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## **WOMEN IN PEACE AND SECURITY – WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES CANADA MAKE?**

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Women in Peace and Security- What Difference Does Canada Make?

By Maj Eleanor Elizabeth Haevens

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## Abstract

This paper demonstrates the need to better incorporate women and their perspectives into the peace and security process. The UN, although struggling itself to achieve the objectives laid out under UNSCR 1325, continually has called on the member states to do more to incorporate the needs, perspectives, and participation of women into the peace and security domains. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is also increasingly considering Women in Peace and Security (WPS) and gendered perspectives in their operations. Unfortunately, in Canada there are large disconnects between national/strategic policy on WPS and its operational implementation in the Canadian Forces (CF). This paper demonstrates that the CF has the potential to make a great contribution to WPS and can reap many benefits with an approach that considers WPS.

This paper also examines that in the accomplishment of achieving increased WPS initiatives an additional objective that the CF has been struggling with for some time could also be achieved – the increased representation of women in the organization. However, the recognition of the contribution women can make to peace and security needs to be improved both internally and externally for this goal to occur.

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## Introduction

The Canadian Forces (CF) is legislated under the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) and Employment Equity Act (EEA) to meet requirements regarding the employment of women in a fair and equitable manner. Although the CF initially made significant improvements to its policies and organization to encourage women to consider the CF as a career choice, the forces continues to fall short of the objectives set for the number of women employed by the organization in several key areas. However, even more alarming than the failure to meet such goals, despite a number of efforts to encourage women to join and remain in the CF – is the fact that in the last three years, the percentage of women enrolling in the regular component CF has declined from 15.85% of the force to only 12.67% .<sup>1</sup> In 2000, Canada supported United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 regarding the participation of Women in the Peace and Security (WPS) process and recently developed the National Action Plan (NAP) *Building Peace and Security for All* to implement Canada's responsibilities and obligations under the 1325 resolution.

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<sup>1</sup> CF Employment Equity Database – 2007-2011 schedule 8. The statistics are kept by Officer and NCM categories in 2008 the percentage of females enrolled was officers 21.07% , NCMs 14.79% total 15.85%, 2009 – officers 20.16%, NCMs 13.27% total 15.40%, 2010 –officers 20.06%, NCMs 12.08% total 13.51% and 2011 –officers 19.79%, NCM 10.74%, total 12.67%. Note Regular Force numbers only are used as CHRC recently ruled an employee must be employed for over 75 days per year. Due to this the numbers of females enrolling in the Reserve Force can no longer be compared year over year (although it appears the numbers were also trending down in the Reserve force as well between 2008 and 2009 - 18% to 15%).

Although the numbers of females serving in the CF are still fairly low, the CF is certainly a world leader in the broader acceptance of women in the armed forces and Canada is also a world leader in the protection and promotion of human rights. That is to say, with these credentials, Canada is well poised to make a definable difference in the implementation of UNSCR 1325, particularly in the current era of comprehensive operations that include broader skill-sets from our personnel, such as peacekeeping and stability operations that women readily can bring to the organization. In turn, the improved awareness and implementation within Canada and the CF in particular, of women's roles and responsibilities in the peace and security process, as highlighted under UNSCR 1325 may create an environment more attractive to female applicants and members and set the conditions to increase the number of women in the CF to more acceptable levels as mandated under the EEA.<sup>2</sup> The synergy of these two greater goals will have a tangible impact and improve the lives and opportunities of many people both domestically and internationally. The failure to embrace WPS initiatives means Canada would forego an opportunity to influence, understand and be a leader in this growing area of the international peace and security agenda, and it could affect inter-operability with allies. Domestically, the inability to attract women to the CF, although this likely would not lead to a shortage of personnel in the CF, it would limit the pool of attractive candidates with diverse skill-sets.

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<sup>2</sup> The CF Employment Equity Report maintains targets for female participation at 25% .

## **Outline**

This paper will argue that Canada but the CF in particular, is not making the best use of its unique capabilities to be a leader in the WPS arena. It will also explore the domestic policy goals regarding the recruitment and integration of women into the CF. The alarming trend of decreasing female enrolment in the CF will be highlighted along with suggestions to reverse this. Concurrently, increased awareness, and acceptance of WPS will demonstrate Canada's leadership in this area while actively indicating to Canadian society the key role that women have in the CF. Ultimately this awareness will lead to greater female propensity to join the CF and alignment in the interest of these women to choose the CF over the other organizations that are available to them for employment.

As a middle-level leader who has served over 17 years within the CF organization I did not become aware of UNSCR 1325 and the concept of WPS until attending Canadian Forces College (CFC) where a Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) colleague brought it to my attention. It was not even part of the CFC curriculum, which dedicates a year of study on subjects of defence and security to mid-ranking officers who will proceed to key leadership positions in the CF. The lack of such awareness of WPS was of great concern to me and a large part of the reason I decided to research and complete my Master's of Defense research paper in this area as I believe awareness of WPS is important to the professional development of everyone in the CF.



This paper begins with a chapter that examines the concept of WPS in the Canadian and the international contexts. The key background explored will be the history of the integration of women into the CF, the history of UNSCR 1325 along with other WPS concepts, and the Canadian Government's progress and support of WPS initiatives. The second chapter more closely examines the CF's participation in WPS development and studies the limited awareness such concepts have within the organization and explores the reasons for this. The second chapter ends with an examination of WPS as part of the Canadian Whole of Government approach, and the traction WPS initiatives are gaining among other international bodies, particularly the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The third chapter considers comprehensive operations and the need for WPS within them. It demonstrates that these missions will continue to be of critical significance to Canada and the CF and a diverse force will be essential to Canada's successful accomplishment of these missions. Finally, in chapter four this paper considers more specifically at the factors affecting female interest in the CF and the generation of young women the CF will be recruiting from. It shows that the interests and career choice of these women could line up very well with the requirements and opportunities the CF offers, but such opportunities must be better disseminated to women and Canadian society and recognized within the CF. In doing so, Canada can not only meet its domestic obligations to be a truly equal-opportunity employer with a percentage of women that more closely represents Canadian society, but also fulfil its international obligations and become a leader of WPS initiatives in the global community.

