

# Trends in the Militaries of Western Advanced Countries (Part 4)

## —Gender Mainstreaming in the United States Armed Forces as a case study

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### Introduction

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This paper is the fourth in a series introducing gender mainstreaming in the militaries of Western democracies.

Gender mainstreaming in the military began taking shape through the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1325 (Resolution 1325), also known as Women, Peace and Security (WPS), adopted by the UN Security Council in October 2000. Resolution 1325 combines the three elements of movements to gain women's rights and improve the status of women, the increased importance of the Protection of Civilians (POC), and the changing (and increasingly dangerous) nature of UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO).

On one hand, the United States Armed Forces (USF) had already begun working on gender mainstreaming prior to the implementation of Resolution 1325 in order to ensure the readiness and resilience of the USF amid a declining birthrate<sup>1</sup>, along with the changing security environment and national strategy.

On the other hand, while the USF fell behind other Western democracies in working to specifically address Resolution 1325, it did begin to do so from around 2020 based on the WPS Act, which was established in 2017. This was incorporated into existing gender mainstreaming measures in a cross-functional and cross-sectional manner.

The following will discuss gender mainstreaming in the USF<sup>2</sup>.

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### Direction of Gender Mainstreaming in the USF

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Gender mainstreaming in the USF is heading in three directions.

The first is the policy to open all job positions to female military personnel as a direction toward deploying personnel based on capability standards. The second is the direction toward Human Resource Management (HRM) that utilizes diverse human resources, including women, through Diversity Management (DM). These two directions involve human resource management measures based on deploying suitable female military personnel, who are now able to work at any job position, to the right positions based on capability standards. In other words, these are measures to counteract declining birth rates. Third is the direction toward gender mainstreaming through the implementation of Resolution 1325. Resolution 1325 comprises four pillars: the active participation of women; the protection of women; the prevention of all forms of violence against women; and the rescue of women and reinstating of their rights (reconstruction of women)<sup>3</sup>. The implementation of Resolution 1325 not only incorporates the gender perspective and gender analysis into military operations, but also includes the elimination of sexual violence within the USF and the armed forces of allied and friendly nations to the U.S., thereby showing a direction toward cross-sectional gender mainstreaming. This is not simply a countermeasure against declining birthrates, but also a measure against changes in the security environment and military strategy.

In the USF, while J1 (manpower and personnel) is in charge of human resource management, J5 (strategic plans and policy) is in charge of the implementation of Resolution 1325, since it involves operations planning. However, because of the wide range covered by Resolution 1325<sup>4</sup>, while J5 is central to its implementation, it also extends to J3 (operations) and existing measures connected with J1, in addition to all other sectors cross-sectionally. The three directions of gender mainstreaming in the USF concern all measures in the USF in a complementary and cross-sectional manner.

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## Gender Mainstreaming in the USF through Human Resource Management

### Policies

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DM-led HRM was realized through measures such as the following. DM-led HRM took shape with the implementation of the final report *From Representation to Inclusion: Diversity Leadership for the 21st-Century Military*<sup>5</sup> ("final report") published by the Military Leadership Diversity Commission (MLDC) in 2010 under the leadership of the U.S. Department of Defense, and human resource management measures undertaken by each of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps based on the final report.

The final report compiled and published by the MLDC in 2010 recommended the elimination of restrictions on job positions for female military personnel<sup>6</sup>, which led to the institutionalization of a Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) policy in human resource management in the USF that makes use of military personnel who meet certain fitness standards in all job positions, without making any distinction between gender,

sexual preference, race, or religion. Specifically, the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps have converted (1) employment management systems, (2) human resource development systems, (3) evaluation systems, and (4) compensation systems into DM-based human resource management. On the other hand, the USF has shifted its definition of diversity away from a narrow definition in which female military personnel represent diversity toward a broader definition of diversity, inclusion, as the use of female military personnel in combat in places such as Iraq and Afghanistan has been effective in operations by the entire USF<sup>7</sup>. The use of female military personnel in the USF can be attributed to the idea that the USF should “utilize diverse human resources” to improve its ability to perform diverse missions following the Cold War and 9/11, which was a reflection of the lessons learned in the civil sector.

