here as a "portable" model for women's activism and pursuit of justice that can be applied anywhere in the world, including in some of the most patriarchal societies that are hostile towards women's rights and empowerment. The U.S. FETs and interagency can play a significant role in applying the Gulabi Gang Model in such societies. Failure to do so would mean mission failure.[1]

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[1] The views and analyses presented in this paper are personal.

"People are sad when a girl is born"

– Sampat Pal, founder of the Gulabi Gang

Sampat Pal, founder and leader of the Gulabi Gang[1]

INTRODUCTION

Women and children generally suffer the most in conflicts, wars, post-conflict societies, and as refugees. They are the most vulnerable to poverty, violence, sexual assaults, trafficking, exploitation, and oppression. Time and again critical opportunities have been lost in Iraq and Afghanistan wherein coalition forces and interagency efforts could have proactively assisted women and girls in achieving justice and gaining their human rights. It is imperative to comprehend lessons learned for future U.S. and coalition policies, strategies, and approaches to engaging with and assisting female populations in conflict, post-conflict, and refugee domains. Failure to do so will clearly lead to mission failures.

Consider this story. In March 2015, a young Afghan woman was literally beaten to a pulp by a mob of angry men. A local conman falsely accused Farkhunda Malikzada, 27, of burning a Quran, and "many of

her killers filmed one another beating her and posted clips of her broken body on social media. Hundreds of other men watched, holding their phones aloft to try to get a glimpse of the violence, but never making a move to intervene. Those standing by included several police officers."[2] Afghanistan still falls far too short in rule of law and accountability. Many of Farkhunda's murderers were let off or received lighter sentences upon appeal. This is despite her horrific murder and posthumous lynching being caught on video and broadcast in the global media.

> In the videos, Farkhunda seems at first to be screaming in pain from the kicks, but then her body convulses under the blows, and soon, she stops moving at all. Even when the mob pulls her into the street and gets a car to run over her, and she is dragged 300 feet, the police stand by. By then, she was little more than a clothed mass of blood and bones. Yet still more people came to beat her.[3]

According to the *New York Times*, "Farkhunda's death and the legal system's response call into question more than a decade of Western efforts in Afghanistan to instill a rule of law and improve the status of women. The United States alone has spent more than $1 billion to train lawyers and judges and to improve legal protections for women; European countries have provided tens of millions more."[4] However, implementation on the ground is grossly deficient and subject to institutionalized misogyny. This is a serious problem in South Asia. Misogynistic and predatory attitudes and behavior routinely victimize women and children. The "rape epidemic" in India alone constitutes the tip of the iceberg when it comes to deep-seated misogyny and chauvinism, from the bottom up and also the top down in South Asian judicial, law enforcement, and social structures. This is why a gender justice system is desperately needed in South Asia, and virtually everywhere globally, especially in conflict and post-conflict societies.

This analysis proposes the dynamic "Gulabi Gang Model" (GGM) of gender justice, which is utilized in extremely conservative, rural parts of India and has achieved remarkable success for women's rights. This study is also an assessment of the US Marine Corps Female Engagement Teams (FETs) in Afghanistan, and lessons learned from the failure of U.S. policies and strategies to embrace gender justice and women's empowerment as a true part of the mission. Moreover, this study posits that FET involvement in future conflicts and post-conflict societies can encompass self-defense training, legal and law enforcement assistance, and gender justice activism through interagency efforts in coordination with local NGOs in order to help indigenous women learn and utilize the methods of the Gulabi Gang Model. The GGM is proposed here as a "portable" model for women's activism and pursuit of justice that can be applied anywhere in the world.

The thesis of this study proposes that, since the Gulabi Gang has been created and operates successfully in one of the most hostile, conservative, patriarchal, and rural parts of India, which layers gender injustice with the Caste system, this model can be applied anywhere else, including in conflict, post-conflict, and refugee societies, wherein girls and women are most vulnerable. The U.S. FETs and interagency can play a significant role in applying the Gulabi Gang Model in such societies and domains.

In addition, conflict resolution cannot be fully successful without women's involvement and participation. The GGM provides the ideal mechanism and opportunity for gender justice and conflict resolution, and the U.S. FETs and interagency can play crucial roles in getting women involved in conflict resolution processes. These are all interdependent variables, for, without women's entry into and participation in conflict resolution processes, there cannot be gender security and justice. Also, all too often women have to struggle to gain that entry to begin with. This is where the GGM's application is vital, as it provides the mechanisms for women's collective action to gain that entry into male-dominated domains, which are pertinent to conflict resolution outcomes affecting women as well as society in general.

First, the reader will gain an understanding of the story of the original Gulabi ("Pink") Gang in India, describing its background, roles, operations, goals, and leadership. The organization currently has gained such national notoriety that even a documentary film has been made about its groundbreaking gender justice achievements in a fiercely anti-women environment and its fearless founder and leader, Sampat Pal. Second, this study focuses on the FETs in Afghanistan, and presents ideas for their future roles in applying the Gulabi Gang Model during and after conflicts. Finally, conclusions are presented about the potentials for the FETs and interagency to use the GGM in future conflicts, as part of conflict resolution processes, rule of law for gender justice, and women's empowerment.

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

This study utilizes content analyses of primarily qualitative data, and also bases analyses on the author's expertise in Middle East and South Asian Studies, Islamic Studies, Human Rights, Political Economy, Conflict Resolution; numerous travels to India and years of experiences in the Middle East. In addition, the author has interviewed U.S. military personnel who have experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The analysis is based on the developmental theory of economics Nobel laureate Amartya Sen. His *Social Choice Theory* posits that without freedoms, there will be no socioeconomic progress, and hence, individuals and society cannot progress if they are not granted the freedoms to make choices. Dr. Sen combines economics and philosophy, with the premise that "ethics and a sense of common humanity" contribute to social justice and equality.[5] Specifically, Dr. Sen's theory has "increased awareness of the importance of respect for human rights for socioeconomic outcomes – challenging the proposition that growth should take priority over civil and political rights, while highlighting the role of human rights in promoting economic security, and the limitations of development without human rights guarantees."[6]

Along these lines of social choice and human rights, the premise of this analysis is UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which:

> Reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Resolution 1325 urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in all United Nations peace and security efforts. It also calls on all parties to conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict. The resolution provides a number of important operational mandates, with implications for Member States and the entities of the United Nations system.[7]

This study also asserts that the concept of "gender justice" is inherent within Sen's Social Choice Theory and UNSCR 1325 principles. Gender justice refers to: "equality of access and the good of individual choice."[8] In other words, gender *in*justice deliberately imposes disadvantages on the basis of one's gender. One of the most notorious places for gender injustice in the world today is rural India.

The (In)Famous Gulabi Gang in India

The Gulabi (Hindi for "pink") Gang exists in one of the most traditional societies in the world, yet this all-women's advocacy group is successful in establishing self-defense, building self-esteem, and demanding justice. It also provides a means for poor, underprivileged low-caste women who are often targets and victims of abuse, rape, exploitation, and oppression to stand up to perpetrators and society with dignity.

The Gulabi Gang operates in a society steeped in the Caste system, poverty, and deep prejudices against females. India embodies the alarming trend of female fetus abortions, commonly referred to as "selective abortion." This is a society in which misogynist attitudes are prevalent and gender mainstreaming is still a long way off. In that regard, since the Gulabi Gang operates there with considerable success, the model can be applied practically anywhere, including in conflict zones that the United States has recently experienced, like Iraq and Afghanistan. The GGM is desperately needed in both countries, particularly in Afghanistan, where the misogynist legacy of the Taliban still lingers as an ominous shadow.

The Gulabi Gang website homepage describes the organization's beginnings and its interventions for achieving justice:

> The Gulabi Gang is an extraordinary women's movement formed in 2006 by Sampat Pal Devi in the Banda District of Uttar Pradesh in Northern India. This region is one of the poorest districts in the country and is marked by a deeply patriarchal culture, rigid caste divisions, female illiteracy, domestic violence, child labor, child marriages and dowry demands. The women's group is popularly known as Gulabi or 'Pink' Gang because the members wear bright pink saris and wield bamboo sticks. Sampat says, 'We are not a gang in the usual sense of the term, we are a gang for justice.'

> … Today, the Gulabi Gang has tens of thousands of women members, several male supporters and many successful interventions to their credit. Whether it is ensuring proper public distribution of food-grains to people below the poverty line, or disbursement of pension to elderly widows who have no birth certificate to prove their age, or preventing abuse of women and children, the Pink sisterhood is in the forefront, bringing about system changes by adopting the simplest of methods - direct action and confrontation.

> Although the group's interventions are mostly on behalf of women, they are increasingly called upon by men to challenge not only male authority over women, but all human rights abuses inflicted on the weak.[9]

Sampat Pal has experienced hardship and gender injustice in her own life. She was born a Dalit[10] in 1958, the daughter of a poor shepherd in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh in a rural village within the Banda district. She learned to read and write from her brothers who attended school while she tended the livestock. She always expressed great enthusiasm for education, so "one of her uncles took the initiative to enroll her in school. After having studied up to the fourth standard, she was taken out of school and married off to an ice-cream vendor at the tender age of twelve. At 15 she became a mother and went on to raise five children in the next few years. She worked as a government health worker but resigned her job later to become a social crusader."[11]

Although Sampat Pal has always been conscious about gender justice, the impetus for her activism originates with her witnessing a man beating his wife, and when she intervened, he abused her too. The following day, Sampat Pal returned with a group of five women and a long bamboo stick in her hand, "and gave the rogue a sound thrashing."[12] The entire village buzzed with the story of Sampat Pal's brave

intervention, and throngs of inspired women came to join her informal team, for which she created a uniform, a pink sari for each woman, to foster a sense of unity and purpose.

Sampat Pal and the Gulabi Gang have won numerous awards and recognition in India. Filmmaker Nishtha Jain has produced a documentary about Sampat Pal and the Gulabi Gang, entitled, "Gulabi Gang."[13] The film chronicles Sampat Pal's life and motivations for creating the organization. It also provides astonishing audio-visual insights into the harshness of her birthplace, Uttar Pradesh, and the difficulties that the women face on a daily basis.

The Indian state of Uttar Pradesh (UP), among the poorest, has a population of about 200 million, and suffers terribly from food scarcity, "more severe than in sub-Saharan Africa."[14] The region is "one of the most crime-ridden," with some of the most notorious bandits operating in rugged rural badlands. Men with rifles slung over their shoulders are common sights. In fact, "vast swaths of Uttar Pradesh are widely considered, even by the government, to be 'lawless'."[15] Sampat Pal describes women as "living in slavery." In addition to general abuse and oppression of girls and women, and unabashed favoritism of boys, the region is known for child marriages, forced marriages, revenge against couples who elope (which can result in murders, referred to as "honor killings"), and "dowry deaths," which is "the killing of a daughter-in-law who did not bring a high-enough dowry with her after marriage."[16] Killing a bride to replace her with another one with more dowry money is also common. The UP police are useless:

> After an aspiring officer has paid his way into a post, he remains loyal to his political backers, whose favor he has effectively purchased. 'It has become obvious that the police cannot be neutral. Either you comply with every order from the political masters, or you have some strong backing of a leader who protects you. That is how policing is done here,' said one superintendent of the UP police during an interview for a Human Rights Watch report.[17]

The police typically harbor deeply feudal, patriarchal/sexist, and caste-based biases. Hence, law enforcement, due process, and justice are hard to come by, and girls, women, and the lower castes are particularly vulnerable to abuses at the hands of the police and hired thugs that politicians employ. In such formidable environments Sampat Pal has taken a stand for the poor, underprivileged, and girls and women. "If all of the police in Bundelkhand know about the Pink Gang, it is because Sampat first made a name for herself and the Pink Gang at [this very] local police station, causing the very highest members of the country's political elite [the Gandhi family] to sit up and take notice."[18]

Sampat Pal actively recruits women into the Gulabi Gang, and calls on her recruits to recruit other women. She rallies her troops with songs she composes about affirmative action and women's empowerment. Many, if not most of the women in her organization and would-be recruits are illiterate, but the oral tradition is strong in rural villages. Singing songs helps to not only recruit more members, but also facilitates a deeper understanding about the plight of girls and women and the need to fight for gender justice, empowerment, and rights. Here is an example of one of her songs:[19]

> *Wake up, wake up you Indian women*
> *This is era to become awake*
> *We should do our job, where sisters can work*
> *We won't call men there*
> *We will solve our problems on our own,*
> *We will make our lives better*
> *The time has come to wake up,*
> *We will educate both girls and boys together*
> *We will allow no difference between them, we will improve their lives*
> *The time has come to wake up*

Source: http://eyeforaneye.vice.com/gallery/the-gulabi-gang

Sampat Pal's leadership is strong, assertive, effective, and fearless. She keenly understands the advantages of collective action. With unwavering determination, Sampat Pal and the Gulabi Gang have brought to justice the most corrupt politicians, police officers, abusive husbands, rapists, oppressive and corrupt land owners, utility suppliers (e.g., electricity companies), food suppliers, abusive employers, and criminals. The Gulabi Gang instills hope for the victims and delivers on promises made to achieve justice. This model is desperately needed in countless parts of the globe, and especially for women and children suffering in conflicts and post-conflict societies.

Women's activism during and after conflict is not a new phenomenon, but it is still in early stages of building momentum, impact, and effectiveness, especially in "traditional societies." Scholars Joyce Kaufman and Kristen Williams refer to women's political activism, in particular, as "the range of actions women take in responding to conflict and war in their societies, which include engaging in peace activism, nonviolent resistance in support of one side of a conflict, and becoming armed combatants and even suicide bombers or martyrs."[20] In these contexts, women "demonstrate their agency to act."[21] This role as "agent" is crucial for women in traditional societies as well as in wars and conflicts, wherein women are specifically victimized and marginalized even in the conflict resolution process.

Women's activism takes place in both formal and informal spheres and processes. Also, women's political activism during conflict "must continue in the post-conflict period for a state or society to recover successfully from war and begin the difficult work of reconstruction and peacebuilding."[22] An example of such women's activism is the Israeli feminist organization "Women in Black," created during the first *Intifada* (Palestinian uprising). Women in Black hold silent vigils and public protests to oppose "any manifestation of violence, militarism or war."[23]

Women need collective security, as rape as a war weapon has only increased. In fact, "even when wars end, rape continues,"[24] as reports and data indicate. For example, NGOs and agencies in the Congo "report high levels of rape in areas that are quite peaceful now."[25]

There is a dire need for women and girls to protect themselves from sexual violence, both during conflicts and wars, and during peacetime. The statistical data pertaining to rapes during conflicts is presented in Table 1.[26]

Table 1: Rapes during Conflicts

Conflict	Estimated Rapes
Second Sino-Japanese War, Nanking, 1937	20,000 (*estimated 200,000 sex slaves were then provided for the Japanese army during WWII*)
Soviet army in Germany, WWII	100,000 – 2m
Pakistani army during the Bangladesh war of secession, 1971	200,000
Bosnian War, 1992-95	20,000
Sierra Leone civil war, 1991-2002	50,000+
Rwandan Genocide, 1994	500,000

Source: "Violence against Women: War's Overlooked Victims," *The Economist,* January 13, 2011: http://www.economist.com/node/17900482."

Civilians fleeing conflicts are also raped, and the numbers are only increasing. Even in refugee camps, women and girls risk violence and rape.[27]

Sampat Pal and the Gulabi Gang routinely take on rape cases and seek justice for the victims. Activists in India emphasize that, "a strong Pink Gang is needed now more than ever," because –

> The challenge criminal politicians pose is a national problem. Fueled by the vast fortunes that can be made from the economic liberalization of the 1990s, politicians are becoming more rapacious in their exploits.

> This may be the main reason why life in India is steadily worsening for women, who suffer the most when the police and judiciary systems are corrupted. Rape is now the fastest-growing crime in the country. In the past four decades, the number of reported rapes has shot up by 792 percent. Conviction rates, however, are dropping. A similar story is found in domestic violence, which has climbed by 30 percent in the same time period. Across the board, crimes against women have been increasing.[28]

The Pink Gang "helped women to participate in public life, made them confident about themselves, and taught them that they, too, could have power and a voice, even in Bundelkhand."[29] Such activism is desperately needed throughout South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East and North Africa, not to mention globally.

The United States can help in these causes, and the resources and skills for assisting women's activism based on the Gulabi Gang Model are available. One tool in the U.S. toolbox is the Female Engagement Teams (FETs), which the U.S. and coalition forces utilized in Afghanistan.

FETs in Afghanistan and the Gulabi Gang Model

The U.S. Marine Corps has utilized Female Engagement Teams (FETs) in Afghanistan, based on the relatively successful model of female search teams, called the "Lionesses," in Iraq. The latter were created in order to search female civilians in Iraq for security, since cultural protocols did not permit males to search females. However, the roles and responsibilities of the FETs in Afghanistan expanded to include interaction with local Afghan women. This is meant to collect information and to develop rapport with the local women.

Assisting indigenous women with empowerment and human rights have not been part of the FETs' roles and objectives, but in hindsight, the U.S. and coalition forces (ISAF) missed a huge opportunity for furthering a more gender-inclusive democracy and human rights in Afghanistan. They also missed the chance to undermine the Taliban and other misogynist forces, which has been the stated goal of the post-9/11 mission. The ISAF mission and efforts in Afghanistan have been far from successful when it comes to women's rights, security, and gender justice.

The Regional Command Southwest (RCS) Press Room, which covers the Afghan provinces of Helmand and Nimroz, describes the FETs as follows:

What They Do:

- The Female Engagement Team conducts outreach primarily through interaction with women and children to learn about and report information on the local population.

- This information is then used to implement community development programs that will serve the needs of that specific local area.

- Another advantage of this team is their ability to gather and communicate information to women without violating cultural standards of the local population.

Who They Are:

- The Marines selected for the team were screened for strong leadership skills, physical fitness, and the ability to confidently interact with diverse groups of people.

- Training consists of classes on culture and language, instruction on how to conduct engagements, and combat skills (including weapons handling, personnel searching, and patrolling). FETs need to truly understand the culture, practice and ways of Afghan life, since making a sound connection within Afghan communities is key to their success.[30]

Some examples of FET operations in Helmand and Nimroz include FETs arranging for micro-grants for local women; conducting several health initiatives in education of children and women "on basic medical and hygiene practices;" assisting a female Afghan National Police officer in arranging meetings with local women to discuss important issues; working to establish "a center for women where they can receive vocational and literacy training;" working with local leaders and district governor to help create economic opportunities for women; connecting local women to their government representatives; assisting in developing local female leadership; and increasing the Provincial Council's "awareness of the concerns and needs of the communities they support and represent."[31]

MSgt. Julia Watson, who writes about FETs, says that, "There is a direct relationship between the security of women and the security of states … the physical security of women is a better predictor of state security and peace. For this very reason the Marine Corps needs to take a progressive role in the training and employment of increasing female engagement efforts in Afghanistan."[32] She warns that failure to do so "could keep us fighting Taliban in Afghanistan for decades."[33]

The critical problems arise when FETs in Afghanistan are unable to protect the women with whom they engaged. Afghan women have been beaten or intimidated for far less perceived transgressions, and in this regard, FET engagement "must be thoughtful and well planned so as to not place Afghan women in jeopardy."[34] This is why it is so important for indigenous women to take the lead in this process, and where the Gulabi Gang Model (GGM) can be useful. Afghan girls and women desperately want security, literacy, education, justice, and rights. FETs, through interagency and NGO coordination, can assist in assessing the priorities and desires of local female populations, while placing indigenous women in the lead for achieving them.

MSgt. Watson expresses that, "Essentially FETs are planting 'seeds of hope' among the women" in Afghanistan. Yet, the FETs program needs significant improvements, as she emphasizes: "If Afghanistan's stability depends on the Afghan women's involvement in democracy, and economics, then our female engagement effort needs an overhaul before we continue to unnecessarily put Marines' and Afghan lives at risk."[35] This is consistent with Sen's Social Choice Theory of socioeconomic development, and this is where the GGM can come into play, as the FETs can provide support, education and training, and facilitate civil engagement in times and places of conflict as well as in post-conflict societies and in refugee camps. But, only indigenous women must comprise the leadership and membership. FETs can coordinate with NGOs and interagency programs on the ground to facilitate these civil affairs processes in order to launch a local GGM, which would then take the lead and provide collective security, self-defense, advocacy, and activism on behalf of girls and women suffering in conflict and post-conflict societies.

First, however, the FETs need organizational and operational improvements, as well as strategies to ensure that the stigma of local indigenous women dealing with "foreign female troops" does not undermine these efforts and programs. The local GGMs cannot afford any backlash from society and/or other elements that resent their interactions with Western military and civilian agencies and organizations. There can be horrendous consequences for the indigenous women, as Paula Holmes-Eber, Professor of Operational Culture at the U.S. Marine Corps University, explains:

> I have interacted with a number of women who have been on the FETs in Afghanistan. Many of the female Marines on the FETs expressed serious concerns about the long term negative effects of these teams. In several areas where FETs engaged with local women, after the FETs left the area, the Afghan women were mutilated or killed for interacting with the American military … Furthermore, probably for good reason, many Afghans saw the FETs as military intelligence gathering teams. They mistrusted the FETs, did not want their women to participate, and the presence of the FETs led to rumors that the military and the U.S. wanted to subvert Afghan culture by empowering the women and making them spy on the men. The result was increased hostility to the military in the area, undermining the long term goals of the military units there.[36]

However, this is precisely the reason why the GGM is needed, and behind the scenes the U.S. FETs in coordination with the U.S. Department of State / interagency and indigenous NGOs can provide the education, training, resources, and skills needed for setting up local Gulabi Gang-type of women's groups. They can come to the aid of girls and women in need of protection from criminals, gangs, rapists, and the abusive men and women in their lives. Because of the threats of endangering women, the FETs do not need to operate overtly on the ground. They can operate less visibly through coordination with

local NGOs and interagency. Once a local GGM is successfully launched in one district or village, that GGM can recruit and establish others in neighboring areas. In India, Sampat Pal helped establish various Gulabi Gang "chapters" through recruitment and appointment of regional "commanders." The same concept can be applied elsewhere.

Sociologist Sippi Azarbaijani-Moghaddam specializes in gender and society, and she has expertise in gender protection and participation specifically in Muslim contexts. She has conducted in-depth analyses of U.S. FETs in Afghanistan. In her findings she contends that:

> Women's groups and gender issues in general were given a polite nod from time to time, … but addressing them seriously would have meant entering human rights territory, which ISAF did not wish to do. In 2009, however, ISAF took a radically new approach when it started setting up FETs; small teams of women soldiers tasked with engaging the female part of the Afghan population. Talented and resourceful young female soldiers were put on the ground in Afghanistan to engage influential Afghan women who were supposed to turn the counter-insurgency tide by creating a groundswell of support for ISAF and the Afghan government.[37]

UNSCR 1325 provides the primer and international mandate for FETs to facilitate the participation, empowerment, and security of women in conflict and post-conflict societies. Not only that, UNSCR 1325 even outlines the interagency coordination for these missions and goals.[38]

Unfortunately, the ISAF gender advisers were few in numbers, and ISAF's focus in Afghanistan was reversed: instead of women's empowerment and protection, the focus was "winning hearts and minds" and gaining civilians' support by engaging with Afghan women and men. The rhetoric has touted a mission "to save Afghan women from the Taliban." In reality, the goal was to bring civilians into the ISAF/Afghan government camp and against the insurgents.[39] In Azarbaijani-Moghaddam's view, it was a "publicity stunt" to engage with Afghan women. "It was clear that the concept of FETs was focused on ISAF expectations of tactical gains, *rather than what would actually benefit Afghan women*. There was little understanding of the complexities of operating in a largely conservative, rural area like Helmand."[40] Azarbaijani-Moghaddam says, "While COIN doctrine acolytes in Afghanistan saw women as the mass oppressed by the Taliban who could be encouraged to rise up, FETs were instructed not to get involved with social engineering and women's rights, which is contradictory, since the 50% of the critical mass desperately needed that approach."[41] She goes on to say that the FETs were frustrated because they could not go into women's rights territory; FETs were not able to liberate Afghan women, and were told not to get involved in that domain.[42]

Colonel Joe Follansbee (USAR-Ret) did two tours in Iraq. In an interview he responded enthusiastically about the Gulabi Gang Model for women's activism for empowerment and gender justice in conflict and post-conflict societies. Colonel Follansbee says:

> I observed a Shia farmer (in Iraq) beating the six women of his family who were working too slowly in a field (presumptive reason), extensively beating all of the women and girls with a two foot length of garden hose. The women were dressed wholly in black and wore burkas (full body veils with faces covered). This beating took place continuously for over 30 minutes, and he spared none of the women and seldom took breaks. Their screaming was horrible. I observed only the last ten minutes. This happened outside the perimeter of a principal U.S. base in the farmed fields surrounding it. The U.S. guards wanted to engage the farmer; our rules of engagement forbade this. My presence was required to enforce the rules of engagement on American soldiers who like me were both heartbroken and sickened by this domestic situation.

… I believe that due to the strong culture of total male dominance in Iraq over women, the insurgency would have been incited further and grown faster had the United States government in any way been perceived as empowering women through the creation of an indigenous Gulabi Gang. However, had this been imposed in a manner that clearly separated responsibility away from the U.S. […], I believe that the empowerment of women would actually have increased the likelihood of the U.S. winning the hearts and minds of the populace significantly.