## **Chapter 1- Background**

This chapter examines the concepts of WPS in the domestic and the international frameworks and provides the context for the remainder of the paper. First, the history of the integration of women into the CF is examined to provide a timeline and an understanding of the hurdles that organization had to overcome to get to where it is today. Second, the evolution of UNSCR 1325 along with other significant WPS concepts are explored to show the need for continued leadership in this area. In addition, the role of the military in the WPS arena is highlighted. Finally, Canada's progress with and support of WPS initiatives such as the development of the National Action Plan and the Standing Senate Committee report on WPS are considered. This demonstrates that WPS is important to the GoC and furtherance of WPS objectives is a high priority goal for all government departments, including the CF/DND.

### **Integration of Women into the Canadian Forces**

It is first vital to examine and briefly summarize the integration process of women into the CF for the purposes of understanding what has influenced the organization with respect to the acceptance and integration of women. This history demonstrates what shaped gender integration, from which lessons on the way forward and the future of WPS for the CF can be gleaned.

Women have served in or supported the CF in various capacities during times of mobilization since confederation.<sup>3</sup> During WW II more than 35,000 women served, which set the stage for women to remain in the CF even beyond times of crisis. However, it was not until the Korean War, between 1951-55, that Canadian Cabinet authorized a separate division of the military that women could enroll in on a more permanent basis (although their strength was capped at 1.5% of CF strength).<sup>4</sup> As part of the amalgamation of all commands (Army, Navy, and Air force) under one central command of National Defence Headquarters (NDHQ) in 1968, the separate women's divisions were also brought into the organization.<sup>5</sup> Despite this amalgamation, until the 1970s women remained very restricted in the employment they could hold and the benefits they could receive as members of the military. However, as Canadian values changed, and women's rights and employment gained public support, it became obvious that the CF was lagging behind greater society both in terms of capitalizing on the available workforce acknowledging the rights of women to serve. In 1970, the report of *The Royal Commission on the Status of Women* was published that made numerous recommendations for changes to create an equitable working environment for women in Canada. Within these recommendations there were some that specifically related to the employment of women in the CF, such as the standardization of the enrolment process, the implementation of requirements for equal pay and benefits (including the right of

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<sup>3</sup> Valerie Fortney, "In Afghanistan, Canada's Female Soldiers Earned the Right to Fight, and Die, as Equals" Tuesday, February 28, 2012, Postmedia News. <http://www.calgaryherald.com/mobile/iPhone/opinion/SOMNIA/6191423/story.html>. Internet, Accessed 25 Feb 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Paula Trachy "Women, Citizens and Soldiers: The Gender Integration of the Canadian Forces" (Masters Thesis, McMaster University 2001), 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 40.

women to join the forces if married and the right to remain in the CF if they had children), and the opening of all classifications to women.<sup>6</sup> Some of these recommendations, such as the right to remain in the CF if pregnant and changes to the Superannuation Act for women, were implemented shortly after the report's publication, despite internal resistance to such policies. For example, in an official study completed in 1981, examining the employment of women in the CF, the authors contend that :

Since 1972 women who have become pregnant have enjoyed special treatment in such matters of dress and duties... this has made possible and may even have encouraged considerable marriage and child-bearing within the context of a service career. The long term benefit to the service and possibly the women concerned is questionable<sup>7</sup>

Statements such as these, questioning the long-term benefit of the right to marriage and child bearing of service women in 1981 in an official CF document -- almost 10 years after the implementation of such basic rights for servicewomen-- highlight the very slow acceptance of the rights of women within the CF and demonstrate why external pressure was required for change. The implementation of other recommendations, such as the opening of all classifications to women took much more time and if not for external oversight, these positions likely would not have been opened to women.

Nineteen Seventy Eight was another significant year for the acknowledgement of the rights of women; as the Canadian Human Rights Act (CHRA) came into effect, the

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<sup>6</sup> Karen Davis, *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces*. (Defence Academy Press, Kingston Ont, 2007) 74.

<sup>7</sup> T.A. Ewashko, F.P. Donovan, *Employment of Women in the Canadian Forces: Attrition, Inter-Service Marriage and Military Requirements*, (Air Command Research Report 82/2October 1981), 10.

CF could no longer prohibit the employment of women unless there was a “bona fide” requirement that is, it had to be proven that women could not perform the employment “safely, efficiently and reliably.”<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, arguments for the continued restriction of women from the CF focused on the concept of operational effectiveness. It was claimed the employment of women would degrade operational effectiveness because of their limited physical abilities as well as their negative effect on unit cohesion. Karen Davis, a leading researcher on gender related issues in the CF, summarizes this well: “Throughout several social and legal equality challenges in the 1970s and 1980s, the CF claimed operational effectiveness supported by a male- masculine-centric warrior paradigm, as the imperative challenging women’s participation in combat and other expanded roles.”<sup>9</sup> She also highlights that as late as 1986 a Canadian Forces Administrative Order (CFAO) 49-15 was published, which stated that there was empirical evidence as shown through the history of warfare to prove that the complexity of mixed-gender groups compounded the stresses of battle and affected operational effectiveness and therefore that certain classifications and units should remain as single gender (male) entities.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Karen Davis, *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces* 75-76.