Meanwhile, measures to open all job positions to female military personnel have been institutionalized since December 2015, taking shape in the form of female military personnel being actively used in USF stability operations (reconnaissance and intelligence gathering), counterinsurgency (COIN), security maintenance activities for POC, PKO, peacebuilding (PB), and other Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW)<sup>8</sup>.

Concurrent with DEI in each military service branch, the opening of all job positions to female military personnel progressed under the leadership of the Secretary of Defense. On January 24, 2013, then Secretary of Defense Leon Edward Panetta officially announced the policy of deploying women to combat missions and combat units<sup>9</sup>, which paved the way toward the USF rescinding the rule prohibiting female military personnel from serving in ground close combat missions. However, Secretary of Defense Panetta’s policy announcement was not immediately followed by all job positions becoming available to female military personnel. There was confusion for some time, particularly concerning the interpretation of the “Risk Rule,” which included restrictions on the deployment of female military personnel. In May 2013, the Congressional Research Service (CRS) report *Women in Combat: Issues for Congress*<sup>10</sup> was submitted. This aimed to eliminate confusion by explaining that it was meaningless to restrict female military personnel to rear duties only as a way of ensuring their safety, as the front lines and rear were no longer clearly delineated on the modern battlefield and women were in danger no matter where they were<sup>11</sup>. This was followed in September 2015 with the submission of the updated CRS report *Women in Combat: Issues for Congress*<sup>12</sup>, which once again recommended the equal deployment of women and men without distinction of gender based on ability. This policy of opening all job positions to female military personnel was followed by then Secretary of Defense Ashton Baldwin Carter announcing a policy of opening all job positions to female military personnel in December 2015<sup>13</sup>.

Human resource management measures based on DM-led HRM have been promoted alongside measures to enhance support for families. For military and family support programs<sup>14</sup>, the USF has established systems to provide support and care to the families of military personnel in order to enhance readiness when those military personnel are deployed overseas for duty. This kind of family support is also applicable in cases where female military personnel are deployed to combat roles. Efforts toward gender mainstreaming through measures in human resources management policies were being made prior to the implementation of Resolution 1325.

Note that while female military personnel are now able to serve in all job positions under this system, the Marine Corps have issued a statement that as a result of commissioning a study by experts to determine the appropriateness of deploying female military personnel to special forces, it was found that such deployment would not be appropriate. The exclusion of female military personnel from special forces in the Marine Corps continues to the present time<sup>15</sup>.

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## Gender Mainstreaming in the USF through the Implementation of Resolution 1325

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The implementation of Resolution 1325 in the USF began with the inclusion of training and the like for PKO in respect of foreign militaries by female military personnel as a specific measure in the U.S.' Women, Peace and Security (WPS) National Action Plan (NAP) to implement Resolution 1325 (1325 NAP), formulated in 2011<sup>16</sup>. Based on this, the U.S. Department of Defense began to consider incorporating the key matters from the 1325 NAP into strategic and military planning doctrines.

However, the USF at that time had already begun to address gender mainstreaming in its human resource management measures, and viewed NATO's 1325 NAP (Bi-SC DIR 40-01) and the White House's ("U.S. government") 1325 NAP as international agreements that differed in character from legal measures in the U.S. For this reason, the USF fell behind in incorporating Resolution 1325 into specific operations planning.

The situation changed completely with the U.S. government's formulation of the Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017 (2017 WPS Act)<sup>17</sup> in October 2017 and the United States Strategy on Women, Peace, and Security (2019 WPS Doctrine)<sup>18</sup> in June 2019.

First, the 2017 WPS Act, which was signed into law in October 2017, legislated the implementation of Resolution 1325, thereby creating a legal basis through which it could gain momentum<sup>19</sup>. The 2017 WPS Act recognizes the benefits generated by having women and girls serve as peacemakers through political, economic, and social empowerment<sup>20</sup>.