I believe that as the U.S. refines its approaches to rebuilding nations after the lessons learned of OEF/OIF, that there should be a blueprint for future interventions that hugely focuses on winning the hearts of minds of a nation through in part the aggressive empowerment of women, and that the Gulabi Gang model should absolutely be a part of any future such vision or plan.[43]

When asked if, after viewing the Gulabi Gang website, he thinks that model could be replicated in other societies, Colonel Follansbee replied: "Absolutely, without question. But not if injected by Americans or Christians in nations within which the majority population is hostile towards Americans or Christians." As a result, it cannot be overt "provocation," or else the mission fails.

The next question was: "With the U.S. and ISAF's pullout from Afghanistan, Afghan women will be extremely vulnerable. They desperately need a 'Gulabi Gang' model throughout Afghanistan. What do you think?" Colonel Follansbee said:

Without question this is a superb idea.

I believe that using a 'win the hearts and minds' approach, and having this Gulabi Gang model endorsed by the United Nations or prominent NGOs (Red Cross, Red Crescent, Doctors without Borders, etc.), and 'injecting' this model into all of the aforementioned locations is a superb idea. The manner of insertion likely needs to be culturally sensitized for each individual culture, but the thematic reality would be very similar … The implementation is likely best done (or can only be done) under international auspices.

I believe that empowering women is always going to increase the likelihood of success if it's done in a manner that's not 'reversible.' From my standpoint, a dictator would reverse a 'Gulabi Gang,' but a fledgling democracy would most likely or certainly benefit from it while its legal institutions were maturing.

FET involvement in the Afghanistan campaign not only lost sight of this greater goal, but, in fact, by the end of 2012 the U.S. Marine Corps "ended its use of female engagement teams in Afghanistan, saying their work is now performed by Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF)."[44] The ANSF does not have women's rights and gender justice at heart. The work of the fledgling democracy is just beginning. Ending the FETs there is premature.

FETs can discretely coordinate with local NGOs and interagency to provide the desperately needed training, education, skills, and tools for indigenous women to serve as "agents of intervention" against abuse, violence, rape, and gender injustice. Table 2 outlines the major tasks that a GGM established in any locale need to achieve and how the FETs and their interagency/NGO teams can help.

Table 2: FETs and the GGM: Tasks and Teamwork

TASK	DETAILS
Self-Defense & Collective Security	FETs are ideal for training girls and women in self-defense, personal security, and protection during conflicts and in peacetime.
Legal Advocacy	FET coordination with Interagency (IA) and local NGOs (the "FET teams") can create a network for local women to employ lawyers pro bono or with reduced rates.
Investigations	The FET teams can assist in networking and employing law enforcement and legal investigators on behalf of women.
Media & Marketing Savvy	The Gulabi Gang's leadership rallies reporters to cover interventions. The FET teams can assist women in learning how to network with and employ the media on their behalf. This is essential for publicizing their activism.
Police Cooperation	The Gulabi Gang exerts pressure tactics on police in order to cooperate in investigations, release innocent prisoners, and arrest the real perpetrators. The FET teams can provide training and education of local women in these tactics.
Nonviolent Demonstrations	Local women need training and practice sessions in nonviolent demonstration tactics and strategies.
Political Savvy	Politicians are not always supportive of women's rights and empowerment. Local women need skills in interacting with and effectively lobbying politicians at local and national levels. They also need encouragement to participate in politics and to encourage other women to do so.
Financial Savvy	Local women need financial independence, and the GGM also needs its own resources. The FET teams can assist in educating women about how to attain these goals.
Recruitment Savvy	The GGM relies on recruitment of women and also of supportive men. The FET teams can assist in recruitment tactics.
Literacy, Education, & Tech Savvy	Girls and women need literacy and education. Also, the GGM requires Internet skills. The FET teams can educate local women in basic literacy and help attain an education, and train them in modern technology.
Intervention Savvy	Women in the GGM will need to learn the most effective intervention skills and tactics.
Medical Savvy	Local women need training and education in basic medical emergency skills, as well as in tactics for pressuring police and other authorities to provide medical services for victims of abuse, rape, violence, and anyone in need.

Table 2 describes the tasks, goals, and organizational needs of the GGM, which can be applied to societies suffering from wars, as well as to the conflict resolution process, and in post-conflict societies. The need for the GGM has never been greater.

CONCLUSION

With the help of the FETs, U.S. agencies, and local NGOs, cases in which foreigners have played significant roles for gender justice advocacy can be handed to indigenous women to take the lead. For example, American lawyer Kimberley Motley has helped girls and women in Afghanistan for several years. In a recent case, she negotiated the return of a six-year-old girl (named Naghma) to her family after her father married her to the son of his creditor, to whom he owed $2,500. Ms. Motley "arranged an assembly of Afghan elders known as a *Jirga*, and managed to get Naghma out of the marriage and back to her family. An anonymous donor then paid off Taj Mohammad's (the child's father) debt."[45]

This is a scenario in which local Afghan women can serve as "agents of intervention." This is also the sort of activism that the Gulabi Gang engages in daily. That is why the Gulabi Gang Model is appropriate and effective. The assessment reports pertaining to the FETs in Afghanistan clearly indicate that women's rights and gender justice have not been taken seriously, despite the FETs' desire to be involved in these causes. There is no other solution except to facilitate the activism of indigenous women for achieving gender justice. The FETs can play a significant role in that regard, and they have the UN mandate for this goal.

Human rights and justice are fundamental desires of humankind. Women and girls are often denied basic rights and justice. All of society benefits when everyone is granted the freedom to make personal choices, as Sen's Social Choice Theory articulates. This is true in peacetime and in times of wars and post-conflict transitions. Societies cannot progress – socioeconomically and otherwise – if significant demographics are repressed. If the Afghanistan mission has neglected human rights and justice for girls and women, and their representation in conflict resolution, then history is destined to repeat itself. The Taliban will be re-empowered, and the female population will once again become their primary targets of repression. Then, Afghanistan is back to square one.

The Gulabi Gang Model's mission seeks to achieve gender justice and women's empowerment, and this prototype can be applied successfully in conflict and post-conflict societies anywhere. The model provides a means for women to directly participate in the conflict resolution process, and assert their rights and freedoms, including the right to justice. What can be more important for national and international peace and security?

"Wear a pink sari and carry a big stick"[46]

Sampat Pal Devi, Commander-in-Chief, Gulabi Gang, India[47]

End Notes

[1] Image Source: http://eyeforaneye.vice.com/gallery/the-gulabi-gang.

[2] Alissa J. Rubin, "Flawed Justice after a Mob Killed an Afghan Woman," *The New York Times,* December 26, 2015: http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/27/world/asia/flawed-justice-after-a-mob-killed-an-afghan-woman.html?_r=0.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Jonathan Steele, "Food for Thought – The Guardian Profile: Amartya Sen," *The Guardian,* March 30, 2001: http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2001/mar/31/society.politics.

[6] "Economic Theory, Freedom and Human Rights: The Work of Amartya Sen," ODI Briefing Paper, *Overseas Development Institute (ODI),* November 2001, p. 1: http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/docs/2321.pdf.

[7] UNSCR 1325, Office of the Special Adviser on Gender, Issues and Advancement of Women, New York: The United Nations, October 31, 2000: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/. UNSCR 1325 also provides the INTER-AGENCY coordination framework for implementation: "In order to ensure collaboration and coordination throughout the United Nations system in the implementation of the Security Council resolution, the Interagency Network on Women and Gender Equality established the Interagency Taskforce on Women, Peace and Security which is chaired by the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. As of 2004, the Taskforce includes representatives from DAW/DESA, DDA, DPA, DPKO, DPI, ESCWA, ILO, OCHA, OHCHR, OHRM, OSAGI, SRSG/CAC, UNDP, UNFPA, UNHCR, UN-HABITAT, UNICEF, UNIFEM, UNU, WFP. Observers: IOM and the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (Hague Appeal for Peace, International Alert, International Women's Tribune Centre, Women's Caucus for Gender Justice, Women's Committee on Refugee Women and Children, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)."

[8] Anca Gheaus, "Gender Justice," *Journal of Ethics and Social Philosophy,* vol. 6, no. 1, January 2012 (p. 1): http://jesp.org/PDF/gender_justice_finalized.pdf.

[9] Official Website of Sampat Pal Devi, Founder of Gulabi Gang, India: http://www.gulabigang.in/. It is equally important to involve men as part of the support team and effort. Viewing the Gulabi Gang website tells us that they have only "several men" supporting them. In a country of more than one billion, it is extremely sad commentary that only several men officially support the Gulabi Gang Model (GGM). Women's empowerment and rights are obtained by both proactive women and men. While the GGM requires women's leadership and primary membership, more male recruitment in supportive roles is needed.

[10] The lowest caste in Hinduism; it used to be called the "untouchable" caste.

[11] Ibid., "Team Gulabi": http://www.gulabigang.in/teamgulabi.html.

[12] Ibid, "History": http://www.gulabigang.in/history.html.

[13] It is imperative to watch the film excerpt: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AgnzWyiFmVQ.

[14] Amana Fontanella-Khan, *Pink Sari Revolution: A Tale of Women and Power in India* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Ltd., 2013), 12.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 98. In India, arranged marriages are the norm, especially in conservative, rural areas. The opposite of arranged marriage is called "love marriage," which (from Fontanella-Khan, page 125): "have become a highly contentious battleground on which some of the country's most pernicious practices play out: caste discrimination and the dowry system. Though caste discrimination is outlawed in the Indian constitution, caste divisions in society are maintained through the institution of arranged marriage. Hindus are born into one of four hierarchical castes, which are believed by some Hindus to have originated from various parts of the body of Brahma, the creator-god. According to this account, Brahmins, the priestly caste, originate from his head; the Kshatriyas, the warrior caste, emerged from his

hands; the Vaishyas, or trader caste, from the thighs; and the Sudras, who perform menial labor, from his feet. Hindus born outside of the system are Dalits, formerly known as 'untouchables,' and are traditionally considered the lowest of the low. Within the four castes there are thousands of subcastes – fishermen, laundrymen, leather-tanners – which are traditional hereditary professions that are often revealed by one's last name. For many who live outside urban centers, where social mobility has somewhat diminished its importance, caste determines one's profession, social standing, who one can marry, and even who one can dine with (those with 'dirty' jobs are considered 'unclean'); it is therefore evident that people falling in love and marrying outside of their caste threaten the entire system. Love marriages also undermine the dowry culture, which the bride's family does not pay in the case of love marriage."

[17] Ibid., 35.

[18] Ibid., 36.

[19] Ibid., 88-89.

[20] Joyce P. Kaufman, and Kristen P. Williams, *Women at War, Women Building Peace: Challenging Gender Norms* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013), Preface, vii.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., viii.

[23] Ibid., 1.

[24] "Violence against Women: War's Overlooked Victims," *The Economist,* January 13, 2011: http://www.economist.com/node/17900482.

[25] Ibid.

[26] "Violence against Women: War's Overlooked Victims," *The Economist.*

[27] See "UNHCR Statistics Show Alarming Rise in Rape and Violence against Women in North Kivu," *UNHCR the Refugee Agency,* July 30, 2013: http://www.unhcr.org/51f7ae846.html; "MISP," *Reproductive Health Response in Crises Consortium (RHRCC),* 2011: http://www.rhrc.org/rhr_basics/mispfacts.html; Phoebe Greenwood, "Rape and Domestic Violence Follow Syrian Women into Refugee Camps: Victims Hide their Shame to Avoid Being Stigmatized for Life after Assaults by Marauding Gangs," *The Guardian*, July 24, 2013: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/25/rape-violence-syria-women-refugee-camp; Taylor Hom, "'Living Hell': Somalia's Hidden Rape Epidemic," *World Policy Blog,* October 26, 2011: http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2011/10/26/living-hell-somalias-hidden-rape-epidemic.

[28] Fontanella-Khan, 264.

[29] Ibid., 257.

[30] "Female Engagement Team (USMC)," *Regional Command Southwest Press Room,* no date: http://regionalcommandsouthwest.wordpress.com/about/female-engagement-team-usmc/.

[31] Ibid.

[32] MSgt. Julia L. Watson, "Female Engagement Teams: The Case for More Female Civil Affairs Marines," *The Marine Corps Gazette,* July 2011, vol. 95, issue 7: https://www.mca-marines.org/gazette/2011/07/female-engagement-teams.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Paula Holmes-Eber, Interview (via email), March 24, 2014.

[37] Sippi Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, "The Failure of Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan," Central European University, School of Public Policy, Lecture (download) March 19, 2014: http://spp.ceu.hu/article/2014-03-19/failure-female-engagement-afghnistan.

[38] See Footnote #3 above.

[39] Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, "The Failure of Female Engagement Temas in Afghanistan."

[40] Ibid., emphasis added.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Colonel Joe Follansbee (USAR-Ret), Interview (via email), March 28, 2014.

[44] Dan Lamothe, "The End of Female Engagement Teams," Marine Corps Times, December 29, 2012:
http://www.marinecorpstimes.com/article/20121229/NEWS/212290307/The-end-female-engagement-teams.

[45] Anna Coren, "Six-Year-Old Afghan Girl Saved from Marriage to Cover Father's Debt," *CNN World,*
April 9, 2014: http://www.cnn.com/2014/04/08/world/asia/afghanistan-child-bride/.

[46] Amana Fontanella-Khan, "Wear a Pink Sari and Carry a Big Stick," *Slate,* July 19, 2010:
http://www.slate.com/articles/double_x/doublex/2010/07/wear_a_pink_sari_and_carry_a_big_stick.html.

[47] Image Source: "Gulabi Gang" Campaign: https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/gulabi-gang.

A bright spot in the face of oppression,

Nepali women as a resource for regional stability

CDR Suzanna Brugler, USN

Photo provided by Aarti Chataut

Photo provided by Aarti Chataut

Reuters photo

"I alone cannot change the world, but I can cast a stone across the waters to create many ripples."
― Mother Teresa

A former kingdom that is now a federal democratic republic, post-civil war Nepal has seemingly limitless potential to elevate over half its population[1] – its women and girls – from centuries of severe historical and cultural oppression. But like the great Mount Everest that resides within its borders, are Nepal's deep-rooted patriarchal values insurmountable for even the newly elected woman president to influence change? And as the U.S. continues to foster its "rebalance to the Pacific" global strategy, should the U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM) have any interest in helping Nepal gain ground toward gender equality and empowerment in an effort to increase regional stability?

Strategically, Nepal may have greater value to the U.S. than what previously has been realized, providing more than just regional stabilization. As a nation, Nepal has close, separate ties to both its bordering neighbors – India and China. With an eye toward avoiding the current India-Nepal unrest over Nepal's new constitution,[2] a strengthened U.S.-Nepal partnership could make for greater U.S. influence within the region. And with the recent election of Communist leader Bidya Devi Bhandari as Nepal's first woman head of state, promoting women's rights fits neatly into her long-supported political agenda.[3]

Women, as a gender that comprises 52 per cent of the national populace, are by-and-large an untapped human resource with great stabilizing potential in Nepal, making them a specific target audience in which USPACOM can and should invest. And by utilizing the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (DKI APCSS) as a vehicle for building partnerships and collaborations that work to promote and protect women, the U.S. can emerge as a champion of international women's rights while reinforcing the international rules-based order as a counter-balance to rising China.

Global gender inequality and U.S. national security guidance
Gender inequality is rampant worldwide, whether examining traditional women's roles in Nepali society, or the gender wage gap in the most advanced Western cultures, to include the United States. Drawing on societal effects, the United Nations Development Program states that gender inequality remains a major barrier to human development. According to the UN, girls and women have made major strides since 1990, but they have not yet gained gender equity. This has hampered the development of societies as a whole, which in turn has had an adverse effect on global security.

The World Economic Forum's 2015 *Global Gender Gap Report* revealed that, after a decade of data collection, the gap in health, education, economic opportunity and politics around the world has closed by only 4 per cent, while the economic gap has narrowed by just 3 per cent, suggesting it will take another 118 years to achieve equality.[4] Furthermore, current gender inequalities risk being exacerbated by the coming Fourth Industrial Revolution, as industries are undergoing profound shifts in their business models while technology is disrupting methods of production, distribution and consumption. Tragically, gender gaps are set to increase in some industries where jobs traditionally held by women will become obsolete.

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[1] Population 52.2% female nation-wide, according to *Nepal's National Population and Housing Census* 2011.
http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sources/census/2010_phc/Nepal/Nepal-Census-2011-Vol1.pdf
[2] Foreign Policy, *India Pushes Nepal into China's Arms*, October 23, 2015.
http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/10/23/india-pushes-nepal-into-chinas-arms/
[3] Reuters, *In patriarchal Nepal, first female president works for equality*, November 10, 2015.
http://in.reuters.com/article/2015/11/10/nepal-woman-president-idINKCN0SZ1IR20151110
[4] Financial Times, *Gender gap progress stalling, warns World Economic Forum*, November 18, 2015.
http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/9b4adbfa-8de7-11e5-a549-b89a1dfede9b.html#axzz41EPZpmay

According to the report, the magnitude of national gender gaps is the combined result of various socioeconomic, policy and cultural variables. Governments have a leading role to play as the closure or continuation of these gaps is intrinsically connected to the framework of national policies in place.[5]

Even the United States, which fell eight places compared to last year, ranking 28th out of 145 countries in the study, recognizes the issue of gender inequality as a matter of global security. In December 2011, the Obama Administration released the first-ever *U.S. National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security*. The plan's goal is to empower half the world's population as equal partners in preventing conflict and building peace in countries threatened and affected by war, violence and insecurity. Deadly conflicts can be more effectively avoided, and peace can be best forged and sustained, when women become equal partners in all aspects of peace-building and conflict prevention, according to the plan.[6]

This notion is reinforced in the February 2015 *National Security Strategy* (NSS), which states that the focus of U.S. efforts will be on proven areas of need and impact, such as inclusive politics, reforming security and rule of law sectors, combating corruption and organized crime, and promoting economic opportunity, particularly among youth and women. "We will press for transformative investments in areas like women's equality and empowerment, education, sustainable energy, and governance," says the strategy.[7]

From a security perspective, countries are more peaceful and prosperous when women are accorded full and equal rights and opportunity as men. This concept is reinforced in the NSS, which says, "Recognizing that no society will succeed if it does not draw on the potential of all its people, we are pressing for the political and economic participation of women and girls – who are too often denied their inalienable rights and face substantial barriers to opportunity in too many places."

Gender discrimination in Nepal
Founded as a Hindu caste-based society, Nepal has developed over centuries as a nation of social hierarchies and divisions of deep-rooted and systemic discrimination and exclusion. After the abolition of caste-based discrimination in 1963, social hierarchies remained with the patriarchal system assigning women a subordinate role in society, which was reflected in state-based discrimination. In a series of five-year national plans, 2002-2006 focused on Nepal's Poverty Reduction Strategy. As part of the plan, the government identified social exclusion as a fundamental development challenge and acknowledged that exclusion and the lack of political representation were major reasons for women's deprivation.[8]

A result of deep-rooted social exclusion, Nepali women suffer on various societal levels. Relegated to second-class citizenry, they face gender specific challenges due to having subordinate status in a male dominated society which sees them as primarily home makers and child bearers. Says President Bhandari, "People still think women should only do household work. They are still mistreated, discriminated against and insulted."[9]

Even worse, crimes such as human trafficking, domestic violence and rape are common but rarely reported because victims are afraid of being blamed and ostracized by their family or community. Women also face

[5] World Economic Forum, *Global Gender Gap Report 2015*, November 12, 2015.
http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2015
[6] The White House, *United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security*, December 2011.
http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/email-files/US_National_Action_Plan_on_Women_Peace_and_Security.pdf
[7] The White House, *National Security Strategy 2015*, February 1, 2015.
www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf
[8] Asian Development Bank, *Overview of Gender Equality and Social Inclusion in Nepal*, 2010.
http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/32237/cga-nep-2010.pdf
[9] Reuters, *In patriarchal Nepal, first female president works for equality*, November 10, 2015.
http://in.reuters.com/article/2015/11/10/nepal-woman-president-idINKCN0SZ1IR20151110

discrimination in accessing healthcare, education and employment, and in establishing their rights to property and land. All of these issues contribute to instability in Nepal and across the greater South Central Asia region.

Where USPACOM Strategy and Nepali women's issues intersect
On January 22, 2013, former USPACOM Commander Admiral Samuel J. Locklear III outlined three major components to the *USPACOM Strategy*: strengthening alliances and partnerships, maintaining an assured presence in the region, and effectively communicating our intent and resolve to safeguard U.S. national interests.[10] Of these three components, partnerships have proven critical to establishing regional security, especially in keeping rising China in check, over recent years.

In his February 23, 2016 statement to the Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC), Locklear's relief and the current USPACOM Commander, Admiral Harry B. Harris Jr. told committee members, "USPACOM's forward presence, posture, and readiness reassure allies and partners of U.S. commitment to security in the Indo-Asia-Pacific. Strengthening these relationships is critical to meeting the challenges and seizing opportunities." Harris explained that through bi-lateral and multi-lateral relationships and activities, USPACOM is building a community of like-minded nations that are committed to maintaining the international rules-based order, as opposed to China's non-conformity. "Strengthening and modernizing alliances and partnerships is a top USPACOM priority," said Harris.[11]

With the recent development of internationally renowned criminal and terrorist organizations, most notably the Islamic State, transnational crime is becoming more of a regional concern throughout the world. In his statement before the SASC Harris specifically addressed transnational crime as a USPACOM security challenge. With nearly 36 million victims of human trafficking estimated worldwide, nearly two-thirds come from Asia. Furthermore, he singled-out human trafficking as a women and children's issue, as they – especially those from the lowest socioeconomic sectors – comprise the most vulnerable demographic.

Nepal, unfortunately, is especially vulnerable to the exploits of human trafficking due to its poverty rate, dominant patriarchal cultural heritage, and proximity to human trafficking destination countries. The U.S. State Department's July 2015 *Trafficking In Persons Report* categorizes Nepal as a Tier 2 country according to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000. Tier 2 countries are those whose governments do not fully comply with TVPA's minimum standards, but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards. According to the report, Nepal is a source, transit and destination country for men, women and children subjected to forced labor and sex trafficking.[12]

A recent opinion piece that ran in *The Kathmandu Post* reports, every year it is estimated that between 5,000 to 10,000 Nepali women and girls are trafficked to India for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation.[13] Additionally, UNICEF reports as many as 7,000 women and girls are trafficked out of Nepal to India every year, and around 200,000 are now working in Indian brothels.[14] The *Post* attributes that most girls trafficked are from very poor families and villages where they or their families are lured by false marriages or promises

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[10] U.S. Defense Department, *USPACOM Strategy*, January 22, 2013.
http://www.pacom.mil/AboutUSPACOM/USPACOMStrategy.aspx
[11] U.S. Defense Department, *Statement: Commander U.S. Pacific Command Before the Senate Armed Services Committee on U.S. Pacific Command Posture,* February 23, 2016. http://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Harris_02-23-16.pdf
[12] U.S. State Department, *Trafficking In Persons Report*, July 2015.
http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/245365.pdf
[13] The Kathmandu Post, *Taken from Nepal*, January 31, 2016. http://kathmandupost.ekantipur.com/news/2016-01-31/taken-from-nepal.html
[14] UN.GIFT.HUB, *Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking* website, April 9, 2014.
http://www.ungift.org/knowledgehub/en/stories/September2014/unicef-reports-7-000-nepali-women-and-girls-trafficked-to-india-every-year.html

of employment or education. Yet, the U.S. State Department says that although the government of Nepal does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking, it is making significant efforts to do so. This quality makes Nepal an especially attractive partner for championing women's issues because it demonstrates great potential for improvement plus the willingness to improve.

In his statement to the SASC Harris recognized that, of human trafficking victims worldwide, roughly half of the 36 million are women and children who end up in the commercial sex trade. The rest end up as laborers in factories and farms or as domestic servants, or as child soldiers. Tying back to the overall USPACOM strategy, Harris said, "While much remains to be done, USPACOM forces … are building partner capacity and sharing intelligence in order to combat these transnational threats."

A bright spot in the face of oppression, a TV star brings gender training to Nepal
One partner program that is already making headway toward addressing gender issues in the USPACOM AOR is the DKI APCSS Fellows Project. In his statement to the SASC, Harris declared the center serves as a truly unique venue to empower regional security practitioners to more effectively and collaboratively contribute to regional security and stability. He also affirmed that the DKI APCSS provides added support to the USPACOM mission in several uniquely focused areas, to include as USPACOM's lead in implementing the U.S. National Action Plan mandate to increase inclusion of women in the security sector under the Women, Peace, and Security program. "This center is one of our asymmetric capabilities. No other country has anything quite like it," said Harris.

Established in 1995 and based out of Honolulu, the DKI APCSS's mission is, "Building capacities and communities of interest by educating, connecting and empowering security practitioners to advance Asia-Pacific security." The center's student body is comprised of members of the military or civilian equivalents serving in defense, foreign affairs, or counterterrorism positions, and some civilians who are members of Non-Governmental Organizations or international media.