<sup>9</sup> Karen Davis, “Gender Neutrality and Sexual Difference: Limits to Cultural Intelligence in the Canadian Forces”, (paper presented at “NATO HFM-158 Symposium, “Impact of Gender Differences on Conducting Operational Activities,” Antalya, Turkey, 13 Oct 2008) [ftp.rta.nato.int/public//PubFullText/RTO/...//MP-HFM-158-01.doc](http://ftp.rta.nato.int/public//PubFullText/RTO/...//MP-HFM-158-01.doc) , Internet, accessed, 16 February 2012, 1-9.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* 1-10.

The Human Rights Act led to numerous lawsuits and legal challenges regarding the restrictions that had been placed on women in the CF. As stated by Senior CF Logisticians (some of whom were women) in 1984: “A legally imposed rationale, independent of obvious military tradition, practice or initiative, dictated that the CF undergo an immediate and significant organizational change.”<sup>11</sup> In 1979, the Service women in Non-traditional Environments and Roles (SWINTER) trials began. These trials were created to assess the effect of women’s employment on operational effectiveness in environments that were previously all male, such as field service support, service at sea, and aircrew domains. The trials continued until 1986, when the CF accepted that women would be able to serve permanently in such positions. Again, Davis highlights that “[a]lthough the women were not assigned combat duties in the SWINTER trials, the trials did provide an opportunity for further policy development and a re-thinking of the way in which the CF could or should be responsive to changes in social practices and attitudes.”<sup>12</sup> The CF was still far behind many other organizations regarding its employment equity progress and as a department of the federal government this was clearly unacceptable.

In 1987, following a number of equality studies and commissions, the Minister of Defence (MND) ordered the department to implement initiatives that would increase the number of women in the CF, which included a new trial related to the combat

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<sup>11</sup> Advanced Logistics Officer’s Course 8401 A Course Project on “Canadian Forces Women in the Logistics Branch.”(CFSAL Oct 1984), 6.

<sup>12</sup> Karen Davis, *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces*, 77.

employment of women. The Combat Related Employment of Women (CREW) was designed to test the operational effectiveness of women in combat operations in the Navy and the Army.<sup>13</sup> However, due to a number of Human Rights Tribunal rulings that challenged the CF's claim that women negativity affected operational effectiveness, the CREW trials were ordered to morph into full integration and the formal restrictions on the employment of women were lifted in 1990. An outside board the Minister's Advisory on Women in the Canadian Forces (MABWCF) was created to monitor the implementation and compliance of the department in this area.<sup>14</sup> This board oversaw and encouraged the department to improve selection tests that did not systematically discriminate against women, to examine the policies that affected women and their career progression, to acknowledge the effects of harassment and numerous other items that pertained to gender-integration and the retention of women. The department continued to be monitored by the external board until 1999, which also coincided with the recommendation for the removal of the final formal restriction on the employment of women on submarines. Unfortunately, at that time the CHRC found that the CF had not made satisfactory progress in its integration endeavours but discontinued the outside monitoring as it found the CF had a sufficient number of senior leaders committed to the issue and believed it could continue independently with its progress. Very little further research on issues effecting women or gender integration in the CF has been conducted since 1999.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The Air force had already removed all barriers to women by this point.

<sup>14</sup> Karen Davis, *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces*, 79.

<sup>15</sup> Capt MacQuarrie to Maj Haevens email "Archived Page" 01 March 2012.

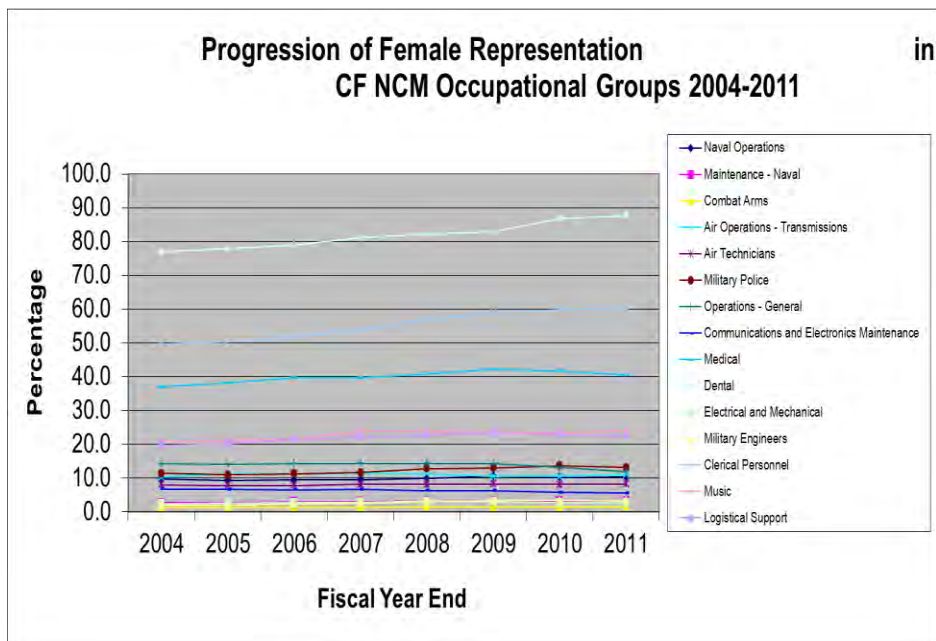
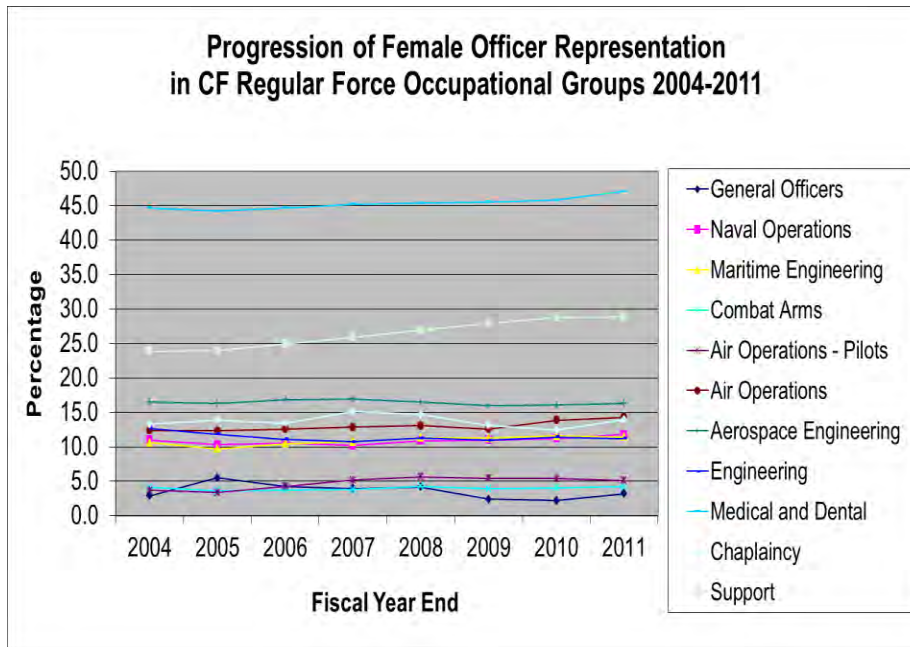
Much of the emphasis that was placed on gender integration has been rolled up into the employment equity portfolio and the four Designated Minority Groups (DGM)s (women, visible minorities, aboriginals, and persons with disabilities), which may create synergies and a larger focus but also minimizes the individual concerns and issues of these very separate groups. Women make up the largest DMG and are seen to have experienced the greatest success in Employment Equity (EE) initiatives; however, the number of women in the forces has stagnated since the early 2000s and currently sits at 14.7%. A worrisome trend in recent recruiting reports shows that the numbers of women enrolling is declining (in 2011 12.67% of enrollees were women); thus, even maintaining 14.7% will be unlikely unless something is done immediately.<sup>16</sup> Compounding this issue is the under-representation of women in both operational/combat roles and in leadership positions in the CF. Therefore, the contention that women are fully integrated in the CF is bold statement to make when females make up less than 15% of the total force strength, female senior leaders number only 7.7%, and females in the Combat Arms trades average between 1.5% to 4%.<sup>17</sup> The charts below show by occupational group the generally stagnating trends regarding the representation of women in the CF from 2004-2010.