Then, in response to the 2017 WPS Act, the U.S. government announced the United States Strategy on Women, Peace, and Security (2019 WPS Doctrine) in June 2019<sup>21</sup>. Both the 2017 WPS Act and the 2019 WPS Doctrine aimed to promote the meaningful inclusion of women in the process of preventing, mitigating, and resolving critical conflicts and disasters, as well as restoration efforts thereafter. The 2019 WPS Doctrine, which was formulated in response to the 2017 WPS Act, was the first to add women's recovery and relief in the event of a disaster to various situations previously limited to the post-conflict period only, thereby making clear that the gender perspective and gender analysis would be included not only in stabilization operations (reconnaissance and information gathering), COIN, security maintenance activities in POC, PKO, and PB within MOOTW, but also humanitarian assistance and disaster relief

operations (HADR)<sup>22</sup>.

In addition, 2018 saw a breakthrough development in promoting the implementation of Resolution 1325. That is, although there was no discourse on gender or the participation of female military personnel, the 2018 National Defense Strategy (NDS)<sup>23</sup> formulated by the Department of Defense specified (1) a focus on asymmetric warfare, (2) the military's direct involvement with civil-military cooperation and the effective use of civilian workforces, and (3) the importance of joint operations based on the Capstone Concept for Joint Operations (CCJO)<sup>24</sup>. In respect of the 2018 NDS, Stephanie L. Hammond, then Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Stability and Humanitarian Affairs, stated that the three points specified in the 2018 NDS provided momentum for incorporating the gender perspective and gender analysis into the activities of the USF<sup>25</sup>.

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## Specific Measures Related to the Implementation of Resolution 1325 by the U.S. Department of Defense

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The division of roles relating to the implementation of Resolution 1325 between the Department of Defense and the USF was organized in 2019. In the Department of Defense, the Office of the Secretary of Defense for Policy's Office of Stability and Humanitarian Affairs under the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy formulates frameworks and implementation plans relating to the implementation of Resolution 1325 across the entire USF. Global Policy and Partnerships of the Joint Chiefs of Staff's J5 directorate designs specific operation plans and formulates more advanced education and training on Resolution 1325. Each of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps is responsible for basic gender education that includes the significance of the gender perspective and gender analysis and actions necessary for eliminating sexual violence<sup>26</sup>.

Then, the Women, Peace, and Security Strategic Framework and Implementation Plan for the Department of Defense and USF (2020 USF Implementation Plan) was formulated in June 2020<sup>27</sup>. In the 2020 USF Implementation Plan, items related to Resolution 1325 to be implemented by the Department of Defense and the USF were categorized into items to be implemented internally within the USF and items to be implemented in the international community (allied and friendly nations) as part of security cooperation measures. These were to (1) model and adopt meaningful (not nominal) participation of female military personnel in the USF's seven geographic combatant commands (Northern Command, Southern Command, Indo-Pacific Command, Central Command, European Command, Africa Command, and Space Command) and four functional combatant commands (Strategic Command, Special Operations Command, Transportation Command, and Cyber Command), (2) encourage the deployment of female military personnel from allied and friendly nations to all job positions in the armed forces of those countries, and (3) encourage allied and friendly nations to ensure the protection of women and girls in their own countries

in times of conflict and crisis<sup>28</sup>.

The 2020 USF Implementation Plan can be understood as requiring the following from the international community: women's participation in peace and security activities, the protection of women and girls from violence, women's involvement in conflict prevention, equal access for men and women in relief and recovery before, during, and after conflict and crises, advocacy of human rights, equal application of the rule of law for men and women, and the incorporation of the gender perspective and gender analysis in peace and security activities<sup>29</sup>.

Within the USF, professional military education based on the gender perspective has been implemented in commander's courses and at intermediate and senior service schools<sup>30</sup>. Moreover, the Department of Defense provides mandatory training modules for USF military units to be deployed overseas on the specific needs of women in conflict based on Resolution 1325<sup>31</sup>. This is because cooperation with civilians has become commonplace in deployment areas. The Department of Defense has also formulated standards of procedures (SOP) for USF military operations overseas<sup>32</sup>. For example, during Gobi Wolf 2019, conducted in September 2019 by the Mongolian Armed Forces and the United States Army Pacific, a workshop designed to incorporate the gender perspective on vulnerable populations in society and consideration for women and girls into disaster relief operations was held as a platform to educate 23 female leaders selected from all over Mongolia on the knowledge necessary to become pioneers of female leadership<sup>33</sup>.