All students selected to attend extended courses lasting four to five weeks are designated Fellows, who also work on a Fellow's Project during their studies. The greater aim of the Fellow's Project is to improve security sector governance, cooperation and the capacity of countries in dealing with security matters. At the same time, the overarching theme of the Fellow's Project is Comprehensive Engagement, a concept that focuses on creating linkages between American security practitioners and their counterparts in the region while providing a basis for mutual understanding.

This past spring, Nepali television journalist Aarti Chataut graduated from the Fellow's Project program after developing her Project entitled, *Breaking the Silence: Bringing Real Peace to Nepal Through Reconciling the Issues of Wartime Violence Against Women*. Upon graduation, Chataut returned to her native country to advance women's issues, for which she has received national recognition and an award from former president Ram Baran Yadav.

Through her work as a television journalist, Chataut has produced news programs in cooperation with her employer news agency, National Television of Nepal (NTV), to highlight sexual and gender-based violence as it relates to Nepali Truth and Reconciliation Law. In addition, she has accomplished work as a gender analyst and advisor, working for women's rights by giving UN lectures to Nepali government and state officials on behalf of the Nepal Department of Home Ministry. Specifically, she provided three program lectures on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security in the cities of Kathmandu, Chitwan and Dhulikhel, to chief district officers, police chiefs and other security agencies from 25 out of 75 total districts. As recently as December of last year, she worked with former Communication Minister and Nepali Congress leader Minendra Rijal at a workshop and training program on increasing gender sensitivity. Within Nepal's patriarchal society, this body of work is no small feat for a woman.

In her role as a woman journalist Chataut embodies the message that she delivers to her audiences, that empowering women by involving them in the peace-making process is the only way to ensure real and lasting peace. In her Fellow's Project, *Breaking the Silence*, Chataut asserts that the absence of clear statistical data on sex and gender -based violence during the Maoist insurgency (of the Nepali Civil War), and failure to address it as a problem in the subsequent Comprehensive Peace Agreement, has left Nepal in a state of social conflict. Not only were female victims left physically harmed, but debilitated as a result. Worse still, she suggests that if the issue of sexual and gender-based violence continues to go unaddressed, it could lead to the resurgence of yet another violent conflict.

Chataut lobbied hard to deliver on the promise she made upon graduating the DKI APCSS Fellow's Project, which was to develop television programming hi-lighting women's struggle in post-civil war Nepal. After much convincing and demonstration of resourcefulness, she managed to develop a recurring television program focusing on women's issues, a program she directs, produces and presents. The first episode, airing April 14, 2015, was a 25-minute show that featured the Nepali Honorable Minister of Women, Children and Welfare Ministry. On that show, the minister publicly accepted the problem of the blight of Nepali women and expressed her commitment to create an enabling environment for them in the future. The second episode aired the following week, where Chataut expanded on ideas presented in the previous episode and related them to government authority. Although the signal for Chataut's station, NTV, blankets 50 percent of Nepal's total land mass, it reaches up to 72 per cent of the country's population:[15] she has quite an impressive megaphone from which to deliver her gender-promoting message throughout Nepal's mountainous terrain.

Bringing real security to the Asia-Pacific
When considering the value of spending time and energy toward promoting and championing women as a gender rather than addressing broader women's issues such as poverty and human trafficking, some may argue that the resulting impact is so minimal that it is not worth the resource investment. One could say that it is more prudent to invest time and energy toward addressing the issues themselves. To these objectors, I say we should embrace a holistic approach to building relationships, an approach that aims to lift-up targeted interest groups – especially women – to ensure that we are reaching and influencing all layers of the larger global society. The DKI APCSS is already an established vehicle recognized by the USPACOM commander. We should work to develop courses that specifically address women's issues in the region to influence security cooperation at the highest levels and, ultimately, promote a more secure regional environment.

On the surface, breaking down Nepal's ingrained patriarchal society and culture to promote gender equality in the post-civil war era can appear as treacherous and daunting as the towering topography upon which the country resides. However, with the assistance of USPACOM partnership capacity building initiatives, such as the NKI APCSS, we have seen how the empowerment of just one woman is reaching up to 72 per cent of the entire Nepali population. That kind of return on investment is staggering on the macro level, but the same principles can and do apply on the micro level, too.

Women are by-and-large an untapped human resource with great stabilizing potential in Nepal, making them a specific target audience in which USPACOM can and should invest. By focusing on regional partner education and training at the DKI APCSS, and specifically developing collaborations that work to promote and protect women, not only can the U.S. emerge as a champion of international women's rights, but it can also shape and influence the region at a higher level, reinforcing a rules-based order for regional security cooperation.

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[15] According to Nepal Television Website, www.ntv.org.np

PART 3. SPECIAL TOPICS

Ethical Support Of Women In Peace And Security

Jeff McDonald

The Dilemma of Women's Roles in Peace and Security

Men and women constitute a nearly equal percentage of the world's population,[1] and yet most plans, processes, and deliberations regarding peace and security deny women their own agency.[2] Patriarchal cultures, gender role biases[3] and stereotypes contribute to a global phenomenon of non-egalitarian participation [4] of women in diplomacy, planning, resourcing and execution of peace and security.[5] The ethical frameworks of Utilitarianism and Rawls Theory of Justice will provide a basis for argument beyond the consensus of the obvious benefit of women's inclusion.[6] Utilitarianism measures the consequences of decisions with a desire to provide the greatest good for the greatest number of people.[7] Developed as an alternative to utilitarianism,[8] Rawls' Theory is an egalitarian framework providing all people have rights no matter the situation that should not be violated.[9] These ethical frameworks will be used to argue against the continued lack of agency of women in peace and security (WPS).

Following a description of each ethical framework will be a case study providing tangible historical arguments for each of the ethical frameworks as they are applied to the agency of women. The case study of Liberia, which follows the description of the utilitarian ethical framework, provides an example of the utility of women in the peace process. In support of Rawls' Theory of Justice, the Northern Ireland case study provides examples of the greatest good being provided to the greatest number while benefiting the least advantaged members of the society. In combination, the ethical frameworks and case studies provide an argument for the expanded support of WPS through a lens of fairness, equal opportunity and egalitarian representation between men and women.

Utilitarianism

The classical utilitarians Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and Henry Sidgwick, asserted that the right, or moral, decision is one that provides the greatest benefit of happiness or greatest good for the greatest number of people. Within the utilitarian ethical model, people are the means to achieve an end [10] and the decisions made in the use of people will produce consequences. Taking into account the potential short term and long term consequences an assessment is made by the utilitarian as to a decision's current and potential benefit. If the long-term costs outweigh the short term gains the decision is to be rejected. However, if a short term gain is predictable and a future cost is not, the short term gain is selected. This process is common among government officials as they develop policies to benefit the greatest number of people.

Connections can be made for the use of men and women to achieve an end that is peace; that may produce the greatest benefit or happiness to the greatest number of people. The masculine and more hegemonic approach of men, when engaged in a resolution to a disagreement, can result in armed conflict or war as a potential solution to the disagreement. The rate of occurrence of armed conflict and war when the parties involved are homogeneously male is higher than when the parties involved are heterogeneous (i.e. inclusive of women). Empirical evidence is emerging demonstrating the measurably reduced occurrence of conflict within countries that have heterogeneous Parliaments. When countries do possess a Parliament composed of 35% or more women, the risk of relapse into conflict after 15 years or more is almost zero.[11] Political violence is less likely to take place when there is the inclusion of women with an

added correlation between gender equality and reduced political violence.[12] Assuming that armed conflict results in death, it must inherently be less desirable for the greater good than diplomacy, in which zero death occurs. There is a greater utility for the greatest good for the most people when there is a diplomatic resolution to disagreements.

Increased participation and representation of women can have a positive effect in gaining peace and sustaining it thereby producing a greater good for the greatest number. The provision of the greater good for the greatest number of people is the premise of the ethical theory of utilitarianism. The recently published United Nations Report of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security stated that 42,500 people leave their homes each day due to conflict and persecution contributing the over 59 million people identified as displaced in 2014.[13] Since the publishing of this data hundreds of thousands of refugees fled Syria to neighboring countries and Europe. The inclusion of women in negotiations and conflict prevention results in an increased and sustainable peace.[14] The inclusion of women is ethically necessary and will provide the greatest good to the greatest number of people.

The utilitarian theory of ethics considers consequences for the greater good, but projections of future outcomes can be difficult and sometimes downplay potential risks.[15] In the aggregate of including women in peace and security, every outcome is potentially better that the exclusion. In chaos and conflict, the inclusion of women to bring peace to the greater good through the utility of women is observable in what followed in Liberia after the establishment of the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace (WOLMAP).

Liberia
In Liberia after two civil wars, that left several hundred thousand Liberians killed, and as many displaced, women of Liberia formed a grassroots organization to inject their desires to end the violence. The violence affected much of the population; men had to fight, and boys trained as child soldiers. As is the case in many conflicts the women and girls were affected differently from men and boys as they become the targets of unspeakable sexual violence.[16] Leymah Gbowee led women from various churches and faiths to form the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace (WOLMAP) in Liberia.[17] Over time, they were heard and influenced stalled peace talks. Dion citing Jeremy Bentham explained it is necessary, as it was for WOLMAP, for those affected by a decision, to be participants in the provision of their opinion about any decision that may affect them.[18] Initially, the demands of WOLMAP were simply for the negotiators to reach a peace agreement. This would have utility for the entire country to end the bloodshed and war. Their influence in the peace negotiations resulted in the exile of the President Charles Taylor and paved the way for the future election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as the President of Liberia. In her electoral success, Sirleaf became the first ever woman President of any country on the African continent.[19] The women of Liberia proved the utility of their inclusion in the establishment of peace and increased prosperity. Their participation was further increased through the appointment of women to leadership roles and to lead ministries. All of which continues to contribute to peace and increased stability for to the greater good of WPS and the greatest number of people.

Contemporary Utilitarianism
Today there are many nations, the United States among them, that are measured to have gender gaps or fairness and opportunity as presented in the Global Gender Gap Report 2014.[20] Applying the goodness that was obtained in the Liberian example as a result of increased participation of women, it could be argued using the utilitarian theory it is prudent for the wholesale and immediate replacement of 30% of the male politicians for women. The long term goodness that may come of it for the majority meets the criteria for the ethical theory but infringes on the rights of those that currently hold the positions. Infringing on the rights of others is where there are issues with the use of the utilitarian theory of ethics. This theory provides that it is justifiable to harm the individual or the few for the greater good of group or society. For this reason, Rawls' Theory of Justice is an advantageous theoretical framework to augment

utilitarianism and argue for equal rights and opportunity for women in the participation of WPS. With Rawls' theory, justice denies the loss of freedom for some, as right for the gain of the greater good.[21]

Rawls' Theory of Justice
With near parity in gender population around the globe and within the United States[22] equal rights and opportunity should produce balanced participation and economic opportunity for both men and women. The societal presence of gender role bias and various social factors, cultural norms and challenges[23] contribute to lower participation rates of women in positions of influence within organizations than men.[24] Studies provide continued evidence of gender disparities and the domestic gender role assignment to women and the role of breadwinner to men.[25] The reduced presence of women in positions of influence becomes more visible in the field of political representation and business. The absence of women's representation and participation is further echoed in times of crisis, conflict, and war. To gain representation beyond affirmative mandates, the root barriers to women's egalitarian political and business ascension and right to participate must be addressed.

Justice and fairness for the equal liberty and equal opportunities for all people (including women) is supported by the ethical framework of John Rawls' Theory of Justice.[26] Rawls' Theory of Justice examines two conditions; First is the requirement equal and fair opportunity and the second is the need to provide the greatest benefit for society members identified as the least advantaged. The first condition must first be met for there to be a facilitation of the second condition. Gender is not a determinate in the identification of the least advantaged. Inequality of social and economic positions may be the desire of an individual and not an infringement of equal basic rights and liberties of citizens. Rawls explained that there are two measures of the acceptance of social and economic inequalities. The first measure is the presence of fair and equal opportunity for individuals to access desired social positions. The second measure is that when inequalities are present, they work to the benefit of everyone, with emphasis on the least advantaged members of the society. Fundamentally, there are individuals that do not have the propensity to seek the same level of benefits as others. As long as the choice is made by the individual and not being imposed on them, any inequality will then be acceptable as a desired state of the individual.

Rawls further explained the potential social position of each individual should not be preordained as a condition of their birth. Individuals with the same degree of talent, ability and willingness to apply themselves should be provided the same opportunity for success regardless of their initial entry level into any social hierarchy or system. Gender is not a measure of disadvantage, but many surveys provide that women are regularly not provided an equal and fair opportunity for social mobility at the same level as men.[27]

In policy or decision-making, Rawls suggests those involved and affected should imagine themselves all at a common social base removed from their titles, gender, and power, reaching a hypothetical "original position" of justice.[28] Visualizing a situation in which everyone is equal with an absolute equal potential, including the policy or decision makers, to be affected equally by any decision made, is likely to result in decisions that do not provide an advantage to any individual or group. If men in positions of societal power could be affected the same as women by their decisions the support of various policies, presumably would be different.

The activity of decision making from an original position removes the need for effective leaders to possess empathy, something not usually attributed to men. Establishing an original position removes the need to use empathy and place oneself in another person's position. The policy or decision maker only need to visualize what could happen to them from behind their "veil of ignorance"[29] for justice to be fairly and equally applied to any current or potential condition. The cooperation and terms of agreements would be agreed upon by all creating equal liberty and opportunity for everyone involved while providing the greatest benefit to those members of society deemed as the least advantaged. Seeking social

cooperation and social justice, women of Northern Ireland came together to advanced basic rights and duties culminating in the Good Friday Agreement of 1998.

Northern Ireland

Frustrated by decades of conflict in Northern Ireland, women came together to form the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) in 1996 to challenge the balance of women's "equitable and effective political participation."[30] Rawls' Theory of Justice provides an ethical framework for their representation and participation in representative democracy. Unlike other secular groups, the NIWC was inclusive of women that identified with other groups such as Catholic or Protestant. The formation of the NIWC and subsequent election success helped to pressure other groups to become more inclusive of women as well.[31] As a participative political party, the NIWC was able to advocate for women's interests much more effectively than other forms of outside advocacy could achieve.[32] The involvement of the NIWC in the 1998 Good Friday negotiations and agreement influenced the inclusion of "…reconciliation, mixed housing, integrated education, the rights of young people…"[33] Almost 20 years have passed since the Good Friday agreement. The inclusiveness of women in this process supports the argument that with the participation of women the odds of sustainable peace increase substantially. While the various political groups that participated in the Good Friday Agreement are not known to have overtly used a veil of ignorance to include purposely women, the equality of the agreement supports the premise that it is ethical to support equal liberty and equal opportunities.

Discussion

The global exclusion of women's voices and their denial of self-agency in the participation, protection, prevention of conflicts and post-conflict peacebuilding efforts is void of ethical equity and utility. Armed with the understanding and ability to engage the issue of WPS with the ethical frameworks of the utilitarian theory and Rawls' Theory of Justice it could be argued that men could arbitrate on the behalf of women. Men can empathize and advocate on the behalf of women, but what is their frame of reference for physical abuse at the hands of men, humiliation, rape and any number of other GBSV issues? While men may want to do the right thing and think they are, without a frame of reference, as the saying goes, "they don't know, what they don't know." As Dion referenced Jeremy Bentham, in the necessity for those that will be affected by a decision, their opinion is necessary for any decision-making that may affect them.[34] Rawls takes the next step with equal justice in that no one can be forced to lose freedom for the benefit of the greater good.

There are several different perceptions that WPS is an issue. Some perceptions are that WPS is a feminist movement for women's equality or that it is to ensure the inclusion of women in all military career fields after the repeal of the combat exclusion policy. These views are misinformed, sexist, myopic and potentially xenophobic, WPS is about a perspective. There is further a belief by some men that the inclusion of women is a zero-sum game. Other men see the benefit of having a working relationship that is beneficial to both men and women.[35] Some situations can be made worse through equal work opportunities that provide for women to remain employed as men return from battle. Without employment for men, there is an increased threat of a return to conflict. In conflict areas, if men do not return to employment, their unemployment can contribute to the failure of peace negotiations. Liberia is an example where men came back and resumed some of the tasks being performed by women, and over time peace has prevailed. In some respects, there is a zero-sum equation, but in the US, this is less the case with over 5 million job openings at the end of September 2015.[36]

Conclusion

The world could benefit in many areas, not just in women in peace and security, from the greater employment of ethical frameworks such as the utilitarian theory and Rawls' Theory of Justice. Solutions to complex global problems should attempt to gain the greatest good for the most people while providing

equal justice and the opportunity for everyone. The United Nations Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security is not a panacea for global peace and security, it is not a global feminist movement, and it is not a conspiracy against men. It is an attempt to prevent conflicts, increase equal participation, increase protection of the most vulnerable, increase peacebuilding efforts and advance recovery from conflicts. It is a very complex task that in virtually every area of advancement aligns with the utilitarian theory of ethics in that it provides a greater good for the greatest number of people. Executing anything counter would be to eliminate equal justice and equal opportunity and continue the disenfranchisement of others and be opposed to Rawls's Theory of Justice. It is ethically required that women's inclusion in peace and security is increased. The examples of utility are significant in Liberia and Northern Ireland as well as many other locations around the world. Goodness and justice for the greatest number are found in peace, not in conflict and war.

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Exiting the Trap:

"The Girl Effect" and the Use of Sports in Developing Countries

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Over a billion people, 1/7th of the world's population, live on less than $1.25 a day.   The real tragedy is that this math is not improving. The longer this trend continues its downward spiral, the more divergent this populous becomes from the rest of the globe. In a more or less thriving global economy why would prosperous world powers give a second thought to the role fragile, poverty-stricken states play in the international landscape? According to former World Bank research director, Paul Collier, these post-conflict, frail nation states are poorer now than they were 40 years ago; trapped in one or more of four traps. These traps include a conflict trap, a natural resources trap, a trap of being landlocked with bad neighbors, and a bad governance trap. What if there were a way to reverse this divergence and offer "credible hope" to the "bottom billion" as well as the next three billion who are behind them in limbo awaiting the same fate?   A very viable catalyst for changing this narrative is already resident in these economically weak and unstable cultures.[1]   Wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, girls – women and their participation as impact players can be the tipping point for paroling many of these countries from the poverty floor. I propose an expansion of Collier's identified instrument of charters relating to democracy for developed countries to champion: closing the gender gap in order to have macroeconomic and cultural effect on these failing states.   In order to accomplish this, we will discuss how targeting adolescent girls, or "The Girl Effect," in these developing countries through the vehicle of sports can be that catalyst. When girls in these developing countries are recipients of resources in education, health and an economic investment their chances of preventing child marriage, teen pregnancy, HIV/AIDS and other detrimental outcomes diminish. As these trends improve, the ongoing inter-generational cycles of poverty are broken for them and their countries.   Donor countries like the United States and other developed nations must play a role in seeing this dream realized.[1]

"The Girl Effect" was created by the Nike Foundation in 2008 in collaboration with three other entities: NoVo Foundation, United Nations Foundation and Coalition for Adolescent Girls and launched at the annual World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland that year. The movement wanted to challenge the world to think differently about the role girls play in development. Of the billion people identified as living in dire poverty, 250 million of those are adolescent girls. Nike and its patrons believe these girls can have a profound impact on persistent development issues and if addressed early can change the narrative for themselves, their communities and the world writ large "if" the world listens to them and invests in their potential. Their three reasons why girls should be a focus of development efforts are: 1) Girls are agents of change; 2) people assume girls assume girls are already being reached; and 3) the cost of excluding girls is high. It is the later point that resonates so forcefully. In India over $10Billion in lost potential income to adolescent pregnancy. In Africa girls between the ages of 10 and 16 are five times more likely to die in pregnancy or childbirth than women ages 20 to 24. Worldwide there are still 31 million primary age girls who not attending school; 17 million of those will never attend school. This grassroots movement with the underwriting of the Nike Foundation's powerful portfolio and influence shined the light on these young girls making them and their potential visible and a viable exit strategy for exiting the trap of poverty.[1]

Collier's "traps" as explained in his book, The Bottom Billion, offer a sincere analysis on why these struggling nation states show no promise of restoration without the surgical implementation of various instruments aimed at breaking them out of the traps. Over 73 percent of countries in the Bottom Billion are or within the last seven years or less have come out of a civil war. These wars take a tremendous economic toll on the affected country costing on average $64 billion dollars in continuing high unemployment, slow economic growth, and a dependence on a single commodity export. This vulnerability is exploited by those in power or those wishing to assume power often to the exclusion of other viable commodities the country could use to broaden its economic base further stagnating their overall economic health. These failings are compounded when countries are landlocked, and their neighboring countries do not advocate access to markets for the country in civil war that continues to exacerbate the problem. Some, if not all, of these traps, are underpinned by poor governance that would restore order allowing traction to improve the economic picture.[1]

To counter these traps, Collier suggests developed countries like the U.S., U.K., Germany, Japan, Australia and others must enter into an "alliance of compassion and enlightened self-interest." Donors accomplish this via the solutions sets of aid, military intervention, law and charters, and trade policy where developed countries champion and give priority to developing countries. The alliance of compassion is the open appeal to humanity and the heinousness that over a billion people live in such poverty when others have more than enough to share. But the more intriguing element of the alliance is that of enlightened self-interest. In this venue, developed countries are right to be concerned about the plight of failing states for a variety of reasons both as economic opportunities and global security implications.[1] As witnessed in the spread of violent extremist networks such as Al Qaeda, ISIS, Boko Horam, etc. disenfranchised people with little to no governance are ripe breeding grounds for these networks. The marginalized populous is given security and stability of sorts from an unlikely source in exchange for a platform to espouse rhetoric related to the network's end game. These failing states have become potential GPS coordinates where violent extremist set up shop and use the subjugated, flimsy social structure to launch disruptive operations. That is precisely the reason developed countries must be concerned with frail states. The state that fails today becomes an optimal launch site and base of operations for future violent extremist networks looking to expand their global reach.

In the *World Development Report 2011* the World Bank looked specifically at how frail countries affected by repeated cycles of violence needed the ability or assistance strengthening national institutions in practical ways in order to break these cycles. Breaking the cycle requires improving governance by prioritizing jobs, justice, and security above other pillars and doing so in parallel, not in serial. These three specific sectors made countries more legitimate and capable of providing for their citizens and keeping the violence at bay. Too often, according to then-World Bank president, Robert Zoellick, security is the first and often only sector that addressed. To succeed security needs the compliment of jobs (allowing the people to play a role) or the security is undermined. Countries with balance among these three critical tiers build confidence with the people that is essential to reducing the risks of violence and signaling a positive intent. The World Bank report offered five practical programs to be executed at the national level to link "rapid confidence-building to longer-term institutional transformation" specifically calling out involving women in these sectors as capacity is built in each of the three areas:[1]

- Support for community-based programs for preventing violence, creating employment and delivering service, and offering access to local justice and dispute resolution systems in insecure areas.

- Programs to transform security and justice institutions in ways that focus on basic functions and recognize the linkages between policing, civilian justice and public finances.

• Basic job creation schemes, including large scale public and community-based works that do not crowd out the private sector, access to finance to bring producers and markets together, and the expansion of access to assets, skills, work experience and finance.

• Involving women in security, justice, and economic empowerment programs.

• Focused anti-corruption actions that demonstrate how new initiatives can be well governed, drawing on external and community capacity for monitoring.