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<sup>16</sup> Canadian Forces Employment Equity Report 2010-11 schedule 6.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*





<sup>18</sup> Occupational Groupings by OAs-CF Female Representation by MOG 2004-2010 – Produced by Stephen Gilhuly DHRD 3-9-2/DDPD 3-9-2, 2012.

Although women have accomplished a great deal and achieved many firsts—such as commanding troops in combat on operations and ships at sea—this is far from commonplace. Researcher Helena Carreiras, in her book on *Gender and the Military Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*, discusses from a military perspective Kanter's Model on Tokenism, which theorises that organizations in which there is a minority of less than 15% the concept of tokenism will prevail and is particularly evident in the armed forces as they are highly masculine dominated entities. That is, among other things, negative assumptions will be held up as generalizations about the minority group and successes will be seen as individual accomplishments and not representative of the larger minority.<sup>19</sup> This leads to a number of second- and third-level effects such as stereo-typing, boundary heightening among dominantes, fear of visibility (even for achievements) by the minority, and assimilation with the dominants.<sup>20</sup> This concept could be considered even more of an issue in the operational trades where women often constitute only between 1.5 to 4% of the classification.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Helena Carreiras, *Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*, (Routledge, New York NY, 2006), 34-40.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 34-35.

<sup>21</sup> CF EE report 2010/11– note operational trades in the Army, Airforce and Navy such as Infantry, Maritime Surface and Sub Service Officer, Pilot etc...

In 1981 projections were made that the number of women in the CF would continue to grow and approach 20% by the 1990s.<sup>22</sup> This projection was made at a time when policies to improve the equality of women were in their infancy. Twenty years later, the CF has failed to come anywhere close to meeting this target despite the removal of all formal restrictions and policy barriers to women. The CF's current target for women as found in the 2010 CF Employment Equity Plan is 20 % and the short-term recruiting goal outlined in the 2010-11 CF Employment Equity Report is 25.1 %. However, as demonstrated previously, the CF has continually failed to have its representation of women reflect its own targets as well as those targets approved by CHRC. As the percentage of women in the CF continues to plateau below 15% the question we need to ask is what will change in the long-term if we continue with the same approach and methods followed to date with respect to the integration/acceptance of women and the underlying policy of gender neutrality? This will be further discussed in subsequent sections.

### **Background United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women in Peace and Security**

In October 2000, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) was adopted by the international community, marking a critical juncture at which women's rights and concerns are required to be considered within the international peace

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<sup>22</sup> T.A. Ewashko, F.P. Donovan, *Employment of Women in the Canadian Forces: Attrition, Inter-service Marriage and Military Requirements*, 1.

and security agenda.<sup>23</sup> The goals of this resolution were wide-reaching and sought to incorporate a gendered approach to all areas of the peace and security process. As international researchers in the book *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice* state, “It was a significant milestone in the struggle for the advancement of women, bringing women’s rights and gender equality to bear on the UN’s peace and security agenda.”<sup>24</sup> The resolution was the result of a lengthy and challenging process by women’s advocacy groups and certain member states (including Canada) to demand the need for the recognition of equality in this key area of international politics. It was largely born out of the work that had been done at the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women and the Windhoek declaration in May 2000 that put the issue of the need for women to be involved in the peace and security process on the agenda of the international community. The resolution endorses a gendered approach to all conflict prevention, peace-building activities and security. It also confirms the rights of women to take on leadership roles in the decision-making processes relating to peace and security. Recently, three further resolutions in this area have been adopted at the UN: in 2008 resolution 1828 focused on the protection of women and children from sexual violence during conflict and in 2009 resolutions 1888 and 1889 provided further details and extensive implementation commitments to the principles in the initial resolutions 1325 and 1820. Resolution 1889 also highlighted the need to augment women’s participation in peace-building and post-conflict situations.