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## **Incorporating Resolution 1325 into Military Doctrine, Etc.**

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In the actual USF, there was already a foundation for gender mainstreaming prior to 2017, when its institutionalization got fully underway through 1325 NAP laws and doctrines based on Resolution 1325.

In addition to the set of laws and doctrines related to the implementation of Resolution 1325, in order to incorporate these into US military operations, a number of Joint Publications (JPs), Army Doctrine Publications (ADPs), Army Field Manuals (FMs), Army Techniques Publications (ATPs), and other publications have indicated that by including the gender perspective, they aim to improve capacity building and operational capability in the military, which will enable the military to respond not only to large-scale nation-on-nation warfare, but also to asymmetric warfare.

JP3-06 from November 2013<sup>34</sup>, JP3-077 from August 2016<sup>35</sup>, and ATP3-57.10 from August 2013<sup>36</sup> included many results concerning previous efforts by the military related to Resolution 1325, along with reconnaissance and security maintenance activities (patrols, checkpoints, body searches, home and property searches, and intelligence gathering), PKO, PB, and POC missions by women-only teams in Afghanistan and Iraq. It was also stated as a point to be noted for civil-military cooperation when formulating stability operations that the introduction of the female perspective in conflict resolution is

necessary at all levels, both for commanders and for civilian protection, and as such, female military personnel shall be actively involved in such operations.

Also, through the formulation of the 2017 WPS Act<sup>37</sup>, the 2019 WPS Doctrine<sup>38</sup>, and the 2020 USF Implementation Plan<sup>39</sup>, the female perspective required in MOOTW missions was reformulated into the gender perspective and gender analysis.

It should be noted that the following points were mentioned at that time<sup>40</sup>. That is, that the 2022 National Defense Strategy, Nuclear Posture Review, and Missile Defense Review (2022 NDS) formulated by the Department of Defense followed the 2018 NDS with a similar focus on asymmetric warfare as a prerequisite for missions requiring the female perspective<sup>41</sup>, the military's direct involvement with civil-military cooperation, the effective use of civilian workforces, and other situations where the gender perspective should be respected<sup>42</sup>, and the importance of joint operations based on the CCJO<sup>43,44</sup>.

This indicates that the female perspective required in Iraq and Afghanistan has been specifically incorporated as the gender perspective and gender analysis, as reflected from the 2018 NDS in joint doctrines and other doctrines, along with the publications of each military service branch represented by the Army's publications, which are subordinate to joint doctrine.

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## Current Implementation Status of Resolution 1325 in the USF

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The U.S. submitted the *U.S. Government Women, Peace, and Security Congressional Report 2021* for the first time in 2021, followed by a second report, the *U.S. Government Women, Peace, and Security Congressional Report 2022* (2022 WPS Report), in July 2022<sup>45</sup>. The 2022 WPS Report is the most recent document concerning the implementation status of Resolution 1325 in the USF at the present time<sup>46</sup>. The 2022 WPS Report assessed the implementation status of the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Department of Homeland Security, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as U.S. government departments and agencies involved in implementing Resolution 1325. However, the implementation status of the USF is what will be discussed here<sup>47</sup>. The implementation status of Resolution 1325 in the USF shown in the 2022 WPS Report was as follows.

First, the Department of Defense has created a procedure document for integrating the gender perspective and gender analysis into both training curricula related to job positions of USF military personnel and specialist military education. Meanwhile, as part of its International Security Cooperation Programs for allied and friendly nations, the Department of Defense has incorporated gender analysis into the defense policies of the armed forces of target countries and has been actively promoting the participation of women in the armed forces.

On the other hand, the status of progress toward the three objectives set in the 2020 USF Implementation



Plan was introduced<sup>48</sup>. The three objectives set in the 2020 USF Implementation Plan were to: (1) model and adopt meaningful (not nominal) participation of female military personnel in the USF's 11 geographic and functional combatant commands; (2) encourage the deployment of female military personnel from allied and friendly nations to all job positions in the armed forces of those countries; and (3) encourage allied and friendly nations to ensure the protection of women and girls in their own countries in times of conflict and crisis<sup>49</sup>.