Of all the many factors influencing the growth of the United States Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the last 25 years, the addition of women to a sizeable portion of the American workforce accounted for 25 percent of the current GDP increase. What started in World War II (WWII) out of necessity, where women took men's' places in the factory when the men went off to war, has actually been the catapult propelling the U.S. economy to the forefront in the Post-Cold War era. Despite riding very high economically following WWII, the feminization of the workforce has also been the sustainable variable that's allowed the U.S. to ride out market ebb and flows even against notable assaults on our domestic economy. Three key factors played into the increase of women in the workforce: 1) political action on equal rights and discrimination; 2) educational opportunities; and 3) modern technologies that minimized the distractions from women entering the force.[1] When women waited to marry and begin child rearing a larger number of women entered the labor force or pursued higher education and participated at previously unseen levels. Waiting to have children multiplied the available labor participants and increased overall productivity that translated into more goods and services available for both domestic and global consumption.[1]

Following on the heels of the civil rights movement, women in America began to voice displeasure at the inequitable treatment when it came to paying and compensation. Though never fully legislated by 2/3 states ratifying, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) became the anvil many women's issues used to hammer out a new narrative. The ERA was the forerunner to Title IX, a portion of the United States education Amendments in 1972. Title IX has revolutionized an entire generation of young girls introducing and resourcing educational and sports programs. The legislation never specifically mentioned sports, but that is the sector that has benefitted the most from this statute. Participation rates in secondary and higher education sports increased for girls 990% in high school and 560% in college, demonstrating that it was a lack of opportunity, not a lack of interest that kept female out of athletics for so many years prior to Title IX's passage. It succinctly states any school or institution that receives federal funds must not deny benefits or discriminate on the basis of gender.[1]

Title IX not only gave young girls in the U.S. the opportunity to participate in sports at an unprecedented level but longitudinal studies have shown what a marker it has been in the upward mobility of many women in the workforce today. Long heralded as a key to leadership success for men, sports play a crucial role in the development of leadership and team building skills for girls as well. A majority of women surveyed in executive and management roles participated in sports at some point in their lives. More than half of the C-suite women in Fortune 500 companies today played sports at the university level. Even senior leaders in government like Brazilian president, Dilma Rouseff played volleyball. International Monetary Fund Chief, Christine LaGarde was a member of the French national synchronized swimming team. And Former U.S. National Security Advisor and Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice was a competitive tennis player and figure skater as well as concert pianist. Beth Brooke, Global Vice Chair for Public Policy for Ernst & Young said, "Not only do the majority of senior women executives have sports in their background, they recognize that the behaviors and techniques learned through sports are critical to motivating teams and improving performance in a corporate environment."[1]

Besides critical skills valuable in the corporate world, girls who play sports can have a cultural impact on their societies. While most girls who participate in sports never play beyond high school or reach the Olympics, studies show they continue to receive far-reaching benefits throughout their lives and whose effects reinforce and enhance each other with comparable benefits for societies as a whole. The Brookings Institute's Betsey Stevenson, economist and public policy expert, conducted a comprehensive study of the impacts of Title IX and she found that a 10 percent increase in female sports participation generated one percentage point rise in female college attendance and a one to two percent rise in labor participation rates. Girls who play sports do better in school, suffer fewer health issues, are less likely to use illegal drugs, drop out of school and hold higher paying jobs as adults. [1]

The U.S. is not the only country where sport has played a pivotal role in the women's upward mobility. Countries like Germany, Republic of Korea, and Finland have also made great strides in closing the gender gap through the lens of sport. Title IX and its outcomes offer strong evidence of the positive effects of girls' access to sports. But greater than the individual value sports can have on young women, they can also serve as a low-cost catalyst for boosting a country's gender equity levels. The benefit in terms of development for under-producing countries is that closing the gender gap also accomplishes one of the eight United Nations Millennium Development Goals.[1]

In recent history, the use of sport as a development tools has gained much traction especially in "community regeneration, social inclusion, and reconstruction efforts in post-conflict countries." While there is not the same researched body of knowledge in girls participation and overall societal impacts in developing countries as in the U.S. and more developed countries, sport as a general tool in development is on the international development agenda as is closing the gender equity gap. While trade and development have been more traditional engines to re-start failing economies, these methods take longer and require a strategic patience by both the host and the donor to see changes that can take a generation or more. An example of the organizational energy being applied through sport is the 2005 the United Nations Year of Development and Peace through Sport and the 2006 World Economic Forum both focused efforts to leverage "cultural and social capital" to promote social and economic development. Sport has long been a vehicle used by states to foster development specifically with disparate groups. In more recent efforts sports has been used as a more palatable and covert means of diplomacy without the excess baggage that often comes with foreign policy negotiations. This attempt at "social cohesion" can facilitate a plethora of positive outcomes from conflict resolution to intercultural understanding to building community infrastructure. Sport as seen as a vehicle to reach these developing communities in a way developed countries, multilateral agencies and NGO's never could. Because of its unassuming approach and appeal to many developing countries who can rally around a local soccer match much easier than controversial issues like governance and security, sport may be the catapult needed to drive forward development initiatives starting with the most impressionable and resilient actors in the society – young people. Nelson Mandela said it best, "Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand and creates hope where once there was only despair."[1]

The U.S. Government believes so much in the concept of sport to further foreign policy goals it established a sports diplomacy division inside the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in 2003. Instituted under the Bush Administration when Secretary Powell was at the helm, this division has flourished under Secretaries Rice, Clinton, and now Kerry. "When you empower women to realize their aspirations, you create a better future, not for some, but for all. There is no way to win this battle in countries where women are left behind – you cannot leave half your team off the field and win the game," Secretary of State, John Kerry.[1]

SportsUnited has been the State Department's vehicle to encourage international exchange and efforts to bring the global community together through sports. Inside SportsUnited is the Empowering Women & Girls Through Sports (EWGTS) initiative which helps to "advance the rights and participation of women

and girls around the world by using sports as a vehicle for greater opportunity and inclusion." The components of EWGTS include a Sports Visitors and Envoy Program as well as a mentorship program that connects emerging women leaders from around the world with American women sports executives. These programs are run through the U.S. Embassies overseas and through sport these components teach women and girls about peaceful competition, hard work, leadership, and teamwork – the same values exporting in mass after the passage and employment of Title IX in the U.S.[1]

The efficacy of EWGTS initiative can often be hard to measure in formal Measures of Performance/Measures of Effectiveness (MoP/MoE). SportsUnited's goal in administering these programs is to get into places traditional diplomacy cannot according to May Baptista, SportsUnited Division Chief. Using "soft power" in often hard to reach places is measured in people-to-people engagements that may take years to see the effects. Part of this process is building trust with societies where young women are secluded or prohibited from the same opportunities as their male counterparts. The EWGTS programs target influential people in these developing countries and expose them to the envoy program where they are brought together with other like-minded young women and share their values and aspirations for themselves and their countries. An example of how EWGTS employs this approach is through a partnership they have created with espnW called Global Sports Mentoring Program (GSMP). Young, emerging female leaders from targeted countries are brought to the U.S. for a month where American female executives in the sports sector mentor them on constructing a strategic plan to create sports opportunities for underserved women and girls in their home communities. Mentors include senior executives in business, education, media, and non-profits in the sports industry like Nancy Henderson, LPGA; Julie Eddleman, Proctor & Gamble; and former U.S. World Cup soccer player and ESPN analyst, Julie Foudy. The goal of this mentoring program is to expose these emerging leaders to titans of industry who also are involved in sports and teach them to use their passion for sports to make an even greater impact in their countries when they return home. The result of this program is a global network of strong women leaders in sports whose experiences can translate into success in other underwhelmed sectors of their fragile countries.[1]

One such example from the 2014 mentoring class is Marie Soudnie Rivette of Haiti. Born and raised in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Marie was the youngest of three girls and her parents passed away when Marie was just a teenager. Marie used this loss as motivation for her life. During this difficult time, Marie found strength in her faith and through sports then in 2010 Haiti experience the worst earthquake in its history which killed more 220K people. Marie knew that once essential service were re-established the country needed to rebuild and she saw a tremendous need in the area of human rights of women during the reconstruction process. Accepted to the mentoring program in 2014, Marie was paired with Marie Rodriguez and Heidi Levine of DLA Piper, an international law firm where she learned valuable skills and how "use the tools and resources available to influence public perception, to connect people, and to promote social change." Now back in Port-au-Prince Marie would like to create sports programs for the young people of Haiti. The programs would promote analytical skills in addition to the development of general life skills, with the ultimate goal of creating active and empowered citizens.[1]

The Public Diplomacy Council ranked the US Department of State and espnW Global Sports Mentoring Program—the flagship component of the Empowering Women and Girls through Sports initiative—as the ninth best diplomatic accomplishment in 2013.

To assist in monitoring and evaluating the long-term impact of these programs SportsUnited/EWGTS have also partnered with the University of Tennessee's (UT) Center for Sport, Peace, & Society to illuminate the follow-on practices after these young women return to their home countries and work to establish their strategic plans. Dr. Carolyn Spellings, Co-director for UT's Center for Sport, Peace & Society describes how evaluation and monitoring work for GSMP.

> When evaluating our programs we use measures of growth in leadership, confidence, and
> perceived ability to make a difference in one's community using sport. For the adolescent

girls who attend our programs, we also use a measure of self-esteem. We see all of these constructs as indicators of agency and empowerment…In addition, we follow up with our participants after they return home to see if and how they are using sports to make a difference in their communities. These follow-up interviews/visits give us confidence that participants can take the knowledge and skills we teach in our programs and use them to benefit women and girls when they return to their communities.[1]

Though to date there has been little rigor applied to developing quantitative measures related to the direct impact of sports diplomacy and more specifically empowerment at the individual level that later contributes to a societal gain, UT's Center looks to use their monitoring and evaluation as a means to apply longitudinal conclusions on how these programs affect girls in developing countries and go beyond just the individual results to actually affecting outcomes in their societies over time. Young girls who are not forced early into irreversible outcomes like child marriage and teen pregnancy and are given access to education (at least seven years) marry an average of four years later and 2.2 fewer children and have a higher labor participation rate. Economic indicators clearly show female labor participation rates improves overall GDP on average of 1-2 percent a year.[1]

The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 well over 15 years ago which emphasized how important women's participation in all areas of peace and security – conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding. Most recently in September of 2014 the UN has updated its efforts by adopting Resolution 2178 which called for further promoting women's empowerment to halt the spread of violent extremism witness at the hand of violent networks like Boko Haram and the thousands of young girls who have been massacred and raped at their hands. As a result of decades of activism this "revolutionary idea" – that peace is inextricably linked with equality between men and women.[1] A large body of evidence shows that this empowerment of women that starts with girls can have a profound impact on economic growth, labor participation, and higher GDP. Unlocking this equality particularly in fragile post-conflict states can be the key to exiting the trap of continued poverty divergence building peace and ending the violence. While drone strikes and boots on the ground seem like the most kinetic way to combat the post-conflict failed state threat, perhaps the most effective use of force is the positive use of a workforce where gender equality is the atmospherics that achieve the desired effects to raise these frail states out of such poverty.

In Collier's discussion of how developing countries and the development world can apply policy instruments to counter the traps that keep the "bottom billion" in a perpetual state of poverty he also lays out an agenda for action. Taking the instruments of aid, military intervention, trade policy and law and charters, Collier asserts that while the "bottom billion" is a complex problem it is not insurmountable. The charters most specifically outline how the rest of developed nations should responsibly share the burden with developing countries as our fates are globally intertwined. He proposes charters for natural resources revenues, capital investments, and democracy (checks and balances). It is this last charter area of democracy I posit that needs to be expanded to include measures to ensure gender equality are in place in order to have a multiplier effect as developing countries attempt to climb out of these traps. This first step in addressing gender equality is taken by the international community "promulgating" this change as a public good and reinforcing the idea that girls who are given access to a variety of means (education, training, healthcare, safe environment absence of violence) can also make provide an "engine for growth."[1] In many ways, sports offer the accelerant for that engine. This is best encapsulated in the candid words of Geraldine Bernando, an alumni participant of the GSMP from the Philippines.

"You can never live a life just for yourself. And this is my new purpose – to use sport to bring about peace and healing to girls and women in my country. It is obvious to me now that this is my purpose. I don't have to be in government, I don't even have to own an organization, but this is what I can do as one woman, and it's the greatest honor that I can ever have – to help my country."[1]

Improving women's health through global health engagements:

Implementation of the US National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security

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Abstract

In support of the seven United Nations resolutions on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS), the United States (US) instituted a national action plan outlining guidance on how departments within the interagency can implement WPS objectives. This paper discusses relevant health issues concerning women in military and peacekeeping environments, and proposes military-to-military and military-to-civilian global health engagements in which US Air Force International Health Specialists and other Department of Defense health agencies can implement the five objectives of the US national action plan. As more nations in the world expand the roles and positions of women in their military and security sectors, health factors specific to women deserve special attention, and lessons learned from US military field operations can serve as a basis for information exchanges with partner nations. Additionally, sexual violence continues to be used as a weapon of war and impacts the mental and physical health of millions of women globally. Through global health engagements, the US will affect change through improving health protection for women facing armed conflict and by mitigating the effects of sexual violence against women.

Introduction

Improving women's health globally is foundational in any effort towards promoting sustainable peace and security for all members of the United Nations (UN), because women play an important role in the prevention of armed conflict and in the promotion of peace and security in the world.[1] Towards these efforts, the UN Security Council adopted seven resolutions between 2000 and 2013 regarding Women, Peace, and Security (WPS). Collectively, the resolutions acknowledge and seek to mitigate the unique effects of armed conflict on women. Possible ways to reduce health risks associated from the effects of armed conflict on women include preventing conflict-related sexual violence; enhancing protection of women and girls in refugee settings; and incorporating gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations. In support of the seven WPS resolutions, the United States (US) instituted a national action plan on WPS in December 2011, outlining guidance on how departments within the interagency can implement WPS objectives.[2] Within the Department of Defense (DoD), several organizations are in key positions to integrate WPS activities through global health engagements, including the US Air Force Medical Service International Health Specialist (IHS) program, the Defense Institute for Medical Operations (DIMO) and the National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP).

The IHS program offers medical professionals to Geographic Combatant Commands (GCCs) and US Air Force Major Commands (MAJCOMs) in order to engage with and enhance interoperability with partner nations. Additionally, IHS offers effective interaction with joint and coalition medical support structures,

foreign health systems, and governmental/non-governmental agencies that seek improvement of population health.[3] In addition to the IHS program, DIMO provides focused healthcare education and training to improve security cooperation and international coalition partnerships, and the SPP matches a National Guard state with a partner nation to share and exchange knowledge while conducting global health engagements.[4] These three programs work together with the Department of State embassy teams and other US agencies to employ military-to-military and military-to-civilian engagements, and are in key positions to promote WPS strategies in partnerships with bilateral and multilateral stakeholders.

It is within this context of global health engagement that this paper will demonstrate the relevant health issues concerning women in military and peacekeeping environments, and will propose military-to-military and military-to-civilian engagements in which IHS and other DoD health agencies can implement the five objectives of the US national action plan on women, peace, and security. Through global health engagements, the US will affect change through improving health protection for women facing armed conflict and by mitigating the effects of sexual violence against women.

Implementation of the National Action Plan

The US National Action Plan lists five high-level objectives and describes actions that various US government agencies can implement. While many of the actions in the plan are reserved for the State Department, the US Agency for International Development, and the Centers for Disease Control, those actions that the DoD are directed to implement will be discussed in the context of IHS and other global health engagement entities. Although WPS objectives apply to all regions of the world, the United States Africa Command's (USAFRICOM) area of responsibility will receive special attention due to the significant occurrences of conflict-related sexual violence;[5,6,7] and because the UN department of peacekeeping operations currently manages nine peacekeeping operations within Africa, which represents more than half of its 16 operations throughout the world.[8] Notwithstanding the importance of Africa, the concepts to be discussed are applicable in all Geographic Combatant Commands.

Objective 1: National integration and institutionalization

This first objective of the national action plan describes how the US government will develop and institutionalize gender-sensitive approaches to its work in conflict-affected environments.[1] Within the DoD, geographic combatant commanders have the opportunity to incorporate WPS objectives into their strategic guidance and planning documents in accordance with this first objective of the national action plan. USAFRICOM has made significant strides in implementing these objectives, and is viewed as a leader among the combatant commands due to its efforts. Rather than emphasize individualized stand-alone events, all directorates and components in the command are tasked to incorporate WPS objectives into their engagements and activities, with the strategy, plans, and programs division (J5) as the lead for this effort.[9]

The J5 focuses the command's WPS activities both with partner nations and internal command activities; these activities encompass gender mainstreaming efforts, peacekeeping operations, and staff education and training. Since August 2012, USAFRICOM has hosted five WPS-focused seminars involving more than 20 African countries to guide the command's WPS activities and to ensure alignment with continent-wide objectives. Additionally, a monthly cross-directorate and cross-component working group helps to integrate WPS concepts into the command's routine activities. The US Air Forces Africa (AFAFRICA) IHS team maintains representation within this working group, and follows USAFRICOM's lead by incorporating WPS into their health engagements with partner nations. By weaving WPS concepts and vignettes into all of their engagements, a sense of normality will develop and will lead to greater acceptance in both US and partner nation participants.

Objective 2: Participation in peace processes and decision making.

International Health Specialists can support the increased involvement of women in peacekeeping and leadership roles by engaging with partner nations, and by helping build capacity in support of topics on women's health and force protection as these nations integrate women into their military and security sectors. As an example, in December 2015 USAFRICOM hosted a WPS conference in collaboration with the UN department of peacekeeping operations to address the importance of increasing the recruitment of women in national security sectors, and to facilitate an exchange of good practices and lessons learned in implementation of the WPS mandate. This workshop brought the opportunity to not only assist the defense ministries of African troop contributing countries in promoting the healthcare needs of women and girls, it afforded the chance for those countries to observe the roles and activities of female US military personnel demonstrate the effects of gender integration in the US armed forces.   A potentially effective approach towards interacting with African military representatives involves demonstrating healthy and mutually-respectful interactions between officer and enlisted of differing genders.[10] Additionally, by having female non-commissioned officers participate in health engagements, our partner nations can see first-hand the important roles that women can fill as enlisted leaders in their own militaries.

At this workshop, USAFRICOM personnel participated in integrative discussions on promoting greater participation of women in peacekeeping operations. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) reported that in December 2015, women comprised 4.7% of UN military experts on mission, and 3.3% of military peacekeepers engaged in peacekeeping operations.[11] This represents more than double the 2005 numbers of 2.0% and 1.6% respectively,[12] and will likely increase in the future as the UN DPKO continues efforts to expand the roles and positions of women in peacekeeping operations.

As troop contributing countries enhance efforts to incorporate women in their militaries to support these peacekeeping operations, lessons learned from recent US military field operations may help to improve the force health protection, medical planning, and operational health support for their female military members. The US military has opened all combat positions to qualified women, and the inclusion of women in operations across the full spectrum of engagements has offered relevant health data on pre-deployment screening, field-operations, post-deployment recovery, and post-military veteran's services. The most recent demographic data set of the US military community shows that women comprised 15.1% of the active duty force and 18.8% of the reserve components as of 2014, and demonstrated that female participation in the military continues to show an upward trend.[13]

As the US assists partner governments in improving the recruitment and retention of women in their militaries, IHS can engage and assist with building health care capacities that meet the needs of women in military field operations. Many studies in the medical literature describe disease and non-battle injury rates during the past 15 years of US military field operations, and several key reports highlight medical issues specific to women, including medical problems related to the menstrual cycle, pregnancy, medical issues related to the prevention of pregnancy, and the importance of gynecologic medical resources in field conditions.

General considerations for women's health care

Overall, gynecologic health issues encountered by US military women are generally similar to those found in the civilian sector, with some exceptions. US military women use oral hormonal contraceptives at a higher rate compared to civilian women (34% vs 29%), possibly due to desires for menstrual suppression in field operations as well as the intended effects of pregnancy prevention.[14] Braun reviewed reproductive and genitourinary health issues in US military women from 2008 – 2014, and none of the reviewed studies identified significant, negative effects on pregnancy outcomes from either combat-related exposures or military-required vaccines. Rates of sexually transmitted infections were found to be

higher among military members compared to their civilian counterparts, which may be attributable to inadequate condom availability or use. There was little published medical literature available that addressed military sexual assault and prevention, but it was noted that sexual violence is often unreported during active duty and is first revealed during transition to veteran's services.[15]

During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Zouris reported injury and illness distributions at US Role 3 medical facilities among US Soldiers and Marines during the major combat and stability phases of the campaign (Mar 2003-Apr 2005). Of note, 51 pregnancies were reported during this 15-month time period; and among all women presenting for Role 3 care, conditions of the genital and urinary systems represented 9% of all medical conditions.[16] Between August 2005 and March 2006, Nielson surveyed female soldiers' gynecologic healthcare at US military camps in Iraq with US Role 3 medical facilities. Among 397 women responding to the survey, 40 (10%) were not current in their annual well-woman exam and/or cervical cytology (Pap) testing requirements in the 12 months prior to deployment. Twenty-seven percent of those surveyed required further evaluation of abnormal Pap testing in-theater, to include repeat Pap testing, colposcopy, and treatment procedures. One hundred thirty-six (35%) soldiers reported having at least one gynecologic problem during their deployment, and 20 (15%) reported being unable to receive the medical care they needed to resolve their problem.[17]

In a similar survey of US Role 1 and 2 medical facilities in Iraq during the same time period, Thomson reported that 21% of respondents experienced gynecological problems, however 44% reported inability to access appropriate gynecologic care for those problems.[18] Impediments to receiving appropriate care were noted to include limited transportation assets, limited laboratory and pathology assets, limited gynecologic knowledge in medical providers, and limited understanding about "female issues" among unit personnel.[17]

During Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, an evaluation of medical encounters at the Craig Joint Theater Hospital's Women's Health Clinic in Bagram, Afghanistan from January to September 2007 demonstrated that among 3,298 female U.S. military members deployed to areas in Afghanistan supported by this Role 3 facility, 487 women (14.8%) experienced one or more gynecologic health problems. The top three reasons for visits included prescription of hormonal contraception (21.9%), pregnancy tests (12.9%), and medical problems related to the menstrual cycle (12.8%). Other reasons included vaginal infections, pelvic pain, evaluation of abnormal Pap tests, sexually transmitted infection screening, and breast disorders.[19]

During that time period, a total of 56 (10.3%) new pregnancies were documented at a rate of approximately 1 every 5 days. Of those new pregnancies, 10 (17.9%) were abnormal, which is consistent with the US civilian average of 17%-22%.[20] One of the pregnancies presented as a ruptured tubal (ectopic) pregnancy and underwent life-saving surgery; three individuals were aeromedically evacuated out of theater to rule out ectopic pregnancy; and six pregnancies resulted in miscarriages, which were treated in-theater and the service members were eventually returned to duty.[21] Of note, not all pregnancies were conceived in-theater. Approximately 25% conceived just prior to departing for deployment and presented for care in the first month of their deployment.

Medical problems related to the menstrual cycle

The menstrual cycle is considered by many women to be an essential part of their reproductive and sexual well-being. Menstruation is a normal process that is manageable as long as there are not additional medical issues, and as long as adequate resources are available (i.e. sanitary napkins, feminine wipes, and other feminine hygiene products). Medical conditions that can lead to heavy, painful, or irregular bleeding can be problematic in an austere environment, and are principally caused by uterine fibroids, inability to ovulate, endometriosis, ovarian cysts, and certain hormonal imbalances. These conditions are usually not debilitating and should not be thought of as reasons to keep women from participating in military

operations so long as they are properly managed, just as potential for medical conditions of the prostate or testicles should not prevent men from participation if they are properly managed.

Military commanders must evaluate several field hygiene and sanitation factors while assessing the operational environment, and feminine hygiene should always be considered in their calculations. Common field hygiene and sanitation factors include latrine accessibility, hand washing capability, and logistical support for the supply of feminine hygiene products and gynecologic self-care medications. The compromise of these factors may present greater difficulties, as might be expected during deployed operations or at smaller and more remote outposts. Logistic challenges such as these can disrupt the management of normal menstruation, which may increase the risk of infectious conditions such as urinary tract infections and vaginal infections.[22] Proactive outreach by military commanders to deliver necessary materials to female military members can reduce the risk of secondary infections, will enhance field hygiene efforts, and will ultimately increase productivity in their troops.

Similar hygiene issues are present in peacekeeping operations, in camps with internally displaced persons, and during humanitarian assistance/disaster relief operations. In these cases, military-civilian outreaches to local women could enhance overall mission effectiveness by providing opportunities to mitigate the impact on the local population, especially if small group discussions are conducted to assist women with their needs. Military-civilian outreach should generally be coordinated with the local governmental health organizations, local leadership, and any non-governmental organizational medical support that is already present in the area. These efforts may also be effective in managing other medical problems related to the menstrual cycle.

Medical management of the menstrual cycle is commonly achieved with hormonal medications, such as oral contraceptives (birth control pills), hormone-containing intrauterine devices (IUD), progesterone-containing subcutaneous implants, and other similar preparations. During military field operations it may be difficult to consistently take oral medications, and compliance is usually difficult to maintain.[14, 23] Some alternatives, such as the weekly contraceptive patch or the monthly vaginal contraceptive ring, present additional difficulties during field operations. During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Nielson showed that 43% of women reported that hormonal patches fell off due to the environment and climate, resulting in more than half discontinuing that method for another option.[17] The monthly vaginal contraceptive ring is generally not an option available to women deploying to hot environments, due to the potential for decreased effectiveness when exposed to temperatures above 30°C (86°F).[23]

The use of long acting reversible contraception is therefore a good option for women to use in the field environment, because it removes the need for a daily awareness to take pills, reduces the chance of human error, decreases menstrual blood flow, and is very effective at preventing pregnancy with a failure rate of less than 1%. Currently, the best available options are the progesterone-containing IUD and progesterone-containing subcutaneous implants. Injectable progesterone (medroxyprogesterone acetate) has a higher rate of side effects which requires several months to overcome, which makes it a less desirable option for use in military field operations.[24] While hormonal contraception presents many benefits, it would be ethically inappropriate for the military commander or military health agencies to mandate or otherwise coerce the use of contraception by women. Instead, its use should be the result of an informed decision made between the patient and her medical provider.

Pregnancy and pregnancy prevention

Besides the benefits of menstrual control, hormonal contraceptive medications offer prevention of pregnancy as a principal indication. This is important not only for women in a consenting sexual relationship, but also for women who may be victims of sexual violence. Preventing unintended pregnancies is a population health goal not only for the US, but for African and other nations throughout the world. By definition, an unintended pregnancy is one that is neither desired now nor within the next

two years.[25] The American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology (ACOG) and the US Department of Health and Human Services' Healthy People 2020 objectives seek a 10% reduction in the US unintended pregnancy rate of 51%.[25]

Studies estimate that between 50-65% of pregnancies that develop in active duty military service members are unintended, and some studies have suggested this is above the US civilian average of 51%.[22] However, when accounting for the preponderance of active duty women under the age of 26, the age-adjusted unintended pregnancy rate is similar between active duty military and their civilian counterparts.[14, 26] It is important to note that unintended pregnancies are not necessarily unwanted pregnancies. However, about 1/3 of unintended pregnancies do result in an induced abortion, accounting for the majority of the 1.1 million abortions per year in the US.[27] By reducing the number of unintended pregnancies, the total number of induced abortions is expected to subsequently decrease, as will the myriad of associated social, psychological, and physical health complications that may occur in unintended pregnancies. As some developing nations additionally carry the burden of high maternal mortality and high rates of transmission of HIV from mother to child, building the capacity to provide effective contraception will also reduce the significant health and societal impacts those conditions bring.