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<sup>23</sup> UNSCR was adopted unanimously.

<sup>24</sup> Funmi Olonsakin, Karen Barnes and Eka Ikpe, *Women Peace and Security- Translating Policy into Practice*, (Routledge, Abingdon Oxon 2011), Preface xiii.

Nevertheless, more than 10 years after the highly celebrated adoption of the resolution, few concrete examples exist demonstrating the increased participation of women in the peace and security process. Women continue to be disadvantaged and disproportionately feel the negative effects of war and conflict.<sup>25</sup> The UN released a report in 2010 entitled *The Ten Year Impact Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping*, that examined some of the achievements attained under this resolution but for the most part it acknowledges the vast amount of work still to be done.<sup>26</sup> Numerous publications also criticize the will of the international community to fully support this resolution and call for “concrete results” between policy and practice vice rhetoric and advocacy.<sup>27</sup> Leading researchers on the matter stated in 2010, “[i]t is not clear that many real changes have occurred beneath the surface or that gender issues have been brought to the mainstream on the international community’s security and development agendas.”<sup>28</sup> Such lack of progress, though largely due to the magnitude of change required, has also been pinned on numerous excuses such as, the need for immediate action that is, dealing first with other pressing issues in conflict such as, the “War on Terror,” thus relegating women’s roles in these complex situations to the “back burner” due to more important issues immediately at hand. Although it may be true that countries embroiled in conflict and war may not have the resources or cultural

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, preface xix.

<sup>26</sup> United Nations, *The Ten Year Impact Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping*, [http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/10year\\_impact\\_study\\_1325.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/10year_impact_study_1325.pdf), Internet, accessed 23 Sept 2011.

<sup>27</sup> Funmi Olonsakin, Karen Barnes and Eka Ikpe, *Women Peace and Security- Translating Policy into Practice*. 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*.

acceptance of the need for such reforms, developed nations such as, Canada, which are stable, liberally progressive, and have the economic means to forward the progress and goals of UNSCR 1325. There is little excuse for Canada to fail to implement the commitments to this resolution as well as for Canada not to be a leader and an enabler to other countries in this area. Aside from the domestic societal responsibility to promote a gendered approach to all matters of governance, including peace and security, internationally, Canada could improve its standing in the eyes other like-minded nations, international bodies, and non-governmental organizations (NGO) as a leader in this area with relatively little increase to resources by leveraging and using the strengths and experience it already has with women involved in the peace and security process. In particular, the CF has opportunities for hands-on experiences at all levels in peace and security and due to the nature of the profession it can access places and people that other organizations cannot. The CF is an ideal conduit for the GoC to capitalize on to accomplish WPS initiatives. Awareness of such opportunities for women in the CF to contribute to WPS must be promoted and would create a win/win/win situation for Canada internationally, Canadian society in general and the CF.

### **Why is it Important to Have Women Participate and Contribute to Women in Peace Security?**

The crux of the argument is of course, the fact that women make up at least 50% of the population and their priorities, needs, and desires are often different from those of men. The umbrella of human rights considerations for all people were a catalyst initially

to set the stage for an WPS agenda in international politics, but there remains a requirement to consider the differing needs of women along with the needs of men in the peace and security process. The Canadian Senate Committee on Human Rights Report on *Women Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women's Engagement* clearly stated “if women are not at the table, their interests, needs, priorities and perspectives will typically be neglected or in some cases completely ignored.”<sup>29</sup> This conclusion was drawn from an extensive study of the international peace and security process and was based on the testimony of many key officials and experts in this field. In large part, men and women experience conflict and war differently due to the differing roles each has in society. Due to these differing experiences the perspectives that women bring to conflict, and even more important, the conflict resolution process are critical to set the conditions for successful peace negotiations and solutions. There is concern that if the peace process does not consider the perspectives of women (including their direct involvement) often concerns such as sexual violence, health care, and female education will be sidelined.<sup>30</sup> If such critical concerns are marginalized the question remains regarding how peace for all in society can be maintained over the long term? The Senate Committee report also highlights that women are often seen as victims and little has been done in concrete terms to acknowledge the need for women to participate in the processes to deal with the root of the problem:

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<sup>29</sup> The Honourable Nancy Ruth Chair, The Honourable Mobina S. B. Jaffer Deputy Chair: *Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights – Women, Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women's Engagement*, November 2010 (moved forward to 31 March 2011) <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/403/huma/rep/rep05nov10-e.pdf> Accessed 23 March 2012, 11.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

The aspects of resolution 1325 that focus on women's empowerment are given less attention than those related to the protection of civilians in conflict situations from human rights abuses and violence. However, both components must be fully supported. Women are not just victims of war and beneficiaries of peace. Violence against women cannot be curtailed unless women are full and active participants in society.<sup>31</sup>

In addition, in an article examining the implementation of UNSCR 1325 author Susan Willett, an expert in defence economics and international defence policy, maintains that “[i]nternational attempts to establish peace and stability in a post-conflict context cannot hope to be successful while a large proportion of the population remains insecure and even victimized, their security needs remain invisible and they are excluded from the process of justice.”<sup>32</sup> Her article then examines the dreadful record of the international community to operationalize the WPS obligations of UNSCR 1325, highlighting the urgent need to improve this record. She concludes with a call that “men and women must share equally in the construction of a safer and more just world.”<sup>33</sup> Clearly women have an important role to play in WPS but they have not been able to participate consistently in this role due to reasons such as outright exclusion due to societal or cultural factors, a lack of economic capacity and a lack of educational and experience factors.<sup>34</sup> With the support and example of nations such as Canada, gains in such empowerment of women could certainly be increased.