The implementation status of the three objectives by the USF was as follows<sup>50</sup>.

(1) In U.S. fiscal year 2021, the Space Command, one of the Department of Defense's seven geographic combatant commands, and the Cyber Command, one of its four functional combatant commands, employed dedicated WPS personnel for the first time

(2) The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the seven geographic combatant commands under their command held a total of eight training sessions on WPS in 2022, trained 400 Department of Defense personnel as Gender Focal Points (GFPs), and trained 30 Department of Defense personnel to become qualified Gender Advisors (GENADs). 430 Department of Defense personnel function as GFPs and GENADs within the department

(3) The Joint Chiefs of Staff adopted gender analysis, along with working with the Department of State and USAID, which are other departments and agencies involved with Resolution 1325, to strengthen interdepartmental coordination in the implementation of Resolution 1325

(4) In the combatant commands, Air Force General Jacqueline Van Ovost was appointed as Commander of the U.S. Transportation Command; while Army General Laura J. Richardson was appointed Commander of the U.S. Southern Command

(5) The Independent Review Commission on Sexual Assault in the Military Implementation Roadmap was established through the 2020 USF Implementation Plan to eliminate sexual violence in the military for the implementation of Resolution 1325. The commission clarified the qualifications required for a fulltime GENAD, and further, provided specific guidance on the implementation of Resolution 1325 in order to strengthen cooperation between the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel & Readiness. This guidance served to call attention to promoting (not nominal) meaningful participation of female military personnel in the USF and requesting allied and friendly nations to do the same.

(6) For the first time, the Northern Command deployed a GENAD Support Team, comprised of a combination of 27 GENADs and GFPs, to Operation Allies Welcome led by the Department of Homeland Security. This operation was conducted in Afghanistan between September 2021 and February 2022, with members of the support team at eight U.S. bases in Afghanistan engaging in operations to evacuate Afghan citizens from the country



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## New Developments in the Implementation of Resolution 1325 by the USF

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There were two new developments regarding the implementation of Resolution 1325 by the USF: first, that human security was not organized as a complement to traditional national security, but rather, that the two ran side by side, and second, that the implementation of Resolution 1325 in intelligence gathering and analysis had developed following the use of the gender perspective and gender analysis in addressing risks to U.S. military personnel working in areas of operations.

First, according to *Human Security in U.S. Military Operations: A Primer for DOD* (2021 HS Recommendation), the Army's Peacekeeping and Stabilization Operations Institute (PKSOI) began to examine how the term, "human security" should be applied in military operations<sup>51</sup>. The 2021 HS Recommendation suggested a U.S. definition of Human Security as consideration of all the risks and threats that make people vulnerable in the area of operations, including the infrastructure and environment they depend on for their livelihoods, and finally, that a human security framework should be applied within theater campaign plans and the U.S. Joint Operation Planning and Execution System (JOPES) in order to develop a better understanding of human aspects of the operational environment. PKSOI is only one agency within the Army, thus the Department of Defense may not be influenced by PKSOI's recommendations. However, as mentioned above, the 2018 NDS states the importance of the military's direct involvement in asymmetric warfare, civil-military cooperation, the effective use of civilian workforces, and other situations where the gender perspective should be respected, and it can be considered that an attitude of focusing on the environment in which the military operates, such as the encroachment of military activities onto the societies in which people live, will lead to the future establishment of military doctrines in which human security is incorporated.

In respect of human security, the Army Environmental Policy Institute had already indicated the following point in *Environmental Change and Fragile States: Early Warning Needs, Opportunities, & Interventions* in 2011. That is, that an approach such as human security, which aims for peace and security in each individual person's life, is needed in the current environment in which the military operates. This approach was organized to run alongside traditional national security<sup>52</sup>.