Military women who become pregnant, especially in the field environment, may be reluctant to report the pregnancy due to fear of perceptions from their peers that they may be unable to perform their duties, or out of fear of retribution or punishment from their commanders. This fear is not unwarranted, as commanders have given disciplinary action to women who become pregnant under orders that forbid sexual intercourse.[21] This practice has a disproportionate negative effect for female military members and can be seen as unjust when the father, who also engaged in forbidden sexual intercourse, is not similarly disciplined. This system of punishment has not been shown to improve compliance with such orders, as the pregnancy and sexually transmitted infection rates documented in the medical literature indicate. Furthermore, commanders may refuse or otherwise inhibit access to contraception based on expectations that members will comply with sexual abstinence orders, believing therefore that contraceptive measures would not be needed. Ultimately, such orders lead to increased sexual risk-taking behaviors, leading to increased rates of sexually transmitted infections and unintended pregnancy.[28]

Early reporting of pregnancy is important for the protection of both mother and baby, as delays in receiving early prenatal care can jeopardize the health of both the mother and baby, regardless of whether the pregnant woman is military or civilian. US military practices require prompt protection of pregnant women from duties that may involve harmful occupational or environmental exposures, such as exposures from fuel cells, radiation emitting devices, certain types of animal care, and so forth. Additionally, US practice is to re-deploy pregnant women to home station as soon as reasonably possible, in order to limit potentially dangerous exposures in the field or wartime setting. Krulewitch conducted an extensive review of the medical literature on this subject with several key findings. Although pregnant military women self-reported more exposures compared to civilians, there was insufficient evidence to demonstrate a higher rate of birth defects in the military women, and there were insufficient data to determine if military women experienced a higher rate of miscarriage.[14]

A grave concern for delayed reporting of pregnancy in military field operations lies not only in the sequelae of miscarriage, but also in the dangers of tubal (ectopic) pregnancy. While not usually life threatening, miscarriage runs the risk of significant vaginal bleeding and can result in severe anemia or a pelvic infection if the miscarriage is not completely cared for. Ectopic pregnancy, on the other hand, is a life-threatening condition that complicates approximately 2% of all pregnancies. Ectopic pregnancies are sometimes difficult to diagnose in civilian environments, as the pregnancy remains inside the abdomen, usually within the fallopian tube, and are often difficult to find on ultrasound. These difficulties are amplified in field settings due to the reluctance to report a pregnancy as well as potentially limited field medical support. Ectopic pregnancies can result in significant internal bleeding if the fallopian tube ruptures, and may lead to death if not recognized early and treated appropriately.

Preventing unintended pregnancies is therefore a high priority on both a force-protection level and on a global population-health level. While the use of contraceptive agents is generally effective, some women have cultural or religious beliefs that prohibit some or all efforts to prevent pregnancy. This is especially important for Catholics and some Protestant groups; however, most Muslim, Jewish, and Protestant societies generally do not prohibit reversible measures that may prevent pregnancy.[29] Healthcare providers may generally offer hormonal contraceptives for treatment of the menstrual cycle with the known side effect of pregnancy prevention, which is often acceptable for members with cultural or religious concerns after careful informed consent is given.

In summary, essential components of women's healthcare in the military environment include access to pregnancy testing and prenatal care; contraception and management of normal and abnormal menstrual bleeding; sexually transmitted infection testing and treatment; cervical and breast cancer screening; management of acute conditions such as breast lumps, breast pain, vaginal infections and pelvic pain; and care for victims of sexual violence. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) promulgated standard agreement (STANAG) 2179 in April 2015,[30] which describes recommended minimum requirements for medical care of women in joint and combined military operations. This serves as an excellent example of multinational cooperation to provide an enhanced force protection stance for women serving in militaries, and represents two important components of global health engagement: sustainability and enhanced interoperability between partner nations and allies.

Objective 3: Protection from violence.

Continued participation in future UN peacekeeping workshops and conferences by IHS and other DoD health agencies can help improve the UN system in preventing and responding to conflict related sexual violence, specifically by advocating for and developing mitigation strategies for the health consequences of sexual violence. Conflict-related sexual violence is a problem that has existed through the ages, and is used as a weapon of terror that unfortunately continues to be used without effective prosecution of its perpetrators.

There is also a history of sexual misconduct among peacekeeping personnel in the form of sexual violence, exploitation, abuse, and human trafficking,[31] and so efforts at preventing peacekeepers from engaging in those acts are a high priority for the UN.[32] Reasons for this misconduct are varied, but one reason may be that the overall objectives of the military operation are not clearly understood by the peacekeeping soldiers tasked to implement them, and this disconnect in communication may adversely affect their morale and commitment toward duty. Peacekeeping personnel may also be more prone to committing acts of sexual violence in conditions where "the enemy" is considered to be resistance by the civilian population, and the command sanctions extreme measures. Sexual violence also is typically unchecked in environments where law and order does not exist.

Ultimately, the legitimacy of the peacekeeping army is at stake. Sexual violence against the local population can damage the community's view of the peacekeeping mission, which can lead to interference in the implementation of the army's mandate. Taking sexual violence seriously, conducting an investigation, collecting forensic evidence, treating the victim with dignity and respect, and prosecuting offenders are all very important in maintaining the confidence of the population being served.

Health effects of sexual violence against women and girls

Sexual violence encompasses a broad range of behaviors that includes many definitions, and has been described in detail elsewhere. In general, it represents any sexual act against a male or female using coercion, harassment, or advances, and can occur in any setting, regardless of the perpetrator's relationship with the victim.[33] It includes a continuum of sexual activity that covers unwanted kissing, touching, or fondling; sexual coercion; and rape.[34] Combat-related sexual violence (CRSV) is a

particularly devastating from of sexual violence that inflicts extreme suffering and represent a serious violation of human rights.[35] It is a weapon of war, and refers to "rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization and other forms of sexual violence of comparable gravity perpetrated against women, men, girls, or boys that is linked, directly or indirectly… to a conflict."[31] It is difficult to compile population data on the extent of combat related sexual violence, however one study revealed that the prevalence of women ever being sexually assaulted in conflict-affected sub-Saharan Africa ranges from 16.0% - 22.3%.[36]

Sexual violation is another broad term that incorporates sexual trauma, sexual assault, and unwanted sexual contact; however, for the purpose of this paper these violations will generally be included in the broader term of sexual violence, with a focus on operationally relevant issues to include adverse health effects and disruption of peacekeeping operations. While it is recognized that men have been and will continue to be victims of sexual violence, only the effects upon female victims will be discussed for the remainder of this paper.

Most health effects of sexual violence are generally known to the reader.[37] Depending on the brutality of the assault, major-body trauma can occur while attempting to control or restrain the victim, and can include bruises, cuts, broken bones, head injuries, breast injuries, and more. In addition, penetration of the mouth, vagina or anus by body parts or objects can directly damage those structures causing bruising, cuts and other damage.

Genital damage can occur in both children and adults. If moderate to severe genital damage is not treated, permanent ruptures (fistulas) between areas such as the vagina and the rectum or the vagina and the urinary bladder can form. These fistulas cause significant health problems, may lead to repeated infections, and can severely impact the survivor's quality of life. Additional physical damage can occur if the survivor has previously undergone female circumcision or female genital cutting. While the ethical considerations of female genital cutting are beyond the scope of this paper, those providing medical care to survivors who have undergone this procedure may find themselves in a situation where she requests restoration of her genitalia to resemble the previously circumcised state.

Additionally, it is important to note that bruises and tears can also occur in and around the anus and mouth. When evaluating a child for potential sexual violence, a thorough examination of the oral cavity is necessary. Redness, small bruising, and dilated blood vessels should be noted on the roof of the mouth which may indicate forced fellatio. A torn frenulum inside the lips in a child should also be investigated for potential abuse, regardless of the circumstances. Forced oral sex may result not only in trauma, but in the transmission of infectious diseases to the oral cavity. Gonorrhea may occupy the back of the throat and present variations in symptoms, and the human papillomavirus (HPV) can transmit not only genital warts to the mouth, but can also lead to more serious conditions such as oral cancer.

Sexual violence in both women and girls imparts a high risk of infection of additional sexually transmitted infections to include HIV. Studies have shown increased rates of HIV infection in areas where conflict related sexual violence is rampant.[38] Other sexually transmitted infections such as gonorrhea and chlamydia may lead to infertility, long-term pelvic pain, and pain with consensual sexual intercourse. Sexual transmission of the HPV virus causes precancerous conditions of the cervix, vagina, vulva, and anus, and may lead to cancer in localities where appropriate screening (such as Pap testing) is not available.

Sexual violence also impacts the mental and spiritual well-being of the survivor, who may suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety, problems with self-esteem, and eating disorders.[36, 39] Emotional consequences often drive survivors to self-destructive and sexual risk-taking behaviors, such as prostitution or sexual promiscuity, which leads to repeat exposures to infections and potential for

unintended pregnancy, which may further contribute to problems with self-esteem and further self-destructive behaviors, which then perpetuates the cycle.[40]

Access to care is essential for female service members and civilians after experiencing sexual violence. In many places, women who desire to seek treatment are unable to receive it. In peacekeeping compounds there is most often insufficient medical resources to care for victims of sexual assault and to collect forensic evidence. Furthermore, emotional traumas often contribute to the reluctance to seek treatment, which further exacerbates the physical health consequences. The consequences of conflict-related sexual violence can therefore be destructive to peacekeeping operations. In these settings, where it is common to have limited access to police protective services, women can be killed with little threat of consequences to the perpetrator. Women can also be assaulted by many perpetrators over many days and typically have more severe bodily injuries due to repeated attacks of brutal violence.

When sexual violence is used as a weapon of warfare, some enemy combatants will sexually assault civilian women with the intent of disrupting social structures. The military objective of such terrorism is difficult to define, but it is meant to break the will of the people to resist and may lead to captured territory through forced marriages. Peacekeeping commanders must be prepared to counter this tactic by actively protecting the female civilian population and decisively preventing any form of sexual violence perpetrated by their own peacekeeping forces. Ultimately, inability of peacekeepers to prevent such violence is a categorical mission failure and alienates the local population from the foreign peacekeeping force.

Recognizing and assisting survivors of sexual violence is generally within the scope of most peacekeeping operations. However, armed conflict is much more likely to occur in areas already affected by poor medical infrastructure, which places additional burdens on the health of women and girls subject to sexual violence.[41] One of the consequences of any act of sexual violence, but in particular of combat-related sexual violence, is the societal, familial and cultural pressures that inhibit women from seeking treatment. Unfortunately, in many places women and girls who ultimately seek treatment are unable to receive it - not only in the setting of large conflicts or in large camps of displaced persons, but also in poor and rural areas remote from sufficient medical resources.

In those cases, women may have to spend one to several days of travel to receive medical care. Due to the prolonged treatment course necessary for sexually violent acts, travelling away from their homes is not a practical method for receiving appropriate physical and mental health care. Additionally, these survivors may be rejected by their families and their villages, enhancing their feelings of isolation and adding to the difficulty in receiving appropriate treatment. New efforts are looking at community-focused interventions, which involve both individual persons and communities. Community-focused interventions enhance the survivor's well-being by improving the overall recovery environment, while person-focused interventions concentrate on the individual survivor and her immediate family. These efforts are underway in parts of Africa to remove the stigma that is attached to victims of sexual violence.[42]

Holistic support programs are interwoven within war torn areas of Africa such as Sierra Leon, where psychosocial therapy interventions are provided at the individual and group levels. Support factions are also available to the parents of rape survivors. Therapeutic camps have been created where survivors are provided a sense of connectedness to others, and resiliency is built through experiential learning, life skills education, and support in finding employment. All of these interventions treat individual survivors with respect, dignity, and confidentiality, so as to avoid further problems of stigma, discrimination, and violence against her.

Objective 4: Conflict prevention

As the US government promotes women's roles in conflict prevention and invests in women's health opportunities, IHS and related DoD health agencies can engage in opportunities to build health care capacities and to support access to reproductive health in emergency and humanitarian settings. Through military-to-military and military-to-civilian engagements, building capacities that support increased access to women's health services in stability operations as well as in humanitarian assistance/disaster response activities will ultimately create conditions for a more stable society.

These health engagements should seek to expand the number of trained health professionals and materials for the care of women, both in the military and when conducting peacekeeping operations, providing humanitarian assistance, and providing disaster response measures. Finding consistency in personnel, training and equipment can be difficult in multinational and peacekeeping operations, as there are differences in medical training and standards within and between troop contributing countries. Regardless, promotion of interoperability between nations should be a priority.

The availability of trained health professionals and proper equipment is particularly crucial in the evaluation and treatment of women who are victims of sexual violence. Medics should be able to provide prophylactic medications to treat sexually transmitted infections, offer emergency contraception, provide culturally appropriate psychosocial support, and to collect forensic evidence where it may be possible to pursue legal actions. Evidence suggests that legal interventions will increase the risk of sexual violence in armed conflict when the victims are not adequately protected,[43] so military-to-military engagements with troop contributing countries can assist commanders with building the capacity and resolution to offer protection and support to those willing to disclose or testify against sexual offenders.

Objective 5: Access to relief and recovery

While the DoD is not listed as a primary agent in implementing the actions of this objective in the national action plan, many of the concepts discussed throughout this paper apply in responding to the distinct needs of women and children in conflict-affected areas, disasters and crises. Addressing the health effects of conflict-related sexual violence may also reduce the risk of further violence in relief and recovery operations, and an integrated engagement with UN partners, government authorities, and non-governmental organizations is necessary. DoD health agencies such as IHS, DIMO, and the state partnership program can assist local and regional governments in building the capacity for developing the needed infrastructure and health service support.

Efforts at these engagements are not only important in humanitarian assistance settings, but also when they overflow into the unaffected communities. A population that has a medical system capable of keeping women and girls productive and active in school and the workforce is a population that has doubled its capacity to make economic advances. Economic security and health stability are both factors in conflict prevention, and African military health systems do extend into their civilian populations.

A recent example of a successful health engagement partnering DoD with US and partner nation governments was the West Africa Disaster Preparedness Initiative (WADPI) following the Ebola virus disease outbreak of 2014-15, and represented the follow-on efforts from Operation UNITED ASSISTANCE. The center for disaster and humanitarian assistance medicine (CDHAM) developed the program to expand the emergency health response capabilities of 12 West African partner nations. Through the end of the program in 2015, the IHS team at AFAFRICA led the series of engagements at the Kofi Annan international peacekeeping center in Ghana, in partnership with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and other organizations. Although the program ended in December 2015, a sustainable long-term solution to continue expanding response capabilities will best be found

through the efforts and leadership of ECOWAS and other governmental and non-governmental organizations.[44]

Conclusion

By fulfilling the relevant objectives of the US national action plan on women, peace and security through military-to-military and military-to-civilian health engagements, IHS teams and other related DoD health agencies can assist partner nations build capacities that improve the health of their female populations. This can occur not only by enhancing the force health protection for women in their militaries, but also by improving women's health capabilities in conflict zones and by mitigating the health consequences of sexual violence against women and girls. Through efforts at responding to the health needs of military women, additional numbers of women participating in peacekeeping operations will surely follow. Finally, through health engagements and information exchanges, a cultivated environment of mutual respect between women and men will discourage and help to prevent sexual violence, ultimately leading to increased legitimacy of peacekeeping forces in the eyes of the population being served. Through each of these methodologies, improving women's health not only supports the US national action plan, but also reinforces and supports interoperability between nations and sets the stage for sustained peace and security worldwide.

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Combating Gender Bias During Disaster Response

Jennifer Neal

Introduction

When discussing, empowering and ensuring women receive the same equalities in this world, one thing that seems out of the hands of governments and individuals, is natural disasters. While this force of nature may seem overwhelming and uncontrollable, certain actions before, during and after a natural disaster can ensure the equal survival of both men and women, something that is currently lacking. At the moment, women are disproportionately affected by natural disasters. During disasters women are more likely to die than men, women and girls also face additional hardships following a disaster. A stark example of this tragedy can be demonstrated by looking at the Indian Ocean Tsunami. When surveys were conducted in the affected areas it was discovered that "approximately two-thirds of the dead were female, and in the most heavily affected areas, the death rate of females to males was 4:1. More startling, in some villages all the dead were female." (Mazuran, Benelli, & Walker, 2013, p. 71) Unfortunately although researchers in multiple cases have agreed upon this issue, opinions differ on how to prevent it.

With the expansion of the Department of Defense (DOD) in humanitarian aid responses individuals need to be aware of social norms and the effect it plays on gender bias, specifically how it affects both pre and post disaster response. In order for the DOD to render aid and care to an area, it is critical to understand key differences in cultures and social norms. Understanding these will allow the DOD to combat gender bias and render aid equally to everyone. Additionally, in order to properly prepare and mitigate for the next disaster, responders need to ensure everyone has access to the same information and safe guards. Furthermore, responders need to ask the why questions, why did the disaster devastate this community, why were females at an unfair advantage, and how can this be corrected.

 Although this occurrence can be seen world-wide including in the United States, the gap between male and women survival is most profound in developing countries were men and women have very set roles and responsibilities having deep traditional and religious roots. This phenomenon can be seen very clearly in Southwest and Southeast Asia as well as parts of India. To highlight the importance of understanding this subject and finding ways to enact a change, this paper will discuss improving data collection in the aftermath of a disaster; if physiological differences or learned skill play a role in survival; as well as the perceived value of women, and the practice of Purdah and its effect on disaster response and post-disaster survival. Additionally, because this gap is more profound in areas state above, this paper will focus mainly on those key areas, and the disasters that affect them the most including cyclones and tsunamis.

A Closer Look

Everyone has seen the news reports of an area that seems to be decimated following a disaster, although it may look like it struck equally unbiased destroying everything in its path that is not true. One would just need to look below the surface to discover although it may seem like a disaster ravages through a community or country in some cases with the same strength and effect, one portion of the population suffers more. Disasters affect women and girls at a much higher rate than their male counterparts, "natural disasters on average kill more women than men, or kill women at a younger age then men." (Neumayer & Plumper, 2007, p. 552) Unfortunately, not enough data is collected in the immediate aftermath of a disaster focusing on improving the survival rate of females, and seeking answers as to why these women were exposed to more risk to begin with.

During a humanitarian response certain data is supposed to be collected to help improve the response system, this data is sex- and age- disaggregated data or SADD. However, this information, even if collected, sometimes does not get reported up properly or tracked. Other times the data lacks any viable information. This is not to say workers are not doing their jobs or do not care. It is sometimes not collected because they care enormously and are prioritizing what they think is more important. Humanitarian workers are usually more concerned with ensuring human needs are meet, not with collecting data. "Some humanitarian actors do not recognize that programming will be smarter and more relevant and that humanitarians will do their jobs better and responsibly if SADD and gender and generational analyses are available." (Mazuran, Benelli, & Walker, 2013, p. 79) This highlights a real gap in training and response programs, because if the needs of the citizens are not known, it cannot be meet.

Physiological Differences versus Learned Skills

When pressed for a reason as to why the survival rate of men is much higher than women in the same area, many individuals, including women, may come to the same conclusion. Men and women are just different. Men are stronger, have better endurance, and are able to think faster and respond under pressure better than women. It's not to say it's the women's fault, it's just nature. Using the aforementioned excuses, is the equivalent of giving up on the problem and allowing a system to continue where women are as perceived as less valuable than men, and not important enough to save. Although many arguments have been made that men and women are just biologically different, none have definitely proven this is the reason for the survival gap. In fact many studies point out learned skills, not biological differences help men survive a disaster. Men are sometimes better apt to handle certain situations, because in many cultures and sub-cultures they are taught vital survival skills, like swimming, from an early age. However, girls, on the other hand, are sometimes forbidden from learning these same skills because of the social accepted norms and roles each gender plays within the culture.

By limiting survival skills to boys, girls are put at a disadvantage at a very early age. "Social norms and role behavior may lead to a behavior of women that increases their vulnerability in the immediate course of the disaster." (Neumayer & Plumper, 2007) Due to this reasoning when the Pacific Tsunami of 2004 devastated an area, the boys and men were able to fight of the waves better than the women and girls resulting in a higher mortality rate among women and girls.

Perceived Value

Unfortunately it is not just a matter of learned skills in many of these communities, some view survival of men superior to that of women. In many cultures, the men are seen as the stronger sex, and the individuals that continue a family line. "Women's less perceived value also influence the allocation and consumption of scarce resources before a disaster." (Juran & Trivedi, 2015, p. 606) Many times women will get less food than the men in the household, sometimes to the point of malnutrition. The end result is a woman who is weaker affecting her survival rate, and possibly long term recovery from the disaster. Ensuring the survival of men, not only affects responses during a disaster, but in the aftermath as well.

In some sad cases, the men and fathers have been willing to sacrifice their daughters to ensure the survival of their sons. One haunting example is a story recounted following the Bangladesh cyclone of 1991 where a father realizing he could not hold on to all of his daughters and one son choose to let the girls go one by one, allowing them to be swept away by the waves. When interviewed about how he could make such a decision to sacrifice all his daughters he responded "(this) son has to carry on the family line." (Haider, A., & Huq, 1993) He did this because in his mind his one son was worth more than the lives of his five daughters, because his son could carry on the family name.

Many times when a disaster strikes an area, it not only reaps havoc on the land, but the economic status of the region as well. The limited food women were getting beforehand could be drastically reduced

following a natural disaster. The end result is females, even if they survive the disaster, are more likely to have their life expectancy shortened then men; in part due to the malnutrition they likely suffered before the disaster being further exasperated. During the period following a disaster females are more likely to die from exposure and disease as well. Healthcare in the immediate aftermath a disaster is very limited, and usually only available to those in higher social classes that can afford it. Many reasons for this exists, but the most basic reason is disaster planning and response does not do enough in considering cultural aspects including socio-economic status, and gender roles in the affected society.

Many researchers suggest that socio-economic status plays an important role in the survival gap between males and females. In most developing countries the females play an important role in the domestic environment, if not the only role. This limits their interaction with individuals outside their homes, which in turn limits the information may receive concerning an impending disaster or help received afterward. Additionally in many Muslim and Hindu regions in Southeast and Southwest Asia and the Middle East the practice purdah is practiced, putting many females there at a significant disadvantage not only during but after a disaster as well.

Purdah and Its Effect on Disaster Response

Purdah, meaning curtain, is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as "the practice in certain Muslim and Hindu societies of screening women from men or strangers." In regions that practice this tradition, a woman is limited to where she can go. Spaces are setup to delineate between a women and family space and man only space. Additionally women often need to be escorted when they leave the home or go to certain areas, which may include shelters. This practice severally limits a women's ability to evacuate or seek shelter when a disaster is imminent for many reasons, the first being knowledge.

Due to the limited areas where women can go, women often do not get the same disaster information and warnings as their male counterparts. Information is often spread by word of mouth, mostly from men talking to other men, limiting its reach to women. Additionally, men are not supposed to address or talk to women they are not related to. Meaning, even if a man wanted to spread the word of a disaster and warn individuals he would most likely only tell the males. Although this could theoretically be combated by a mass notification and warning system, including utilizing telephones, radios, a giant voice/siren system, and in some case television, it would only solve the knowledge problem. Even if they are warned, women may still choose not to evacuate due to Purdah.

In many cases a women needs to be escorted by a male in order to leave the house. In these situations, women are less likely to evacuate or heed disaster warnings, because of a lack of a required male escort, or a shelter that is not setup according to Purdah. Although many might argue that a woman should abandon Purdah to save herself, the answer is not that easy, and shows a lack of respect and understanding. In many cultures Purdah is a valued tradition, and women who practice it are looked on as chaste and virtuous, these women choose to obey this practice. Practicing faithfully not only cast a good light upon the women, but the family as well. If a woman does choose to ignore Purdah to seek shelter or evacuate, even if she survives she may bring shame on herself and her family. A lot of women are not willing to do that, or are not in control of the decision.

Another key aspect of Purdah is the male figure head of a household, sometimes referred to as the Korta, meaning master. This Korta makes all important decisions for a household including the decision to evacuate or seek shelter. Often times the men, including the Korta are not at the house, but at work, or in town, leaving many women wait until they return before a decision can be made. The delay in departing ultimately cost lives. After the 1991 Cyclone in Bangladesh it was reported: "many women perished at home with their children, left obediently waiting for their husbands to return and make an evacuation decision." (Begum, 1993) While they may be honored for their obedience by their husbands and families,

their deaths could have been prevented. However, it may not be as easy as a women speaking up and voicing her opinion

Under Purdah, women's opinions and inputs are valued less and sometimes disregarded. Even if a woman chooses to voice her opinion on going to a shelter or leaving to find safer place, it does not mean it will be heeded. In fact, it may be ignored or meet with harsh criticism. Men are more likely to listen to another man, leaving a woman with possibly no choice, but to stay quiet and heed the direction of her husband or father. The best way to combat this may be more education to men on disaster warnings and evacuations.