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, v.

<sup>32</sup> Susan Willett, “Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security”, *International Journal* (Vol 17:2\_2010) <http://mediaresearchhub.ssrc.org/introduction-security-council-resolution-1325-assessing-the-impact-on-women-peace-and-security/attachment152>. Internet, accessed 02 Feb 2012.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 157.

<sup>34</sup> The Honourable Nancy Ruth Chair, The Honourable Mobina S. B. Jaffer Deputy Chair: *Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights – Women, Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women's Engagement*, 18-19.



## **The Department of Peace-keeping (DPKO) and Gender**

UNSCR 1325 encompasses a large array of capacities where women and gendered consideration must be included in the peace and security process, such as conflict prevention, peace talks, and demobilization, among others. One major instrument of the UN to achieve such goals is its sanctioned and supported peacekeeping missions and an area that a gendered approach is aptly suited toward. The Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has published a number of reports on peacekeeping and gender, which state that increased female participation is a key objective to improve gender mainstreaming on peacekeeping operations.<sup>35</sup> Although increasing the number of females is certainly not the only means to improve the presence of women in the peace and security process, it was noted that women brought certain skills and perception to the missions and that generally, there was an improvement in the behavior and awareness of the gendered approach of males when females were present.<sup>36</sup> UNSCR 1888 also recognizes that the presence of women in uniform created a more secure environment for women to report abuse and that the presence of women on missions creates role models and may lead to more women participating in local security forces. An increase in the number of women participating in peacekeeping missions to a critical mass would be one method to ensure gendered consideration is provided and promoted. The DPKO and the UN recognize this and have called repeatedly on the member states to increase the

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<sup>35</sup> Gender mainstreaming is the public policy concept of assessing the different implications for women and men of any planned policy action, including legislation and programmes, in all areas and levels.

<sup>36</sup> United Nations, *United Nations Lessons Learned Unit, DPKO: Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective into Multidimensional Peace Operations*, July 2000.

number of females sent on peacekeeping missions. This call has been made in the Windhoek Declaration, the 1325, and 1888 resolutions and numerous other forms such as the annual consideration of the resolution that takes place at the UN.<sup>37</sup>

Training men to understand a gendered approach is, of course, another important area that cannot be disregarded; however, a critical number of women must be deployed on operations for gendered mainstreamed approach to be truly effective and have credibility. As of July 2010, only 2,069 of 86,231 or 2.4 % of military personnel deployed in UN missions were women. The police forces fared much better with about 9% female police officers participating in UN operations.<sup>38</sup> However, such low numbers show the immense scope of the initiative required to increase the number of women on peacekeeping operations. Canada with its relatively higher percentages of females in its governmental departments including the CF and police forces (as compared to non-western nations) stands to make a definable difference in this area. While the RCMP, DFAIT, CIDA, and OGDs have a role to play in increasing the numbers of females deployed on operations, the CF in particular, due to its size, composition and mandate, has the greatest ability to make a meaningful contribution to this call from the UN. In fact, Anne Marie Goetz from UNIFEM expressed to the Senate Committee on Women in Peace and Security that:

... expanding the presence of female personnel deployed as military or civilian police in peacekeeping mission through both a

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<sup>37</sup> UNSCR 1325- [http://www.un.org/events/res\\_1325e.pdf](http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf), accessed 02 Sept 2011. Further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel.

<sup>38</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Gender Statistics by Mission – For the month of July 2010," published 10 August 2010, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/gender/2010gender/july10.pdf>. Internet, accessed 08 March 2012.

“concerted campaign of domestic recruitment” and through international encouragement for similar initiatives, is “one of the single most powerful contributions countries like Canada can make.”<sup>39</sup>

Canada and the CF should take note of this recommendation and leverage the power that this contribution could make to international peace and security and Canada’s standing internationally. Unfortunately this has not been widely recognized and this paper will continue to discuss some of the policies and politics that currently see such a recommendation being sidelined as a low priority issue by the CF. It will also discuss, if WPS continues to be sidelined, whether it will have a direct effect on the CF’s ability to attract and retain female candidates and thus, eventually reduce the CF’s operational effectiveness along with Canada’s international reputation as a leader in human rights initiatives and its recognition as a strong NATO/UN partner. However, if this matter is re-prioritized, and acted upon, this paper concludes that Canada and the CF could see great benefits in international circles as well as maintain and increase the number of women serving in the CF and other defence and security organizations.

### **The Canadian Government’s Approach to Women in Peace and Security**

Canada played a significant role in the development and advocacy of UNSCR 1325. As a member of the Security Council at the time of the approval of the resolution, one of Canada’s goals was to promote the protection of human rights, and it was out of such ideals the WPS concepts emerged. Canada also funded and supported the

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<sup>39</sup> The Honourable Nancy Ruth Chair, The Honourable Mobina S. B. Jaffer Deputy Chair: *Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights – Women, Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women’s Engagement*, 52.

development of a training package for peacekeeping missions shortly after the acceptance of the resolution.<sup>40</sup> Another major contribution that Canada has made since UNSCR 1325 came into existence is acting as the chairperson of the committee “Friends of Women in Peace and Security.”<sup>41</sup> This committee is formed by representatives of 44 countries who strive to continue to raise awareness of women’s roles in peace and security and to ensure that the UN always consider WPS when taking action (such as in the initial approval or renewal of peacekeeping mandates or when imposing sanctions on nations)

Domestically, shortly after the approval of UNSCR 1325, Canada convened the Canadian Committee on Women in Peace and Security, which was a tri-partner committee that brought together parliamentarians, government officials, and civilians to keep momentum awareness for WPS strong in Canada and to determine the requirements of a NAP on WPS. There is also an inter-departmental working group led by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) that coordinates the governmental initiatives in this area. Recently, there have been two full-fledged advisors on WPS named to support this work. There is also strong support in parliament and the senate for the subject of WPS and a number of standing committees on the status of women and human rights were convened. During a conference on Canada’s Whole of Government Approach to Fragile States and the Challenge of Gender Equality hosted by CIDA in 2006, the commitment of Canada to WPS was acknowledged by CIDA “Canada

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<sup>40</sup> DFAT Website- Women Peace and Security <http://www.international.gc.ca/rights-droits/women-femmes/ps.aspx?lang=eng&view=d> , Internet, accessed Feb 08 2012.