Second, while incorporation of the gender perspective has not been explicitly mentioned, the *Memorandum on Improving Civilian Harm Mitigation and Response* was released<sup>53</sup> on January 27, 2022, signed by the Secretary of Defense, which clearly laid out the directive to senior officials in the Department of Defense and high-ranking military officers, including the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Under Secretary of Defense, the Assistant Secretary of Defense, the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, giving them 90 days to work on reducing civilian harm by implementing methods and the like for analyzing the degree of risk of civilian harm from military activities and attacks. This was aimed at ensuring the implementation of several military doctrines related to the protection of civilians harmed in conflict<sup>54</sup>, and its methodology<sup>54</sup> was similar to the "data on gender discrimination" analysis introduced

by the Australian Defence Force (ADF) and the Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations (NCGM). The “data on gender discrimination” analysis introduced by the ADF and NCGM aims to identify the secondary and tertiary effects on communities in a specific area as a result of setting targeted attacks (targeting) on that area, and through this, protect the women and girls most vulnerable to such attacks. While the U.S. Department of Defense uses the more general term “civilian” over “combatant,” this memorandum indicates that the protection of vulnerable women and girls in conflict zones will be further enhanced in the same way as the “data on gender discrimination” analysis introduced by the ADF and NCGM.

The incorporation of this gender analysis is being leveraged as a tool both for aiding U.S. military personnel in avoiding danger in areas of operations, as well as providing situational awareness in those areas. The importance of the gender perspective and gender analysis in intelligence gathering is being newly emphasized, in particular with the GFP of U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) recommending to NATO that J2 (intelligence) should apply the gender perspective and gender analysis in recognizing and analyzing situations<sup>55</sup>.

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## Conclusion

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Gender mainstreaming began in the USF prior to the implementation of Resolution 1325. However, it was the USF making a start on efforts to address the implementation of Resolution 1325 that made it possible to reflect the gender perspective and gender analysis in all activities in any situation, whether in peacetime, wartime, or the gray-zone.

On one hand, gender mainstreaming in the USF is also being newly emphasized as a tool to aid U.S. military personnel in avoiding risk in areas of operations.

On the other hand, a concept of human security that complements and runs side by side with national security is also beginning to develop due to the implementation of Resolution 1325. There is also the possibility that a new concept of security could function on the basis of gender mainstreaming.

Trends in gender mainstreaming in the USF through the implementation of Resolution 1325 will continue to garner attention in future.

<sup>1</sup>Congressional Budget Office, Recruiting, Retention, and Future Levels of Military Personnel, October 1, 2006, p. 4.

<https://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/109th-congress-2005-2006/reports/1005-recruiting.pdf>. Accessed February 4, 2023.

<sup>2</sup> This paper was written for publication in NIDS Commentary after adding new information based on *Josei no katsuyō ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: amerika no guntai ni okeru jinji kanri shisaku wo tegakari ni* [A Study on Utilization of Female Soldiers in the Military: From the Implication of

Personnel Management in the U.S. Forces] published in the September 2023 issue of *The Annual of the Society of Economic Sociology*, Vol. 45.

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325\(2000\)](https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325(2000)). Accessed September 7, 2023.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> US DoD Military Diversity Leadership Committee, *From Representation to Inclusion: Diversity Leadership for the 21st-Century Military*, 2010. [https://diversity.defense.gov/Portals/51/Documents/Special%20Feature/MLDC\\_Final\\_Report.pdf](https://diversity.defense.gov/Portals/51/Documents/Special%20Feature/MLDC_Final_Report.pdf). Accessed February 4, 2023.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117- pp. 118. [https://diversity.defense.gov/Portals/51/Documents/Special%20Feature/MLDC\\_Final\\_Report.pdf](https://diversity.defense.gov/Portals/51/Documents/Special%20Feature/MLDC_Final_Report.pdf). Accessed February 4, 2023.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11- pp. 18.

<sup>8</sup> This is the gray-zone between collective defense and cooperative security, which is defined as a response to “crisis management” among NATO’s three core tasks of collective defense, crisis management, and cooperative security. In this paper, the gray-zone is expressed as “MOOTW.”

<sup>9</sup> Defense Department Expands Women’s Combat Role, US DoD News, Jan 24, 2013.

<http://archive.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=119098>. Accessed February 4, 2023.; US DoD, Memorandum for Secretaries of the Military Departments Acting Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness Chiefs of the Military Services: Elimination of the 1994 Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule, Jan 24, 2013.

<http://www.defense.gov/news/WISRJointMemo.pdf#search='1994+++the+direct+ground+combat+assignment+rule++US+Forces'>. Accessed February 4, 2023.