Lastly, even if able to escape, the women often are caring for the children and elderly will not leave them behind to increase their own chances of survival. These women are usually the sole caregivers for the children and elderly in their families. In many cases women were slowed down by needing to ensure the safety and survival of those entrusted to them. "The mother alone is solely blamed when the children, especially those still being breastfed, fall ill, are injured, or die. This is also considered to be an important reason for women's death" (Ikeda, 1995, pp. 178-179) If a mother does survive and her children parish, she may be blamed for their deaths and held responsible. Even if a women or girls survive the initial disaster, post-disaster recovery and life is not an idea situation.

Post-Disaster Survival

Currently refugee camps are not setup with women or children in mind. Most of the camps are built based on a military logistics and viewed as a technical issue, but in reality it is a human issue. Refugee camps are usually a dangerous place for women and children, "If police, military and fire brigades are unable (or unwilling) to organize the most severely affected regions, distributive conflicts, theft, and open violence are likely to emerge." (Neumayer & Plumper, 2007, p. 556) This violence will affect the most vulnerable at the camps, the women. Unnecessary dangers are levied upon women who already survived a catastrophic incident. These dangers can be decreased by looking at the camp through the eyes of the survivor and asking what their basic needs are.

One example would be basic firewood. In order to provide for their family women are required to find food and wood to use as a fuel source. Although, food and firewood can usually be purchased at the camp, it is expensive, and only individuals in the higher socio-economic classes can afford it. In order to find free firewood women will leave the safety of the camp and look for it either on their own or in a group with other women. This situation sets them up perfectly to fall victim to sexual violence from predators lurking outside the camp waiting for the perfect moment to strike. Unfortunately, the number of sexual assault victims at refugee camps could not be identified, due to the lack of reporting from the victims. Additionally, many young and teenage girls often fall victim to human trafficking because they are easy targets at many of these camps. Violence is not the only issue that women struggle with at these camps; basic hygiene for females suffers greatly.

Many camps are set up with the water facilities centrally located near each other, meaning men's and women's facilities are usually side by side. As discussed earlier with Purdah women and men must be separated and many of these cultures forbid certain hygiene methods unless there is strict privacy and separation. This unfortunately does not exist the way many of the camps are designed. Because of the setup many women and girls forgo washing and basic hygiene practices that public health officials at the camps recommend. This allows women and girl's hygiene to suffer and which in turn exasperates the public health situation and can spread disease and infection. Until these camps are designed with both sexes in mind these issues will continue.

Unfortunately it is not an easy fix, if a gender or race was discriminated against, a disaster only increases the situation making it worse. "When natural disaster strikes, these preexisting discriminatory practices

become exacerbated and their detrimental health impact on women and girls is intensified." (Neumayer & Plumper, 2007, p. 555) However, one would assume that has help arrives from other regions or countries these discriminatory practices would be stopped and the focus would be on ensuring everyone's survival. This however, is not the case, when relief comes; it relies heavily on the local population and government to distribute the good evenly. "The majority of relief efforts are intended for the entire population of a disaster affected area; however, when they rely on existing structures of resource distribution that reflects the patriarchal structure of society women are marginalized in their access to relief." (Pan-American Health Organization, 2002) Many of these social structures put women at an unfair disadvantage.

Purdah, also require women to follow the male head of the household, the same is true in post-disaster recovery. Women are required to listen to their male leaders, who choose and decide where and how to distribute food and water. This is more often than not distributed to the men and boys leaving the women and girls with little to none. "There is a good deal of evidence from all over the world that food is often distributed very unequally within in the family." (Sen, 1988) This issue is more alarming in families who lost the head of the household. Women, who suddenly find themselves in charge of their household, are not only dealing the traumatic event of losing their spouse and other loved ones, but also of having to fight to get the supplies they desperately need.

 Following, a disaster, women who are now the head of the household, may be cut out of the loop and misinformed about available disaster relief aid. Even worse, these women are more vulnerable than women with a male lead. "Single-head households exhibit heightened vulnerabilities and thus heightened mortality rates due to typically smaller support networks, lower socioeconomic status, and the need to manage and activate coping mechanisms alone in times of disasters." (Neumayer & Plumper, 2007, p. 607)These women are often ignored by local leaders, and mostly left to fend for themselves. In some cases these women even lose their house and property, because they are not considered a true head of household. So after losing family and loved ones they lose everything else in the process. Additionally these women are still expected to follow all the customs of Purdah, making it almost impossible to meet with male disaster relief workers to express their concerns and needs.

Long Term Social Effects

As every emergency manager and disaster aid worker knows, disasters have a profound long term effect on the area where it strikes. This is not just the physical damage done to an area, but the economic and socio-economic damage as well. When one, questions why it is important to recognize the vulnerability gap between males and females, they need to look at the long term picture. In areas where a disaster wipes out the older female population, younger marriages start to become popular, putting more females at risk for health risk. Additionally, women who lost their husbands have a hard time in long range recovery. Finding a job, where women can follow Purdah and provide for her family is sometimes next to impossible. When these women cannot provide shelter or food, it starts the cycle over again, resulting in more malnourished females.

Recommendations

Reaching Out to Community Leaders

Although finding a fix all solution for this problem will not be easy, certain things can be done to help ensure the survival of females. The first being education, not just with the local populations on dangers from a natural disaster, but also with disaster relief workers and emergency planners on key cultural differences. Learning more about the culture will allow responders the ability to reach out to more people while respecting the population's privacy and religion. It is only when planners learn of these differences can they start developing responses based on the needs of the people. Additionally being aware of proper courtesies and customs within a culture may gain responders the respect and trust of the people and gain

bigger audience. This in turn will allow responders and planners to identify key gaps that may not have been visible before. Once this takes place responders and planners will be able to fill these gaps

One of these key gaps could be as simply as educating the community on how and what dangers a disaster may pose and how to respond to it.   If individuals are not aware of the dangers a disaster poses, they cannot protect themselves or their families. Educating women concerning what to do before, and during a disaster can prove to be particularly troublesome due to cultural differences. In order to reach the women, the men may need to be educated first. In following with cultural awareness relief workers and disaster planners should reach out to the male leaders and stress the importance of following evacuation orders. Reaching these elders is crucial to reaching the rest of the local population. Many families listen and heed what the local leaders say, and if the leaders direct their people to seek shelter or evacuate the local population will likely follow that advice.

Furthermore, leaders may be more willing to allow certain learned skills including swimming and climbing, if they realize it could mean the survival of their wives and daughters. Although, it may be long shot, expressing concern that more women and girls drown following a tsunami or cyclone, then men and being presented with the statistical numbers, might be the best way to get through to community leaders. It needs to be stressed ensuring the survival of the women and girls also continue the family lines. Ensuring the survival of women, will ensure the men who survived will not turn to child brides in the future to fill the gap.

Another key issue is reaching the women of a village when a disaster is imminent or a warning notification is issued. Because these women don't often leave their homes, when their husbands are at work, a system needs to be put in place to address this issue. One solution is emergency radios or sirens placed new homes in the town and villages. This would allow women, who are separated from the men in the community. This issue would help solve the problem of not knowing a disaster is coming, but would not solve the issue of women not wanting to leave their home and go to a shelter. In order to address the shelter issue, one also needs to work within the confines of religious and cultural issues in a community. One way to do this is to establish shelters that follow Purdah and separate the men from the women and children. If women know they will be able to follow Purdah, they may be more apt to evacuate.

Refugee Camps

Post-disaster survival also needs to be looked at and revamped. If a woman does survive a disaster she should not have to worry about becoming sexually assaulted, kidnapped or worse at a refugee camp. One key way to fix this issue is to look at the camps from a human standpoint, not a logistical one. Camps need to provide adequate protection for women and children, one simple start would be ensuring there is adequate firewood provided on the camp, eliminating the need for women and girls to leave the camp. Additionally, camps need to be set up with adequate privacy for women. In order to do this, planners should consider separating men and women's wash and shower facilities. One option to do this is setting the camp up in a block style setting with housing shelter in rows, men and women's facilities could be separated by a few blocks This one little step could improve hygiene practices greatly at the camps.

In many camps food distribution is given to the head of the household. If there is a food shortage, it will be the women and girls who suffer the most. Although following preexisting cultural structures is the quickest way to obtain order and stability, it leaves many women and children vulnerable. Planners and responders need to develop a food distribution system the divides the food equally among the people, instead of leaving it up to household heads. One way to accomplish this would be individual rations, this might be more time consuming, but will ensure malnutrition is not an issue.

Conclusion

Before, we can take steps forward to empower women and gain equal rights for everyone; we must first ensure their survival. At this moment in time, women and girls find themselves fighting for life and trying to survive in refugee camps, where the odds are placed heavily against them. With the DOD expanding its mission to include responses to humanitarian crisis, it needs to be aware that women and girls suffer more casualties than men do during and in the aftermath of a disaster, and take proactive steps to prevent it. Unless, more people stop viewing this as physiological issue, but a cultural one, where learned skills determine survival, the cycle will keep repeating itself. Humanitarian and responders need to start examining the issue at a cultural level and develop procedures to reach out to the victims the most at risk.

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Part 4. EDUCATION & TRAINING AND OTHER PROCESS
AND OPERATIONAL DISCUSSIONS

Developing a Curriculum for Women, Peace, and Security at National Defense University
By
AMB C. Steven McGann
March 30, 2016

Women, Peace and Security (WPS) is a cross-cutting policy issue that will impact the thinking of future policy-makers. At National Defense University, Women, Peace and Security it is not a discourse on gender preference, promotion or prerogatives. Our goal is to define an operational doctrine to undergird the development and implementation of strategies and polices that would lead to the successful formulation of a sustainable framework that meets the foreign policy and security objectives of the United States and its global partners.

Critical issues of human rights, security, justice, employment, and healthcare that ought to be at the very core of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration [DDR] planning are often neglected or inadequately addressed by primary stakeholders who hold the decision-making authority. When allowed to participate to any extent in the discussion, women bring these issues to the forefront. Through organizations and as individuals, they provide social services and support that not only act as essential complements to formal programs, but in some instances wholly replace them.

 The United Nations Security Council adopted a set of several resolutions in what is referred to as its "Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda." adopted under Chapter 6 of the United Nations Charter. As we frame WPS for future policy-makers at NDU, our students are given this paradigm to understand the United Nations process. These resolutions while binding on UN member states lack the coercive power of UNSCR's adopted under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter.

When President Barack H. Obama issued Executive Order 13595 on December 19, 2011, an issue of significant international importance became a national security priority. His mandate called for federal agencies' development and institution of a National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, the core of which would be a gender-responsive approach to all diplomatic, development, and defense-related work in conflict-affected environments. The lead agencies implementing the order are State, Defense, USAID, and Treasury, which reflect the continual growth of political consideration for making a gender-inclusive approach to a US national security priority.   The Executive Order, the US National Action Plan, and the DOD Implementation Plan all refer to "enhanced professional education and training to institutionalize the WPS agenda."

In response to the President's policy directive and in accordance with our mission, NDU developed and implemented a responsive strategy. It was important to familiarize military academics with the President's executive order and the overarching goal of enhancing the place of women in security initiatives. By incorporating WPS into joint professional military education, future leaders could learn about how to improve operational effectiveness in conflict zones.

As the Department of Defense's flagship institution for strategic education and partnership capacity building, National Defense University prepares both civilian and military national security professionals to understand and address the challenges of the contemporary security environment. NDU-based proponents of WPS are actively partnering with other senior military schools, particularly the Naval War College, to develop and implement an approach to Women, Peace, and Security that would make this subject area a permanent part of the curriculum for joint professional military education.

At NDU, the WPS agenda is being built by taking successive steps over three academic years. These steps include a lecture series, a university-wide writing award, one-day seminar, informal brownbag

luncheons, library-based website, and a film as the first action steps towards the concept's full integration into joint professional military education at all levels. The essential element of this approach was to make WPS a student-driven activity before becoming embedded in the curriculum.

Those activities became the basis of a framework for research and study that centered on requirements for developing an agenda for Joint Professional Military Education (JPME). This agenda would include four key areas:

1. **Why women matter**
2. **Women's participation in peace processes and decision-making**
3. **Women's protection, access and recovery in crisis environments**
4. **Addition in conflict prevention and disaster response**

The Eisenhower School for National Security and Resource Strategy built upon these initial strategies to grow WPS issues within NDU. In Spring 2016, The Eisenhower School inaugurated a WPS12-week elective course consistent with JPME requirements that familiarized students with the importance of considering gender in the operating environment. We are working within the Departments of Defense, State, and the United States Institute for Peace, the Institute for Inclusive Security as well as other relevant agencies and non-governmental organizations to firmly establish that understanding the operating environment is critical to operational success.

In order to frame the environment holistically, it is necessary to examine gender along with religion, history, governance, and other aspects of a given culture. Note that this is not a course about current discussions regarding the combat exclusion policy, military sexual assault, prevention of sexual harassment, or equal opportunity in the U. S. military. Though these issues of internal U. S. military policy are related topics, this course is focused on examining gender – in conjunction with other cultural elements – to create a more complete understanding of the operating environment, thereby facilitating the accomplishment of strategic and operational objectives. The course relies heavily on engagement with other USG agencies, non-governmental organizations and subject-matter experts to expand student knowledge and awareness. The NDU elective course centers on the following:

Objectives:

• Understand the United Nations' role in security.

• Comprehend the role of gender in framing the environment.

• Comprehend strategic guidance documents regarding gender in the operating environment.

• Comprehend the ethical dimension of gender in the operating environment and the challenges that it may present.

• Comprehend the role of gender in shaping, planning, and execution of joint force operations to facilitate the accomplishment of strategic and operational objectives.

Issues for Consideration:

• How do the goals of the United States' National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security support U. S. national interests? How should they inform U. S. military plans and actions?

- • How does understanding gender in a given society contribute to understanding the operating environment? How might "security" differ for men and women before, during, and after conflict?

- • To what degree can integrating a gender perspective during planning and operations contribute to preventing conflict and building sustainable peace? In what specific ways might his change operational plans and/or planning?

As part of the course requirement students submit a paper for the NDU Women, Peace & Security writing award. The NDU Foundation was the principal sponsor of the university-wide writing award for three years. Its parallel grant with the award heightened student interest and underscored the importance of WPS in strategic leadership development.

The Selection Committee for the NDU writing award seeks papers that focus on a gendered understanding, perspective and/or approach (i.e. consideration of the gendered norms and values attached to the status of women, men, girls and boys within a societal or institutional context) as they relate to:

- • Advancing peace, national security, economic and social development, and/or international cooperation

- • Conflict resolution

- • Peacebuilding

- • Conflict prevention

- • Countering Violent Extremism

- • Protection of rights

- • Protection from gender-based harms

- • Protection during and after conflict

- • Access to relief and recovery

- • Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief

- • Leadership

In addition, NDU's focus on Women, Peace, and Security has contributed immensely to the discussion by proposing several interrelated intra-college initiatives. These include the development of an "issue taxonomy" on the basis of which efforts could be organized, the solicitation of expert recommendations with respect to course content and research literature that will encompass the issue's scope, the compilation of a list of potential speakers and panelists, and the promotion of issue-driven events for the student body and alumni.

However, it is important that we begin to focus on how to make the strategic vision that we share on the importance of incorporating Women, Peace and Security issues in our overall planning an operational reality. The WPS concept should not be seen in it parts but rather as a holistic approach. We cannot be distracted by using the word "Peace" when the same elements of deployment are present whether we are discussing conflict zones or humanitarian assistance or disaster response. At this stage, we must begin to devise mechanisms that bring our policy-makers and war-fighters into a coherent, comprehensive and coordinated approach that reflects 21st century realities. Having a shared body of knowledge is critical to this endeavor.

National Defense University published a book co-authored by then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta entitled "Women on the Frontlines of Peace and Security" was a compilation of views of senior officials that addressed the engagement of women in conflict zones, their role with ensuring that vulnerable populations are protected from violence and total integration into recovery efforts, as well as determining both national and international stakeholders' respective roles in setting and advancing the agenda. This book is noteworthy not just for the subject but the realization that issues affecting how we implement WPS requires the full participation of men and women. We only need to look at the ongoing migration crisis in Europe and North America to see the overlapping lines between conflict, humanitarian assistance, international law, domestic legislation and the role of civil society in resolving these issues.

In March 2016, NDU's Center for Complex Operations published a special edition of its journal, *PRISM*, which further explored the critical components of the WPS agenda to help move discussion toward development of an international agenda and body of knowledge. The journal's objective was to broaden the dialogue at all levels to identify and share effective strategies amongst those countries that have implemented National Action Plans.

On March 16, The Eisenhower School's Commandant's Leadership Series on "Women Peace and Security" familiarized students with the concept of considering gender in the operating environment to create a more complete understanding of facilitating accomplishment of strategic and operational objectives. The event was coordinated by AMB Steven McGann, Senior Adviser, Eisenhower School to broaden the inclusion of these issues in the overall curriculum. The multi-media session coincided with the launch of NDU journal "PRISM" special edition on "Women, Peace and Inclusive Security."   The discussion was led by AMB Swanee Hunt, Founder of the Institute for Inclusive Security, DASD Anne Witkowsy (OSD), Dr. Mary Raum, Naval War College and moderated by PRISM editor Michael Miklaucic. The students explored how do the goals of the United States' National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security support U. S. national interests and inform military plans and actions. The event gave students an understanding of why integrating a gender perspective during planning and operations contributes to successfully meeting sustainable outcomes. However, we cannot end our efforts with singular events but continue to promote a sustainable approach to curriculum development.

There should be a greater impetus to establish universal progress assessment metrics. Its focuses will include gender doctrine as it relates to counterinsurgency and war; humanitarian assistance and disaster response; the political empowerment, health, and education of women; as well as the formal mechanisms by which aims in these regards may be accomplished.

This academic focus would include developing gender doctrine as it relates to conflict zones and war; the political empowerment, health and education of women; humanitarian assistance and disaster response as well as the formal mechanisms by which aims in these regards may be accomplished. We should reaffirm that our thinking has to be expanded to include all vulnerable populations to protect them in war and peace. Moreover, to help facilitate the global strategy, we should share the curriculum we've developed with other institutions in partnering countries. We should also identify opportunities to work with international partners to accomplish a wide range of national security objectives. Sharing common approaches with the international community will ensure a coordinated, cohesive, and coherent global approach.

At NDU, our graduates leave with the understanding that an effective leadership strategy is based on a "whole-of-government" approach that rests on the pillars of good governance, rule-of-law, religious freedom and gender equality. Moreover, the NDU alumni network is self-sustaining, with graduates regularly exchanging operational information and "best practices" that can help to make this approach visible, collaborative and sustainable. To help facilitate the global strategy outlined by the President, it is necessary to share the curriculum we've developed with other academic institutions in partner countries.

Additional opportunities to work with international partners should be identified to accomplish a wide range of national security objectives, as well as the goals of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2016, 2122 and other resolutions by UN bodies.

 In conclusion, the Executive Order, the US National Action Plan, and the DOD Implementation Plan all refer to "enhanced professional education and training" to institutionalize the WPS agenda in the classroom and training exercises. Sharing common approaches and understandings not only with the international community, but also as we develop policies and programs at the local, state and national levels, will ensure a coordinated, cohesive, and coherent global approach. It is imperative, then, that we meet this challenge with a credible approach at the academic institutions that enable the US government to develop leaders who understand the value of Women, Peace and Security in meeting our strategic objectives through using its concepts in policy formulation and implementation.

Increasing Leadership Capacity of General/Flag Officers on Gender Concepts:

A Swedish Model

Neyla Arnas

Exposure to gender precepts through training or other programs is lacking for general and flag officers in the U.S. military. On the other hand, the Swedish Armed Forces Gender Coach Program is successful and can offer a model that the U.S. military might usefully consider. The program pairs senior officers with a coach for one year, during which the officer develops a plan to implement UNSCR 1325 in his organization while learning skills to implement a gender perspective in daily work. The success of the program is attributed to the non-prescriptive, individually tailored, private relationship between officer and coach, which allows evolutionary self-discovery, overcoming biases, and the exchange of experiences among participants in the programs.

A 2015 Department of Defense Review of the U.S. National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security (WPS) noted, among other things, the need for general/flag officer exposure to WPS and gender concepts prior to arrival at Combatant Commands. Exposure to this topic at the senior levels has been lacking. The Nordic Centre for Gender in the Military (NCGM) was established in 2012 and in 2013 appointed head for all NATO-led curricula on gender. To date, only three U.S. officers at the general/flag officer level have attended NCGM's gender seminars.[1] In January 2016, National Defense University's Capstone program, the mandatory course for all newly selected general and flag officers, committed to adding a session on WPS/gender concepts for the first time during its May 2016 class.

Leadership training and education in gender perspectives can help the Department of Defense fully integrate women in the armed forces, as the Secretary of Defense directed on January 1, 2016.[2] The lifting of the combat exclusion law should prompt thinking about what women bring to the fight beyond the ability to talk to other women in foreign cultures. Such inquiry might lead to examining where women outperform men: in areas of flexibility, maturity, counseling soldiers, and/or creative problem solving.[3] These are some of the leadership questions that might be addressed during a Gender Coach program. The changing landscape of our military will help more effectively address the changing landscape toward more population centric conflict.

The Swedish Armed Forces Gender Coach Program was instituted in 2007 to enhance senior officers' knowledge of gender equality issues and enhance their ability to integrate gender perspectives into organizations and activities. The Gender Coach concept originated within the Swedish Armed Forces' Gender Force program launched in 2003. This was a security sector/NGO partnership that aimed to

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[1] The Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations (NCGM) has two types of gender seminars geared toward senior officers. The Key Leader seminar is for O6-O9 and their civilian equivalents and the Commanding Officer seminar is geared toward O4-O6 and their civilian equivalents. According to NCGM's course catalogue, both seminars aim to increase knowledge about gender perspectives in military operations and share relevant experiences among participants.
[2] Ash Carter, memo, *Implementation Guidance for the Full Integration of Women in the Armed Forces*, December 3, 2015.
[3] Sue Fulton presentation at National Defense University panel on "Women's Integration into the U.S. Military," Ft. McNair, Washington DC, February 22, 2016.

integrate a gender aspect into activities to improve Swedish international relief operations and post conflict peacekeeping missions.[4]

The first Gender Coach program involved 12 senior leaders from the Swedish Armed Forces, police, and officers' trade union. Key to the program's success was the involvement of the Head of the Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters which sent a signal that the program was important and that leadership at the highest levels would participate.[5]

Participation in the program was voluntary for the officers, yet they were also vetted by the Gender Force leadership for suitability. Gender coaches were matched with officers according to background, experience, and rank, and the two worked together for approximately one year. The program began with two seminars—one for the officers and one for the coaches. The officers spent their seminar day identifying what they hoped to accomplish during the program and documenting their prior gender experiences. Both groups were reminded that a successful coaching experience is one where the coach would never advise but rather ask questions. The gender coaches came from a variety of senior level government and civil society backgrounds and were expert in the field of gender issues. Once coaches and officers were paired, they were given a month to interact and decide if they were a good match before the relationship became formalized. Meetings were one on one, between coach and officer, and were conducted on average once a month. A conscious decision was made to not take any meetings in the workplace; more often than not, the sessions took place over informal meals. In addition to being very well educated on the topic of gender relations, the coach was described as open-minded, very respectful, understanding of big challenges, never dictating what should be done while approaching problems from different perspectives and with levity. In addition to these individual coaching sessions during the year-long interaction, officers and coaches came together as a group for midterm and concluding seminars to share experiences, ideas, and progress.[6]

Coach selection was a key factor to the success of the coach/officer relationship. The rank or status of the coach with respect to the officer was not as important as the equivalent experience between the two. It was important to meet "a coach who can match your own experiences."[7] The coach and officer must both be well experienced and with the right mindset, coming to the relationship voluntarily.

According to the former Head of the Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters, there's one main impediment to an effective Gender Coach program. When leaders think they know what it means to apply a gender perspective yet their actions don't support the claim, it can pose difficulties for both the organization and the people who are trying to implement the gender perspective agenda. On the other hand, when leaders confess to not knowing how to address gender integration, for example, it becomes easy to remedy: through training, coaching, education, and peer-to-peer exchanges.[8]

Although the program began with a small number of people, the impact had far reaching consequences as those leaders progressed in their careers, applying what they learned along the way. In the Swedish Armed Forces, not everyone who wanted to participate in the Gender Coach program was selected to do so. The program gained informal popularity and became "sought after" by leaders. While not a

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[4] This effort was undertaken as part of Sweden's implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The Gender Force program consisted of eight subgroups of which Gender Coach was one. The eight subgroups were: recruitment; mandate; empowerment; cooperation in the field; gender field advisor; trafficking in human beings; gender coach; gender equality and women's rights.

[5] Author interview with former Head of Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters, Vienna, Austria, July 2, 2015.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

requirement for promotion, it did happen that those who successfully participated were promoted.[9] And it did not go unnoticed that those at the highest levels were participating in the program.

These best practices of Sweden's Gender Coach program include a combination of ideas reported by DCAF[10] and reinforced in the course of the author's interview with the former Head of the Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters:

- A program targeting senior leaders elevates the status and demand for that program.