<sup>41</sup> Formerly referred to as the “Friends of 1325”.

is recognized internationally as being a champion of women's rights and gender equality; Canada could leverage its renown along these lines for engagement in fragile states."<sup>42</sup>

Then in 2010, after much preparation and consultation, Canada's NAP on WPS *Building Peace and Security for All*, was published. Foreign Affairs Minister, David Cannon, said "Our action plan will guide the way Canada develops policy, how we select, train and deploy Canadian personnel, and how we ensure they have the right knowledge and guidance for implementing Canadian policies effectively in the field." The NAP seeks to operationalize how Canada will support the obligations and international commitments of UNSCR 1325, 1820, 1888, and 1889.

Clearly, the Canadian government is taking its obligations under UNSCR1325 seriously. Although there is debate regarding the legally binding nature and enforceability of such resolutions as 1325 that are "thematic" in nature and adopted under a UN Charter Chapter VI (noncoercive), the fact that the current government approved a NAP with strong reporting mechanisms and accountability show Canada's commitment to our obligations under this resolution.<sup>43</sup> In addition the DFAIT website hosting the NAP states:

Canada regards full implementation of these resolutions as an important means of contributing to the full realization of human rights, peace and security by increasing, over the long term, the effectiveness of responses by the international community to

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<sup>42</sup> *Canada's Whole of Government Approach to Fragile States: The Challenge of Gender Equality* 2006, 3, <http://www.nsi-ins.ca/images/documents/genderequalitysalahub.pdf>; internet, accessed 12 Dec 2011.

<sup>43</sup> Torunn Tryggestad, "Trick or treat? The UN and implementation of security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security" <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Trick+or+treat%3F+The+UN+and+implementation+of+security+Council...-a0215069791>; Internet, accessed 08 Feb 2012.

conflict situations or cases of acute fragility, and thereby building peace that respects the fundamental equality of men and women.<sup>44</sup>

The Canadian NAP is broad and wide reaching. It breaks down the framework into four thematic areas: prevention, participation, protection and relief and recovery. The overall objectives of the NAP are as follows:

- Increasing the active and meaningful participation of women, including indigenous and local women, in peace operations and peace processes, in the management of conflict situations, and in decision making in all of these areas.
- Increasing the effectiveness of peace operations, including the protection and promotion of the rights and safety of women and girls.
- Improving the capacity of Canadian personnel to help prevent violence and to contribute to protecting the human rights of women and girls in the context of peace operations, fragile states, conflict-affected situations and in humanitarian crises or relief and recovery operations.
- Promoting and supporting relief and recovery efforts in fragile states and conflict-affected countries in a manner which takes into account the differential experiences of women and men, boys and girls.
- Making the leadership of peace operations more accountable for carrying out their mandated responsibilities by realizing, to the maximum extent practicable, the intent of the SCR's on Women, Peace and Security.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Canadian National Action Plan *Building Peace and Security for All* [http://www.international.gc.ca/START-GTSR/women\\_canada\\_action\\_plan\\_action\\_femme.aspx?view=d](http://www.international.gc.ca/START-GTSR/women_canada_action_plan_action_femme.aspx?view=d) ; Internet, accessed Feb 08 2012.

<sup>45</sup> Canadian National Action Plan *Building Peace and Security for All*.

Concurrent to the issuance of the NAP in 2010 but apparently coincidentally, the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights tackled a report entitled: *Women in Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women's Engagement*. This committee was chaired by Nancy Ruth, a Conservative Senator. This report took an in-depth look into Canada's commitment and contribution to supporting WPS, UNSCR 1325, and the other resolutions both domestically and internationally. It also examined the recent NAP and made key recommendations for improving Canada's standing in this key area:

The Committee's report complements the government's Action Plan. We provide analysis and recommendations from a parliamentary perspective. While, the development of the strategy is an important component in governmental efforts to contribute to the international realization of resolution 1325, implementation in real terms is the key.

With this perspective in mind, the Committee believes the Action Plan must go further:

- Indicators are important, but not enough. Specific target benchmarks for each indicator and timelines for achieving them are required.

- A detailed analysis is needed of the more complex and qualitative aspects of women in situations of armed conflict in the government's forthcoming annual reports.

- Clear, dedicated and multi-year resources must be attached to the plan<sup>46</sup>

This committee is also committed to act as the parliamentary oversight, to monitor the progress and implementation of the NAP, and ensure the strategy on paper is

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<sup>46</sup> The Honourable Nancy Ruth Chair, The Honourable Mobina S. B. Jaffer Deputy Chair: *Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights – Women, Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women's Engagement*, iv.

operationalized.<sup>47</sup> The committee's conclusion was that Canada could be an "international champion of the implementation of the UN resolutions on women, peace and security through its foreign affairs, defence, justice, public safety, and development ministries."<sup>48</sup> The committee also emphasized that "Canada is well-suited and well-equipped to be a leader at the UN and in UN member states around the world, pushing for the full and timely realization of resolution 1325."<sup>49</sup> Surely this observation should not go un-noticed.