<sup>10</sup> Congressional Research Service, *Women in Combat: Issues for Congress* [hereafter CRS Report for Congress, 2013], Burrelli, D. F., 2013, May 9, 2013. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R42075.pdf#search='Women+in+Combat%3A+Issues+for+Congress++2013+May+9'>. Accessed February 4, 2023.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Congressional Research Service, *Women in Combat: Issues for Congress*, Kristy N. Kamarck, Analyst in Military Manpower, September 1, 2015. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R42075.pdf#search=%27Women+in+Combat%3A++2015++++US+Congress+Report%27>. Accessed February 4, 2023.

<sup>13</sup> The results of a study on the deployment of female military personnel to be completed by January 2016 indicated that exceptions may be sought in the case of missions or units that have been determined should not be open to women (*ibid.*).

<sup>14</sup> US DoD, Military and Family Support Programs. <http://www.militaryonesource.mil/#>. Accessed February 4, 2023.

<sup>15</sup> <https://thehill.com/policy/defense/313871-mattis-to-face-questions-over-women-in-combat-and-lgbt-troops-at-confirmation>. Accessed September 7, 2023.; <https://www.stripes.com/theaters/us/mattis-contends-the-jury-is-out-on-women-serving-in-combat-jobs-1.549202>. Accessed September 7, 2023.; <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2019/09/03/mattis-still-has-concerns-about-women-serving-combat-units.html>. Accessed September 7, 2023.

<sup>16</sup> The White House, *United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security*, December 2011. [http://1325naps.peacewomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/us\\_nationalactionplan\\_2011.pdf](http://1325naps.peacewomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/us_nationalactionplan_2011.pdf). Accessed September 6, 2023.

<sup>17</sup> Public Law 115 - 68 - Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017. <https://www.congress.gov/115/plaws/publ68/PLAW-115publ68.pdf>. Accessed February 4, 2023.

<sup>18</sup> [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/WPS\\_Strategy\\_10\\_October2019.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/WPS_Strategy_10_October2019.pdf). Accessed September 7, 2023.

<sup>19</sup> Public Law 115 – 68 – Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017. <https://www.congress.gov/115/plaws/publ68/PLAW-115publ68.pdf>. Accessed February 4, 2023.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/WPS\\_Strategy\\_10\\_October2019.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/WPS_Strategy_10_October2019.pdf). Accessed December 20, 2021.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> US DoD, *Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy*, <https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf>. Accessed September 7, 2023.

<sup>24</sup> A capstone doctrine is the highest-level document in a military organization’s doctrinal framework, or the principles and ideas it contains (Kanno Ryu, *Maruchi domein operēshon ni itatta haikai: kyapusutōn dokutorin kara yomitoku beirikugun no sengo no yōhei shisō no hensen* [Background Behind Multi-Domain Operations: The U.S. Army’s Postwar Transition in Tactical Philosophy Interpreted from the Capstone Doctrine], Japan Ground Self Defense Force Training Evaluation, Education, Research & Development Command, p. 1).

<sup>25</sup> US DOD News, *DOD Unveils Women, Peace, Security Strategy*, June 11, 2020. <https://www.defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/Article/2217438/dod-unveils-women-peace-security-strategy/>. Accessed September 7, 2023.

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/Article/2985272/dod-makes-strides-in-its-women-peace-and-security-program/>. Accessed on September 7, 2023.; December 2019 US DOD WPS document, under the purview of US DOD Office of the Secretary of Defense for Policy, Stability and Humanitarian Affairs and Joint Chiefs of Staff J5 Global Policy and Partnerships

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>40</sup> <https://media.defense.gov/2022/Oct/27/2003103845/-1/-1/1/2022-NATIONAL-DEFENSE-STRATEGY-NPR-MDR.PDF>. Accessed September 7, 2023.

<sup>41</sup> R. Smith, *The Utility of Force*, Vintage Books, 2008, pp. 404- pp. 408.

<sup>42</sup> <https://media.defense.gov/2022/Oct/27/2003103845/-1/-1/1/2022-NATIONAL-DEFENSE-STRATEGY-NPR-MDR.PDF>. Accessed September 7, 2023.

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