- Voluntary participation in the program and allowing the coach and officer to determine suitability of the pairing ensures an effective relationship.

- Senior level officer participants in the program allow for candid exchange of ideas and experiences as a group.

- Conducting coaching sessions and seminars outside the work environment creates an environment conducive to pursuing a relationship of inquiry rather than prescriptive behavior.

- Matching leaders and coaches with similar *experiences* is key and far more important than rank or status.

- Officers implement plans that they themselves have developed which ensures higher likelihood of implementation of gender integration within the organization.

- Parallel educational programs for personnel at the institution of the officer are key to implementing gender perspective and integration in the longer term.

A program whereby individual officers are paired with gender coaches might be considered for volunteers from the Department of Defense Capstone program. Alternatively, a gender coach could be attached to a class for those officers who wish to avail themselves of the opportunity to learn more about gender integration, mimicking the current practice of attaching retired four star general and flag officers to each class to provide advice and guidance on other topics.

The lack of a targeted gender training program is an impediment to integration of gender equality and gender perspective. Officers can't advocate for issues they don't know or understand. In some respects, that is in effect the expectation for Department of Defense leaders in the area of gender integration. We do not expect leaders to organically know about defense acquisition systems, cyber security or even the capabilities of other services or interagency organizations, for example, and we conduct training and education to improve their abilities in all these areas. Yet, frequently, we encounter the notion that gender concepts should naturally be understood. This expectation can become more pronounced for women as both men and women can make the leap to assuming that the fact of being female automatically appropriates knowledge and understanding about gender perspectives.

Secretary of Defense Ash Carter's directive refers to the cultural shift required to integrate women into previously all-male career fields. It highlights the role of effective leadership in addressing concerns about combat effectiveness as the full integration of women moves forward.[11] It is unfair to expect leaders

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[9] Author's conversation with Gender Advisor, SHAPE, February 27, 2015.
[10] The Swedish Gender Coach Programme, DCAF, 2014,
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Swedish-gender-coach.pdf/RK=0/RS=i7Jn1o71MYec4kRl8WXw1V3Fffg-
[11] Ash Carter, memo, Implementation Guidance for the Full Integration of Women in the Armed Forces, December 3, 2015.

to automatically possess the skill set necessary to provide effective leadership to the task of maintaining unit cohesion while addressing the cultural shift of gender integration. We have a duty to provide resources to our senior leaders as they navigate any cultural barriers to fully harnessing the talents of a force where all positions are open to men and women. Inclusion of a gender session in the May 2016 Capstone class at National Defense University is a solid step forward. Consideration of a Gender Coach program based on the success of the Swedish Armed Forces model might also be considered.

Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Training and Education: The operationalizing of United Nation Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and the Department of Defense's Implementation Guide for Women Peace and Security based on the experiences obtained during an operational level exercise

by Vince Lowery

1. Purpose:

To provide a summary of events, overview of mistakes made, and way forward from an operational level exercise in 2015.

2. Facts:

Before the start of the exercise, the unit command created WPS cell that consisted of a three-person cell, two females and one male. All with different levels of experience with gender mainstreaming and with operational level planning. This cell did not have time prior to training to collaborate or strategize in order to plan for the exercise. Although the cell did not have time to strategize or collaborate prior to the exercise, it was able to deliver several lessons to small groups on Women, Peace and Security during the classroom pre-training session, pre-mission exercise and during the exercise.

This WPS cell learned many lessons during the classroom pre-training, the pre-mission exercise and the main exercise. First, and foremost, is that training sets the tone for success. This is true of any mission but especially holds true to implementing new concepts. Well thought-out training needs to be understandable in the aspect of military planning/operations and the right information needs taught at the right level. Additionally, gender mainstreaming must have the entire command team's support in order to successfully implement the UNSCR 1325 and gender mainstreaming. Without the support of the command, which entails the command speaking before the training audience about its importance, there is little chance that the training audience will take WPS as a serious training objective.

Second, gender mainstreaming should begin at the beginning of the planning process, before any planning conferences; to ensure it is incorporated at all levels. This entails planning personnel inputting training objectives for WPS and gender mainstreaming as well as possible scenarios dealing with these topics are loaded into Joint Training Management System (JTMS). Waiting until a plan is completed then creating amendments to the order is too late. Adding necessary coordinating instructions for training requirements and reporting procedures after pre-mission training is over is too late for people to incorporate the necessary training into their training plans. Additionally, annexes alone are not sufficient to task soldiers to execute pre-mission requirements. soldiers and planners for that mission/exercise will not normally read annexes that do not pertain them specifically. Without commanders specifically directing soldiers to read the annexes and execute tasks in them, there is no motivation for soldiers to do so.

Third, staff sections and subordinate units need to understand the need to identifying a representative as gender focal points (GFP). To ensure the proper inclusion of gender mainstreaming, GFPs must have a

small amount of additional training. This is to ensure the soldier identified as the GFP representative is continuously considering the gender perspective during the planning process and the decision-making process. If the Gender Advisor (GA) is unaware of who their GFPs are or knows that they are not being assigned they cannot effectively execute gender mainstreaming. Finding the right person to be a GFP is important. Assigning a PVT to be a GFP would not be practical since lower enlisted rarely are in position to be in a decision-making processes during the Military Decision Making Process (MDMP), planning and mission execution. Additionally, assigning a senior enlisted or officer that does not have the time to focus on a small area of emphasis and to ensure follow through on the planning would also not be beneficial. Though it would be beneficial to their next unit, it would not be fruitful for sustaining the unit's capabilities to have a soldier with limited time in the unit to fill the position either. Furthermore, the soldier (Officer or NCO), assigned as the gender representative needs to be able to provide information on the equality of all human rights and not strictly on women's right or a feministic point of view. Gender mainstreaming is about creating equal rights not about promoting women's rights.

Lastly, "terminology" is very important when talking about WPS/gender mainstreaming to soldiers as men and women typically automatically have preconceived notions when they hear the word "gender." Experience has shown this is because most people have not learned the true meaning of the word or the intent behind the initiative of gender mainstreaming. For this reason, finding suitable terminology that reflects the spirit of the U.S. National Action Plan on WPS and the Department of Defense's Implementation Guide that supports it can determine if you gain or lose your audience's attention on the subject before you even start to teach about it. After soldiers have a true understanding of words like gender, sex and other WPS specific terminology, you can use them more purposefully.

3. Observation of classroom pre-mission training:

Initial observations of soldiers, before any training, was majority of them (with a few exceptions of senior leadership and a few staff members that were heavily involved with exercise planning) were completely unaware of UNSCR 1325, gender mainstreaming, and its role in the exercise. The CFLCC started out with classroom pre-mission training. The instruction delivered on UNSCR 1325 and gender mainstreaming was inadequate and ill formatted for soldiers to be able to understand the outlying reasons and purpose to its inclusion into the exercise. Because of their lack of general understanding in the subject, they were unable to incorporate UNSCR 1325 into their daily operations and planning with a comprehensive approach. A select number of staff elements did grasp enough understanding of gender mainstreaming to use throughout the course of the main exercise.

There were two misfortunes during the classroom training. One was the WPS cell did not having literature, in form of handouts or brochures, for soldiers to take with them after the briefing. Second, CFLCC used an outside civilian contractor, holding over 20 years of experience in the field of gender equality with a little time spent overseas working with the military, to conduct the pre-mission classroom training on UNSCR 1325 and gender mainstreaming. This contractor, a Subject Matter Expert (SME), brought in expert level advice and guidance on WPS. The issue CFLCC ran into was the SME had little working knowledge of how the CFLCC operated or conducted military operations. Therefore, the SAM was unable to present the information in understandable terms that related the topics to what soldiers already knew. Third, there was a decrease in time allowance to brief due to other briefings going longer than their allotted time. The WPS cell should have requested to move the briefing to another time upon notification that the period was cut in half to allow the speaker to have the proper amount of time to put out all the required information and time for questions/answers. Since there was no request submitted, many soldiers missed key learning points that could have ensured they had a working knowledge of the topic. In addition, due to the short time period, soldiers were unable to ask questions about the concept of gender mainstreaming nor ask how to incorporate gender into their specific operations and planning. Last, many members participating in the exercise did not attend the training because their leaders failed to enforce attendance to the training. Several soldiers commented they would have attended the training in

their post exercise survey had they been told about it. Those comments from the surveys, along with the number of unfilled seats, relayed a message to the WPS cell and to the SME that leaning WPS and gender mainstreaming was not a priority to the unit or the command.

4. Observations of pre-mission training:

It was apparent during the pre-mission training that there was a considerable amount of confusion and even some resistance from staff members at the Combined Forces Land Component Command (CFLCC) level. Heavier resistance came from those with less understanding of the subject and that were comfortable with the way they were already conducting planning and operations. Those who felt that this subject did apply to their warfighting function (mostly those who attended the classroom briefing) were inclined to educate themselves by seeking out information from one of the three WPS cell members or reading through the literature available at the WPS cell workspace. Amidst the pre-mission training, there were many informal one-on-one discussions with members of different staff sections to help them understand gender mainstreaming and the purpose behind the initiative. Those that contributed in these discussions saw how it could be beneficial to incorporate gender mainstreaming. In addition, the WPS cell distributed literature and tools by email and in hard copy to each CFLCC staff section prior to the pre-mission exercise.

Post pre-mission training, the CFLCC Gender Advisor created and submitted a gender annex to the G5/plans section along with a recommended list of coordinating instructions for approval and incorporation into the main operational plan. These Coordinating instructions were not included into the main order and the annex was not publish or distributed until a few days before the start of the main exercise. One of the key coordinating instructions was for all exercise personnel to complete an online training course on gender. If exercise participants had completed this training prior to the exercise there would have been a greater understanding of how to mainstream gender and understand why the unit was incorporating UNSCR 1325 into their mission. Reporting showed not one soldier completed the training, even after tasked to do so in subsequent FRAGOs. Additionally, 20% of personnel who conducted the post-exercise survey stated either they had never heard of UNSCR 1325, or they thought it was not relevant to their job. Again, this goes back to having the support for WPS by the command element.

5. Observations during the main exercise:

Three days prior to the start of the exercise, the WPS cell spent majority of the time devoted to writing injects to have the excluded coordinating instructions added into the order. One of the main tasking's added was for the Staff Judge Advocate (SJA) to write an SOP on human rights violations because they were reluctant to do it through the team insisting to them one needed written. The WPS cell also completed a general assessment on the staff sections and support personnel to ensure they were proceeding in the right direction with incorporating gender into their operations. During this assessment, it came to the attention of the WPS cell that only one of the subordinate command LNOs had heard of WPS and not one of the subordinate unit LNOs took part in the pre-mission classroom training with the CFLCC staff. This meant one of two thoughts: only one subordinate command was aware that WPS and gender mainstreaming was a training objective for the exercise or only one unit thought it was relevant at their level.

During the course of the exercise, the WPS cell did not focus on continuing to train the staff. Based on the concept that exercises are for evaluation more that training, they kept their focus on expanding the value of incorporating gender and mentoring subordinate gender focal points at the division level. Due to this, the cell failed the staff and the commander by not continuing to train during the exercise. Although Gender mainstreaming is a new concept for the U.S. military, the WPS cell should have continued to educate while simultaneously conducting planning and training. The WPS Cell could have set aside time to brief individual sections prior to the start of the exercise in order for the staff sections to incorporate

gender considerations better into their daily activities. They could have created short learning points, case studies and cycled them through as announcements on television screens (which were scattered throughout the operational headquarters) along with other posted Morale, Welfare, and Recreational advertisements and announcements. In addition, training on UNSCR 1325 and gender mainstreaming should have been set-up/directed for those who did not attend the classroom pre-mission training.

Finally, it was evident from day-to-day conversations with staff elements that CFLCC soldiers less involved with the kinetic operations felt that WPS and gender mainstreaming had no purpose in their operations and activities. Several soldiers and staff sections were unaware of how gender mainstreaming would fit into what they did. This was evident mainly because personnel from their section had not attended the scheduled training.

6. Observations of subordinate commands:

Under the CFLCC, two infantry divisions had different levels of involvement in gender mainstreaming and incorporating UNSCR 1325. The first division did not communicate with the CFLCC WPS cell to seek out information on gender integration/mainstreaming. The first division utilized a foreign-armed service member as their GFA. The issue with assigning their foreign-armed service member as their GFA was the inability to send secure messages and information in a timely manner. Due to the limited communications, the WPS cell received very little information from that GFA, there was no clear understanding of what the CFLCC reporting requirements were, and information did not make it down to the GFA that would have enabled them to be successful. The division command element should have used a U.S. soldier to work alongside the foreign-armed service member to enhance the ability to communicate and share information with higher headquarters. Additionally, with the unit using a foreign-armed service member as the GFA for incorporating WPS and gender mainstreaming, the unit left a gap in their ability to create continuity for future missions and exercises.

The second division established a gender field advisor out of their division HQ personnel. They confirmed reading the Gender Annex, utilized it as a guide, and established necessary reports, systems and guidance for their subordinates that led to incorporate gender mainstreaming effectively. This division had daily communications with the CFLCC Gender Advisor that enabled them to clarify information requirements and to receive mentorship. This allowed them to generate reports for a human trafficking inject that was concise and gave CFLCC the essential information without having to go back and ask additional questions.

A few important differences between the two divisions were the training received prior to the exercise and the priority the leaders placed on the training objective. The second division's primary staff and GFA requested and received training directly from the CFLCC Gender Advisor. They understood the background and intent for gender mainstreaming and made an effort to incorporate the intent of UNSCR 1325 into their planning and execution. The second division's Chief of Staff stood before all the primary staff personnel and specifically stated the importance of WPS to the mission. It is unknown what training the first division conducted during their pre-mission training. There were several emails sent to the division requesting information with no reply. Eventually, an email was received from first division operations center staff stating they did not have time to handle matters in this area (WPS) and that all questions were to be directed to their GFA, who was barely able to communicate with the CFLCC WPS cell through other US soldiers. This gave the impression to the CFLCC WPS cell that the first division's leadership did not place an importance on incorporating gender. Because of the lack of priority placed by the leadership, the first divisions GFA did not have the support in ensuring communication methods were set up to discuss and communicate the GFA's issues, needs, and understanding with the CFLCC Gender Advisor.

Lastly, in addition to the above-mentioned issues, near the end of the main exercise the CFLCC Gender Advisor observed several CFLCC staff sections using foreign-armed service members to conduct gender mainstreaming into their operations. In doing this, it guaranteed two things to occur;

1) This negated the burden of CFLCC personnel of learning how it incorporated into their operations onto others (laziness and lack of command support) and

2) This ensured there was no one to carry continuity for future exercises and missions.

7. Post-exercise survey results:

As stated previously, at the end of the main exercise a survey, distributed to each CFLCC staff section, consisting of 120 surveys total, resulted in the return of 102. The post-exercise survey confirmed that some senior section leaders did not place any emphasis on assigning a gender representative from their internal elements to learn enough information in order to carry the lessons learned into future exercises. It also confirmed some sections assigned a foreign-armed service member to deal with the task defeating the intent to incorporate WPS holistically to achieve gender mainstreaming for the unit.

The main negative comments that came out of the survey, in relation to WPS, were:

- UN Mission, not for combat troops

- Protecting women's rights (8 comments)

- NGO work

- Women issues (4 comments)

- Additional duty

- Women suffrage

- Another staff function that is a duplication of effort, and

- Did not apply to me or my job (7 comments)

Comments on what soldiers wished they learned about WPS prior to the training event were:

- Need more information and training along with expectations from leadership for augmentees

- Historical examples/Lessons learned of roles women play in peace and security (6 comments)

- Talked through a human terrain scenario that addresses WPS without being too obvious

- How different units utilize and integrate WPS into their daily tasks/operations (2 comments)

- Impacts to targeting

- What authorities we you have for WPS

- Emphasize it's not about women's rights

- What are the key points of our NAP

- Detainee/IDP operation considerations

- How the removal of males from a culture adversely affects the societal roles

- Unique approaches that make WPS successful

- What is the background for UNSCR 1325 (2 comments)

- Where do I find resources

- How to incorporate it (3)

- How does it apply at operational/tactical level (4)

- How it is mandated (process of orders/policy)

- How does gender tie into everything else, other than it is reported to someone, where does the information go and who is going to do something to support it

- How does it shape strategic efforts

- How does this tie into the use of child soldiers

- How does this tie in with human trafficking

- How does this pertain to lower level (rank) involvement

- What is the NGO involvement with WPS

- How does it relate to human rights

8. Observations of success throughout the training event:

Although the exercise ran into several issues through the course of the exercise, there are several highlights:

- A guide was created for implementing gender at the operational and tactical levels

- A human trafficking report was created that was utilized by subordinate commands

- WPS was integrated into shaping and targeting efforts

- Reporting standards of gender perspective was created in the operations guide;

- A human trafficking battle drill was created;

- In addition, a gender based violence soldier's card was developed.

The experience from this exercise concluded with the CFLCC gender advisor to draft a policy letter on gender and WPS, and an annual training program to ensure soldiers received training prior to deployments.

9. The Way ahead.

The unit has taken its first step towards operationalizing gender by utilizing internal personnel as a Gender Advisor and GFPs. Taking these additional steps will help ensure future success in incorporating gender mainstreaming and WPS in all operations and exercises:

1) Train and educate the staff -Train sections, individually, to break the concept of gender mainstreaming down to their specific tasks. Several comments from the post exercise survey asked to conduct specific training on how gender mainstreaming fits into their area of expertise. Being able to teach sections and units in small groups facilitates more discussion and increases learning.

2) Policy and Doctrine

a)   Create a command policy that directs assigning a Gender Advisors at the operational

level, assigning a Gender Focal Points at the tactical level and in staff sections. Additionally, create a command directive to include training on WPS and gender mainstreaming for deploying units and individuals. Lastly, create a written policy that directs units down to the lowest level to understand, teach, mentor and support the operational tasks of the DoD Implementation Guide.

b) Campaign plans need to be gender mainstreamed at the Combatant Command (COCOM) level. Incorporate gender considerations for each plan as gender mainstreaming should not just be for use in exercises. Gender mainstreaming is a strategic and operational level planning effort due to its real world implications and must be incorporated at every planning level.

c) Continue to assist Doctrine and Training Division (DOTD) in their incorporation of gender into current doctrine. Currently assisting in the update for ADP/ADRP 3-07, Stability Operations.

3) Train subordinate commands and leadership

a) Incorporate a training course into the current command-team training program. Adding a one-hour block of instruction in Vulnerable Population and gender will increase awareness for the command teams of UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions as well as supporting the intent of the DOD implementation guidance.

b) Initiate training for senior NCOs and officers during in-processing. Implementation of gender mainstreaming should be a top down initiative. By training the senior personnel and officers when they initially arrive to the installation or unit will increase the awareness throughout the installation. More importantly, this will also show the command emphasis on learning and incorporating the initiative into their unit's activities.

c) Train subordinate unit staff elements that are participating in international level exercises, peace and security operations, or deploying to combat. Soldiers need to know the basics of UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions before deploying to an area where it can affect their mission.

Operationalizing Gender Advisors for the Human Aspects of Military Operations

LTC Kristine Petermann, USAR; Dr. Lisa Brooks-Babin, Ms. Elizabeth Lape

In December 2011 President Obama signed Executive Order 13595 implementing the United States (U.S.) National Action Plan (NAP) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS). The NAP is a direct result of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, the first resolution to recognize the crucial role women play in restoring and maintaining peace and security. The U.S. NAP tasked the U.S. government agencies to build a policy on WPS. (Executive Order No. 13595, 76, 2011). By September 2013, the Department of Defense (DOD) published an Implementation Guide for the U.S. NAP on WPS. The DOD Implementation Guide outlines five objectives:

- National Integration and Institutionalization (instituting a gender sensitive approach to defense related work in conflict areas)

- Participation in Peace Processes and Decision-Making (USG will improve participation of women at all levels of decision making/peace negotiations/security initiatives/conflict prevention)

- Protection from Violence, we will strengthen our efforts to prevent and protect women and children from harm, exploitation, abuse (SGBV/TIP)

- Conflict Prevention, promote women's roles in conflict prevention, improve conflict early warning and response systems, through integrating gender perspective

- Access to Relief and Recovery, responding to the distinct needs of women and children in disasters and crises and providing equal access to HA

(USAID, 2012; USIP, 2012)

With 18 actions listed in the DOD's Implementation Guide, the military must decide how to include a gender perspective at the tactical and operational levels. The Guide does not provide information regarding how military leaders develop gender expertise throughout all levels and phases of military operations to support practical and successful implementation. Additional information is needed to assist the military leaders in accessing and leveraging gender expertise to improve military planning and execution within diverse operational environments. Following are recommendations on how to employ, train and resource Gender Advisors at the tactical and operational levels in order to address the strategic needs identified in the WPS plan.

Framework Documents

UNSCR 1325 and the U.S. NAP reflects the term "Women, Peace and Security." This title lends to the misbelief that only women are the focus when in fact the original resolution accounts for women and children. Later resolutions in support of the original 1325 included men as a consideration. "Gender perspective" is a term more commonly used in NATO framework documents and is beginning to be used more frequently in U.S. discussions with the term "gender" meaning the social constructs and not biological related (NATO, 2012). While gender can also be synonymous with "woman", it is closer to the intent of Resolution 1325 as it includes a broader focus of socially defined set of roles, rights, responsibilities, entitlements, and obligations of females and males in societies versus a strict focus on biological differences between women and men. The social definitions of what it means to be female and

male vary among cultures, ethnic groups, status, and change over time allowing for a more inclusive term. Culture determines gender roles and what is masculine and feminine: for example; what does it mean to be a male in Afghanistan (head of household, works, and makes a majority of the decisions) vs. a male from the Aka Pygmy tribe of Central Africa (men stay home take care of the children and the women hunt). Furthermore, the use of gender as the most appropriate term encourages an understanding of how the roles and experiences of males and females are influenced by differences such as age, class, religion, culture, and location. This is important because the reality is gender roles affect access to education and economic opportunities; access to decision-making power; access to services; and the health and well-being of boys and girls and men and women around the world.

Considering gender factors in military operations helps units understand the different kinds and sources of information relating to security risks and threats of women and men in the area of operation. Consequently, to obtain a complete overview of the security environment, planning processes for missions need to include engagements with the entire population drawing on the perspectives of both women and men in order to paint a more comprehensive picture of the military operating environment. As stated earlier, gender identifies and addresses specific gender needs (access to resources, labor, education, healthcare, security threats) that can vary dramatically between women and men.

Tactical examples

As military leaders, it is important to understand there are specific cultural issues that subordinate units need to know and understand to plan and execute effective military operations in an ever increasingly complex world. (Army Operating Concept, 2014) Some cultural factors are not always visible or noticeable and may even be counter-intuitive to a Western way of thinking. For example, building a school in a village may make sense at the tactical level where conversations with the population identify the need for better education for their children. Normal military operational planning would then logically consider the required factors needed to build a school in a village: i.e., the 5 W's (who, what, when where, why, how). This is a shallow analysis of the situation because there are numerous cultural considerations that could derail the project: i.e., who owns the land and what if they have insurgent ties? What if the land has tribal affiliations and the children you are wanting to educate are from different tribes? Can the local government maintain the building, pay for teachers, or supply educational materials? Will the teachers want to teach math and sciences or just religion? How might neighboring villages respond to this school being built in this village and not in their community? (Akkari, 2004)

Looking at it with a gender lens, other considerations arise: i.e., will boys and girls be allowed in the school and taught the same information? Will boys and girls need to be separated during instruction? What about play time outside? Can only female teachers teach the girls? Is it too dangerous for female teachers to travel to the school to teach? Any one of these considerations could result in project failure even if the best intentions were in place. Further, unexpected outcomes could be in complete contrast to the strategic goals of the U.S. NAP: i.e., will educating girls result in increased violence from extremists in the community? Will there be increased violence against female teachers in the region? The potential 2nd and 3rd order effects of what seems like a good decision are numerous and may be devastating to successfully achieving military objectives.

Considering gender factors related to military operations enhances information gathering and helps to better identify underlying problems that exist in communities. Men and women may have different experiences within the same communities and thus have different perspectives, needs, and concerns regarding a situation. Through their unique roles in communities and families, women often know about people and events that men do not and vice versa. For example, when women gather water or firewood, they may see and hear things men don't notice. They see the same terrain every day and notice if something changes. A patrol benefited from the advice of the Gender Advisor, whose recommendations on patrolling patterns led to the collection of critical information from a local family. Within a few days a

local village was having a wedding. During the wedding, large groups of people descend upon this small town and usually gunfire goes off in celebration. By understanding that a wedding was going to take place, the Soldiers did not overreact to the large group of people coming into the town. (Groothedde, 2013) Without this significant information from the women, the patrol may have overreacted resulting in adverse effects for coalition forces in the area of operations. A clear and accurate picture cannot be attained if 50% or more of the population hasn't been asked. In other words, 50% of the information is missing!

By engaging men and women, military leaders develop a better understanding of a community's needs and through varied lens develops better solutions to those problems. Men and women may have different needs and concerns regarding a situation and have different solutions to address the same problems. They both play valuable roles in peace and security and should be equally engaged and encouraged to participate in solving problems for their communities. (Norville, 2011). By understanding the different perspectives of men and women, this could help inform and influence the population, better increase U.S military's credibility, and enhance the willingness of locals to corporate with coalition members.

Gender understanding in military operations increases force protection. By going out and talking to the men and women, soldiers are letting them know why they are there, what they are doing, and how they want to help the host nation people in solving local problems. Without this positive contact, local people are easily misled by negative influencers and left to figure-out for themselves why the military is "occupying" their homeland. Effective engagement of men and women assists in building and strengthening a base of local support, which enhances force protection while diminishing support for armed groups.

Using a Gender perspective in military operations is not new. In WWII Tokyo Rose and Axis Sally were deliberately chosen by enemy forces as the voice of state propaganda.   In Iraq and Afghanistan, to counter insurgent activities, Female Engagement Teams (FETs) were used to search local females who might be carrying contraband, talk to them about their concerns and needs, and better understand the influence the women had over their families and communities. (Brooks Babin, 2013) Through these engagements, the military units had a more complete picture of the operating environment and how to make tangible gains for the communities. (i.e., by talking with the mothers and understanding their concerns, the military could help provide educational resources helping families choose to deter their sons from participating with armed groups and insurgents and return to school).

During the 1990's Balkans conflict Muslim, Serb, and Croatian women maintained contact and continued interacting in many areas. The networks and lines of communication created serve as a textbook example of the type of access points that could be used to navigate the human terrain in a battle space by gathering and disseminating information. "Living and working close to the roots of they are well-positioned to provide essential information about activities leading up to the armed conflict and record events during the war, including gathering evidence at scenes of atrocities." (Church, 2010, p. 170) Unfortunately an opportunity for fostering reconciliation and reintegration was missed by ignoring the female population. Most U.S. military officials and diplomats were unaware that throughout the Bosnian conflict some 40 women's organizations were operating across ethnic and religious lines. (Hunt, 2005) Being aware of gender in military operations addresses the growing need for more effective non-lethal targeting to winning in a complex world. Considering a gender perspective also assists in moderating political and religious extremism. Women can enhance democratic political processes by working across political party lines, advocating for the interests of marginalized groups, and linking grassroots perspectives to national debates.

Male and female military members can work within local gender norms towards achieving a desired end. A FET leader in Sangin, Afghanistan, August 2010, was the only person (speaker) who a male informant would talk to about lifesaving information in regards to the location of IEDs and the identities of Taliban

supporters. She did this by engaging and establishing rapport with a male farmer who was thrilled to be talking to somebody who shared his enthusiasm for his favorite crop, the watermelon. He walked her around his fields and gave her two watermelons as gifts. When she went back and told her unit, they went back without her, but the male farmer would not talk share any more information with them unless the female returned (Coll, 2012). Local communities can perceive female personnel as less threatening. In Congo and Chad, communities were interviewed and stated they were more accepting of European Union Force patrols that included women. Both male and female military members can work within stereotypes to exploit gender norms towards achieving a desired end.

Gender Based Violence

The dynamics of gender in stability operations is essential to look at because often the military goes into areas where U.S. forces face not only traditional threats, but nontraditional security threats such as Gender Based Violence (GBV). GBV is an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will and is directed against a person on the basis of gender of sex. GBV violence cuts across ethnicity, race, class, religion, and education level, and international borders. Gender based violence comes in various forms starting with physical violence- domestic violence such as beating, hitting, genital mutilation, child abuse, female infanticide, and "Honor Killings". Sexual exploitation and abuse is an effective and silent tactic of conflict to achieve political, economic, and military goals. It has been used as a weapon of war to destabilize populations, disrupt social cohesion, and transform the ethnic and social composition of warring groups.

The massacre at Racak, central Kosovo in January 1999 was the mass killing of over 400 Kosovo Albanians with 90% of them presumed to be battle-aged males. The killings were a deliberate massacre of civilians perpetrated by Serbian security forces (Jones, 2006). The killings were a major factor in NATO deciding to use force against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to end its campaign of violence against Kosovo Albanians.

GBV can be emotional and psychological violence which is humiliating, threatening, pressuring, and possessiveness (controlling decisions and activities). It is also sexual violence- pressuring or forcing someone to perform sexual acts against their will. Rape is especially effective, because it is used as a multifaceted tool that instills fear in victims, power in perpetrators, terror in communities and victory to perpetrators. Forced marriage, no consent from her or family and she is forced to cook, wash, carry ammo or looted items) or become a sexual slave. On 1 Jan 2011, soldiers raped at least 67 women and girls and arbitrarily detained and tortured dozens of other civilians in Fizi, South Kivu (HRW, 2013). The U.S. military must be prepared to consider the gender related factors in case they are called in to conduct stability operations in a similar situation.

The Peacekeeping Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI) states a safe and secure environment does not exist if Combat Related Sexual Violence is a problem (PKSOI, 2014). GBV occurs as part of a deliberate and systemic campaign to target a victim and group. It destroys families and communities or is used to support ethnic cleansing. In Rwanda 250,000 – 500,000 rapes occurred predominantly against Tutsi women & girls of all ages, men, boys and Hutu moderates (Chu & de Brouwer, 2011). Many leaders encouraged and participated in these violent acts by portraying Tutsis as inferiors who needed to be "cleansed" in order to expand the Hutu population. In Cote d'Ivoire men, women, and children were forced to watch sexual violence as a punishment. Some husbands were forced to watch the rape of their wives, creating a sense of powerlessness and shame. In 1998 the Rome Statue of the International Criminal Court recognized rape as a weapon of war making rape an individual crime, a war crime and a crime against humanity.

The Human Domain

Years of war in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Iraq have taught us some very valuable lessons. One that we can no longer ignore is working with the population. Wars in the past two decades have heightened awareness of the vulnerability of noncombatants in conflict-affected environments. According to the Strategic Landpower White Paper, Winning the Clash of Wills, signed by GEN Odinero, Gen Amos, and ADM McRaven: "……. the neglect or misjudgment of population-centric considerations in U.S. strategic calculations is easily documented. Time and again, the U.S. has undertaken to engage in conflict without fully considering the physical, cultural, and social environments that comprise what some have called the "human domain". …the success of future strategic initiatives and the ability of the U.S. to shape a peaceful and prosperous global environment will rest more and more on our ability to understand, influence, or exercise control within the "human domain."

Civilians in every major conflict – Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Bosnia, Cambodia and El Salvador – have been regularly targeted as a tactic of war. And women have been particularly targets, as armed forces attempt to demoralize their opponents.   Before WWII, 90% of the causalities in conflict were combatants; today 90% of the casualties are civilians – of which approximately 70%, women and children.

Many of the U.S. Armed Forces primary missions are directly and indirectly amongst the population:

- Counter Terrorism and Irregular Warfare

- Deter and Defeat Aggression

- Defend the Homeland and Provide Support to Civil Authorities

- Provide a Stabilizing Presence

- Conduct Stability and Counterinsurgency Operations

- Conduct Humanitarian, Disaster Relief, and Other Operations

In simplest of terms, the Human domain is composed of men, women, and children that must be targeted to gathering information. In Afghanistan, we observe rather consistent themes Men = interpret information and tell you what they think you want to hear Women = see and hear what goes on behind the walls Children = the children run free in the community; they see and watch and are involved in nearly every activity in the community

To understand which direction they are leaning, we must get feedback from all 3. The whole purpose of engaging members of the local community is to understand what this population is thinking and perceiving as we conduct operations.

By doing so, we:

- Corroborate what each group is saying

- Clarify what was meant by information gathered

- Get convergence on the common theme that resonate with the population

- And the overall caliber of the information we are gathering increases

Of note, the children are a delicate engagement endeavor as we do not want to put them at risk. For example, in Afghanistan approximately 45% of the population is under the age of 16 (CIA, 2016)…impressionable and vulnerable…prime target for enemy force recruitment. The future rests with

the children. If we don't engage, then the enemy will so they need to be considered in our human terrain targeting construct.

By addressing Men/Women/Children effectively, the US military will have access to additional and different type of information, which will improve the Commander's situational awareness, improve our force protection and non-lethal targeting. Neglecting to take them into consideration omits an immense pool of knowledge that can be capitalized upon. Operational Commanders must have a better understanding of gender issues in their Area of Operations and its impact on mission success. In the end, human to human contact is the only reliable means of assessing how people will act. Strategically employed forces operate on land and can develop knowledge in close contact with governments, militaries and populations; men, women and children.

Implementing a gender perspective

To prevent harm and increasing mission success, military members need to be gender aware and receive training on the dynamics of gender in military operations in order to better handle various types of situations. Integrating gender, especially at the tactical level, isn't extra work, it is just looking beyond the obvious, taking it a step further, and asking the following questions:

- How will this affect men, women and children?

- Will it affect them differently?

- Will this increase or worsen their security situation?

- Will it gain trust and build rapport?

- How can we access men and women and gain/share information?

- How is it possible to increase the collection of information in specific areas?

Integrating a gender perspective is sometimes confused with women's issues. When addressing gender perspectives, it is imperative to address the impacts of its operations on men, women, boys, and girls. While the impact on women has traditionally been overlooked and undervalued, the impact on men (from a gender perspective) and, boys in particular, is also neglected. Having a gender perspective does not mean doing more work. It is not an additional task, but a different way to look at things.

At the tactical level a gender perspective can be considered by asking:

Not only…….	But also……
• What needs/interests?	Whose needs/interests?
• What people do?	Who does what?
• What resources?	Whose resources?
• How many women?	Which women?
• How many men?	Which men?
• Who is included?	Who participates?
• Who talks?	Who is listened to?
• What security?	Whose security?
• What information?	Whose information is seen as valuable?

(NATO Soldier's Card, 2015)

Gender perspective is a way of assessing gender-based differences of women and men reflected in their social roles and interactions, in the distribution of power and the access of resources. The aim of which is to take into consideration the particular situation and needs for men and women, as well as how the activities of the U.S. military have different effects on them. Reporting that 18 civilians are crossing the bridge vs. 10 young adult males with 8 teenage boys paints a very different picture.

Implementing a Gender perspective is a force multiplier and supports the outcome of the operation and enhances mission effect. Furthermore, sustainable stability is only possible with the equal participation of women and men in decision-making at all levels. DOD, NATO and its partners are committed to ensure implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions.

Operational planning

Considering gender in military operations can help assess the operational effects on women and men in the planning stage of the operation. For example, if a targeting cell wanted to blow up a bridge, how will this affect the women and children? This bridge may be their sole means of access to education or health clinics. It may be a short term gain, but a long term loss. Gender must be a consideration when planning for humanitarian and disaster relief operations. In the 2005 Tsunami in parts of Indonesia and Sri Lanka, up to 80% the skills to cook, do the chores, and to care for the young children (IASC Handbook). In disasters women and men will have different capacities to prepare for, cope with and recover from the experience. While searching for survivors after an earthquake in Pakistan, it turned out that most of the victims were women. According to their tradition, women stayed at home because they are not allowed to leave the house without the permission of their husband. And since it is very shameful for a Pakistan woman to be touched by a man, most of them refused the help from the male rescuers. The mission came to a halt until they could locate women aid workers to assist the victims.

There are several questions that must be considered in regards to gender in military operations:

- What work, roles, activities and spaces are assigned predominately to men and women?
- Who undertakes which tasks and where?
- How must plans change to account for different work, roles, and spaces assigned to men and women?
- What roles do women play in local militaries and insurgencies? Do they engage in combat?
- If women are not visibly observable, what roles and tasks do they undertake "behind the scenes"

Gender Advisors

If the military does not consider the human domain it might have harmful effects. In July 2011, in Afghanistan, the FETs on Agribusiness Development Teams' organizing women empowerment groups were not supporting the military objective (Keravuori, 2014). A formally trained Gender Advisor can help prevent military members from developing programs in absence of anything else or because it is a "feel good" project. Gender Advisors can conduct a gender analysis and ensure programs or projects fits into the military objectives at all levels and will increase mission success not detract from it.

A Gender Advisor (GENAD) operates at a strategic and the Operational level as a resource to the Commander, and is responsible for the overall integration of gender perspectives into planning, execution and evaluation (NATO, 2012). GENADs can be the bridge between policy that is coming out of OSD/Joint Staff and what is actually happening on the ground. GENADs take a two pronged approach, working internally and externally. Internally, they conduct in-theater gender training, educate and support the staff, and advise the commander on any gender issues within the area of operations that can affect the

operation or mission. Externally, they work with governmental or local partners on activities, in regards to gender and ensures it is within our military capacity and will further our military goals. They also can participate in mil-to-mil training.

NATO has now stated that all NATO exercises, etc. will have Gender Advisors (NATO, 2012). Operationalizing GENADs will provide Commanders at all levels the expertise needed to integrate gender into regional and Combatant Command (CCMD) requirements through a trained and established structure. CCMDs can incorporate a gender perspective within their Theater Campaign Plans through identification of key gender issues in their theater operations through Joint Intelligence Preparation of the Operating Environment and the Joint Operational Planning Process by providing a gender analysis on the civil components that shape the operating environment. Once senior leadership places emphasis on the importance of gender considerations, their subordinate units will do the same and can integrate gender into their mission analysis METT-TC (mission, enemy, terrain and weather, troops and support available, time available, civil considerations) as they pertain to the mission. GENADs will support the Regional Aligned Forces strategy by being regionally focused, mission tailored and culturally aware in regards to gender in their respective operating environment (OE).

The complex operating environment has created an operational need for GENADs. It requires the capability to understand regional considerations (cognitive, moral, socio-economic and physical) of the OE in order to have scalable options. Throughout all of this is gender, which is cross cutting and impacts the host nation and the U.S. operations within in it.

The current security challenges require the capability to incorporate the human aspects of conflict and war into operations planning and execution in order to enable scalable options. The complex OE requires the capability to foster trust and cohesion with unified partners required to conduct security operations. The Future Army forces require the capability to support efforts led by other U.S. government agencies to enhance a partner's capability for governance, economic development, essential services, rule of law, and other critical government functions. To influence enemy, adversary, and neutral foreign audiences, and affect threat decision-making. Finally, the complex OE requires Soldiers and leaders to effectively work alongside indigenous populations in permissive, uncertain or politically sensitive situations.

Below are a few highlights at the operational levels for employment of GENADs:

- Assisting in countering and preventing Violent Extremism. Over the last decade, the number of women involved as perpetrators of terrorist attacks, or providing active support or encouragement for violent extremists in their own families and communities, has increased dramatically.   At the same time, there is now more focus on how women are critical to countering the spread of violent extremism by drawing on the influence they have on their husbands, their children and their communities. Women are also well placed to develop counter narratives on social media that debunk the twisted recruitment messages used by violent extremists.

- Create, conduct and disseminate Gender Analysis and Assessments within the area of operation (AO). The gender analysis (GA) describes the general status of men and women, the conditions to which they are subject and the threats, risks and inequalities they face as they pertain to your mission or operation.

  Sustain analysis of the human aspects of the OE

- Support the Commander and enhance Staff capacity for applying a gender sensitive approach, J1 (FETs), J2, address gender perspectives which may impact information gathering, knowledge development, analysis, J3, integrate gender throughout the JOPP, assessments, as well as planning and execution of operations, Information Operations, etc., J4, during disaster relief, ensuring gender is integrated in medical and logistical matters, J5, supporting
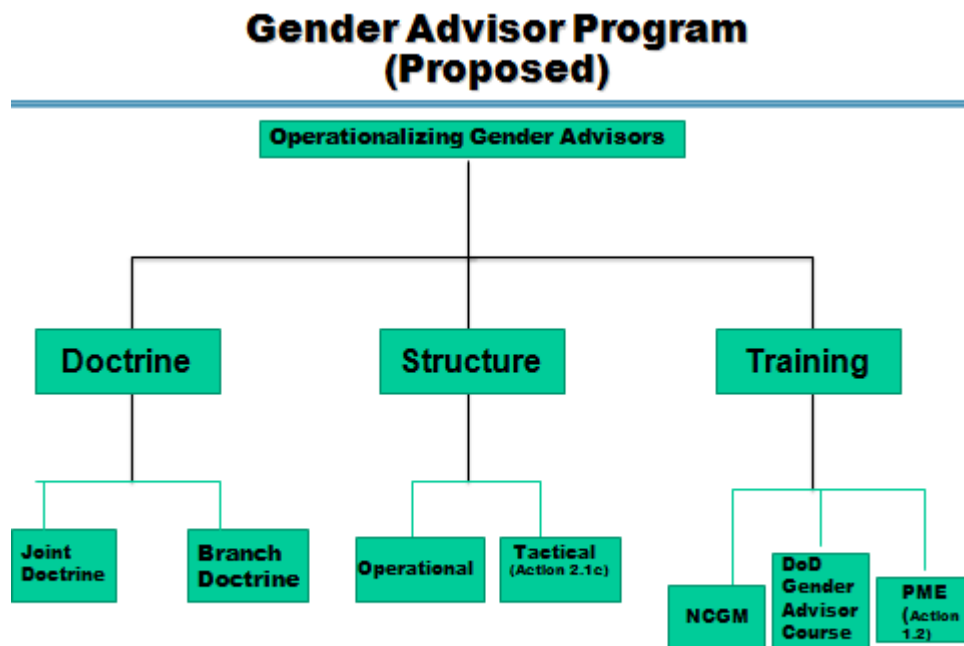
the campaign plan, operational design and long-term planning on integrating gender in military operations, J7, provide guidance and integrating gender training into individual and collective training, exercises and pre-deployment training. (Outcome 1.2)

- Identify and address specific gender and security needs through a gender analysis or assessment (access to resources, labor, education, health care, and economic development) in order to provide an appropriate comprehensive response

- Ensure all relevant U.S. military personnel received in-theater gender dynamics training (action 1.2)

- Develop and conduct gender dynamics training and education plans to support partner individual and unit operational capabilities

- Ensure gender is integrated into OPORDs, FRAGOs, SOPs and OPLAN annexes (Outcome 1.2)

Below are a few highlights at the tactical levels for employment of GENADs:

- Conduct a gender analysis to identify and address specific gender needs (access to resources, labor, education, health care, and economic development) in order to provide an appropriate comprehensive response

- Conduct effective regular engagements with men and women in AOR to assists in building or strengthening a base of local support and to ensure information is collected from men and women

- Ensure all required military personnel have theater specific training on gender dynamics. Training is related to local circumstances and focused on TTPs (Action 1.2)

- Train and manage Mixed Engagement Teams (METs)

Below is a proposal to integrate gender into military operations and specifically develop a Gender Advisor Program:
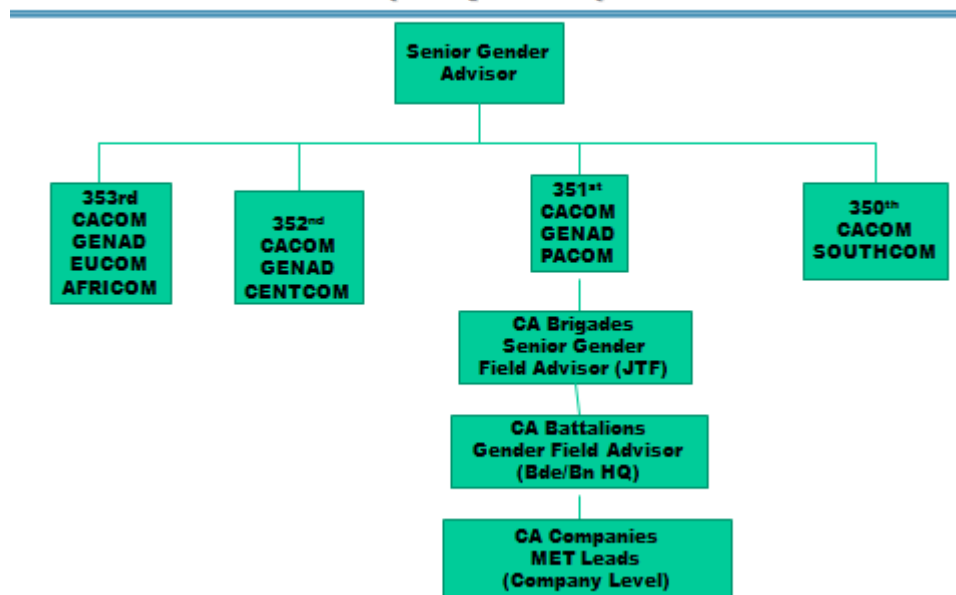

Gender Advisor Program (Proposed)

First, infuse joint and branch doctrine to reflect gender integration. For example current models PMESII (Political, Military, Economic, Social, Infrastructure, Information, Physical Environment, and Time; ASCOPE (Areas, Structures, Capabilities, Organizations, People, and Events) used to frame and characterize human aspects of the OE are inadequate to comprehensively depict the complex interrelated variables influencing human perceptions, attitudes and behaviors of men, women, and children. Example: Analysis scoped through PMESII-PT should include an in-depth analysis of the key role of the women, especially of the social dimension within PMESII (# and representation of women in local and federal government agencies, and military, statistics regarding sexual base violence, number of widow head of household). The study of the local population although not currently delineated in JP 2-01.3, should also comprise of an in-depth analysis of the key role women play in the society where the joint operation occurs. FM 3-57 should be revised by having gender integrated throughout Civil Affairs (CA) area assessment and running estimate.

GENAD in Civil Affairs

Changing structure, especially in a fiscal constraint environment, can be difficult to do. Including a GENAD as a Special Advisor to the Chief of Staff in a CCMD, or at least within the J9 as an additional duty would be an initial start. An example of one possible change that should not require a significant manpower strain would be to use the U.S. Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command Airborne (USACAPOC-A) command and associated units. These units are designed to engage with the host nation population in their normal operations. A Gender Advisor could be included within these units as demonstrated below

Civil Affairs (CA) Soldiers in USACAPOC are already regionally aligned. As noted, each CA Command (CACOM) is aligned with a CCMD. The GENAD would be an additional duty in the Continental U.S. (CONUS) and a primary duty outside the continental U.S. (OCONUS). The GENAD would support each CCMD at the HQ staff level and provide support to the WPS representative that may be permanently

assigned. Until a DOD Gender Advisor course is developed, they could receive training at the Nordic Center for Gender in Military Operations (NCGM) and attend a proposed U.S. Army Gender Advisor course.

The Senior Gender Advisors and the subordinate Gender Advisors would be an additional duty CONUS and a primary duty OCONUS. They would support the Joint Task Force (JTF) Headquarters (HQ). Until a DOD Gender Advisor course is developed, they could attend the NCGM Gender Advisor course and attend a proposed U.S. Army Gender Advisor course. The GENADs would support Brigade/Battalion HQs as a primary duty OCONUS and as an additional duty CONUS. They would attend the proposed U.S. Army Gender Advisor course. The MET Leads would serve at the company level and if available on JTF staff (J3, J5, and J7) to ensure a gender perspective is incorporated into planning, training, exercises, etc. Once again, it would be their primary duty OCONUS and an additional duty CONUS. In a gender restrictive environment the METs would become FETs (Female Engagement Teams).   Training would be provided by the Gender Advisor at the next higher level.

Training of CCMD/Joint Task Force Gender Advisors is the third arm of the proposed plan. Though a few of the CCMD WPS Working Group points of contact are already including a basic gender dynamics in military operations course as mandatory training received during onboarding, the others would need to ensure the inclusion this topic. In regards to a DOD Gender Advisor Course, a pilot course could be conducted at USACAPOC at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina possibly working with the Joint Staff J7, TRADOC and partnering with other USG agencies to provide the optimal instructors with varied perspectives. DOD could then designate a proponent or unit to develop a pilot program that is tailored to the CCMD theater requirements using CA assets that are already regionally aligned. A rough cost estimate to conduct training for 2 weeks for Gender Advisors, with instructors would be less than $400,000. An unfunded requirement would need to be submitted to cover this amount.

Way ahead

The ability to prevent war is an important endeavor and one that can only be achieved if the military fully understands the human domain of areas moving toward conflict. One significant indicator of future unrest and conflict is the measure of how men, women and children are treated in the country. If the country does not successfully use its human talent fully, and if it is marginalizing half of its population, the country is sure to destabilize and be on the brink of failing. While this is not an absolute, the scientific research shows there is a strong correlation between gender inequality and vulnerable societies. (WEF, 2015)

Part of shaping the operating environment is to have a better understanding of the human domain and specifically gender considerations. It is impossible to build productive friendships and trusting relationships with partners or target populations, if you have no understanding of their daily life, their grievances, and their hopes. It is essential that the military become proficient at understanding the human geography and gender considerations within any society.

Developing GENADs will provide an asset that is trained and employed to the goals of DOD's Implementation Guide on the NAP, and will assist our military to be more prepared, agile and effective in working with our partners and target populations around the world during all phases of military operations.

The expanded nature of U.S. peacekeeping operations has increased the likelihood that the lives of the host nation's population impacted by U.S. and coalition military members. How conflict has affected the lives of women as compared to men, and girls as compared to boys, must be understood because it will help to conduct stability/peacekeeping operations by better understand the background/situation in which

the units are working. This in turn assists military members in ensuring the mission does not make matters worse for the local population or reinforce past discrimination.

Gender awareness is not only about women, it also includes men, boys and girls. It is about all of society, the old and the young, the uneducated and educated, people who live in the city or those in the rural areas. In order to have a clear picture, we need to look at everything, talk to everybody, listen to everybody, be aware and then decide. It is giving the military member another tool to be used effectively when required.

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