As is evident from the timeline above, the Canadian support to UNSCR 1325 is a bipartisan matter; both the Liberal and the Conservative officials have shown their commitment to WPS over the last decade. Most recently, the approval of the NAP on WPS, with its accountability framework and requirement for government departments to report on their progress, shows the focus on this issue. The NAP, along with the Standing Senate Committee Report on WPS, demonstrate the importance that the government is placing on WPS and the government departments, including DND must make and track real progress in this area.

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, vii.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, viii.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, ix.



## **Chapter 2 - The Canadian Forces and Women in Peace and Security**

This chapter delves into the CF's participation in WPS initiatives internally and externally. The NAP is dissected and the specific sections that apply to the CF/DND are considered. From this, it is clear that CF/DND has a large role to play in WPS and certainly could make a more concerted effort to advance WPS internally and externally. The unique composition, structure, and purpose of the CF make it a key enabler to the success of WPS for the GoC. Additionally, the CF could gain internal benefits from recognizing more WPS considerations in its approach. This section also looks at the limited awareness members of the CF have regarding WPS and the possible reasons for this. The section closes with an examination of WPS as part of the Canadian "whole of government approach", and the traction WPS initiatives are gaining among other international bodies, particularly NATO.

### **The Canadian Forces and the National Action Plan on Women in Peace and Security**

Within the NAP themes there are certain areas that certainly apply to DND and the CF. In particular there are some indicators taken directly out of the NAP of significance to the military. This section of the paper will examine in more detail the parts of the NAP that the CF shares responsibility in implementing and will look at what the CF has done to date. In some cases the CF is already well poised and contributing to the goals of the NAP. In other areas the CF may want to consider augmenting its efforts

to meet the intent of the Canadian government as well as to better operate with other western nations and international organizations such as NATO.

The first section of the NAP examines prevention, below are the relevant parts to the CF:

**Prevention:**

- Systematically include modules on women, peace and security, including codes of conduct, cultural awareness, HIV/AIDS, trafficking in persons, and Canadian and international law applicable to the human rights and protection of women and girls in all Canadian training for military, police and civilian personnel being deployed operationally, in a manner which addresses any differential impact of armed conflict on women and girls.<sup>50</sup>

Although the CF incorporates general human rights training and claims to consider the “Spirit of 1325” in training, at the operational and tactical level there is little mention of a gendered approach or the consideration of the differences as to the impact of war and conflict on women nor is there mention of such specifics in the current CF doctrine. The Standing Senate Committee confirmed this fact in testimony received from Colonel Bernard Horn from Land Force Doctrine and Training Systems (LFDTS): “Colonel Horn confirmed that resolutions 1325 and 1820 are not labeled or addressed in a specific manner in training and education. He argued, however, that the principles underlying the

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<sup>50</sup> Canadian National Action Plan *Building Peace and Security for All*.

resolutions are embedded throughout the CF's training system”<sup>51</sup> Although the Committee found the CF training and doctrine to be of a high ethical standard, they concluded that general ethics is “not necessarily the same thing as gender perspectives.”<sup>52</sup> The committee also felt that the CF training focused on the civilian protection issues and neglected to incorporate concept of the participation of women in peace and security decision making. Therefore, the committee made strong recommendations that the NAP should be expanded to include the following points:

- The Government of Canada should ensure that the training and education provided by the Department of National Defence/Canadian Forces (DND/CF) and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to their personnel is expanded beyond civilian protection issues to cover the broader issues of women's participation in all conflict resolution processes and post-conflict reintegration.
- In order to build best practices in gender sensitive training, DND and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) should engage in more systematic outreach with existing organizations that have developed training modules and curricula relevant to women, peace and security issues, including the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre and the Institute for Inclusive Security in the United States.<sup>53</sup>

What the GoC and the CF/ DND choose to do with these recommendations remains to be seen; however, almost two years following the issuance of the NAP and a year from the committee report there appears to be little change in this area. The Director of Peace Keeping Policy (DPK (Pol)) advised that much work had been completed behind the

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<sup>51</sup> The Honourable Nancy Ruth Chair, The Honourable Mobina S. B. Jaffer Deputy Chair: *Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights – Women, Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women's Engagement*, 95.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 98.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, xii.

scenes but WPS remains an emerging area.<sup>54</sup> In addition, Jill Sinclair, the Assistant Deputy Minister Policy (ADM Pol) at DND, who is responsible for Policy Planning and International Security Policy also “conceded” in the Senate Committee hearings that there was room to be more explicit in the training with respect to WPS.<sup>55</sup>

The second section of the NAP of importance to the CF is the area of participation and representation:

**Participation and Representation:**

- Encourage the active and meaningful participation of women in decision making and in deployments for peace operations, including by identifying and addressing barriers to full participation.

Indicator 10-1: Number of Canadian strategic-level national and international security policy directives or guiding documents that address the participation of women in decision making.

Indicator 10-2: Number of Canadian strategic-level national and international security policy directives or guiding documents that address the deployment of women to peace operations.

Indicator 10-3: Number and percentage of female Canadian Forces personnel, police officers and civilian Government of Canada personnel deployed to peace operations.

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<sup>54</sup> Converstiaon Col Chamberlain DPK(Pol) and Maj Haevens 17 Feb 2012.

<sup>55</sup>The Honourable Nancy Ruth Chair, The Honourable Mobina S. B. Jaffer Deputy Chair: *Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights – Women, Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women’s Engagement*, 95.

Indicator 10-4: Number and percentage of voluntary selection processes for Government of Canada personnel to deploy on peace operations that offer specific measures which work to identify and address barriers to women's participation.

Indicator 10-5: Number and proportion of women in executive-level roles in Government of Canada departments and agencies involved in peace operations, fragile states and conflict-affected situations.<sup>56</sup>

Currently, the CF is not reporting specific numbers of women deployed to the public and it remains to be seen if the CF will, in fact, report these numbers voluntarily as outlined in the NAP for the current or future fiscal years.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, women are deploying on international operations, and according to the DPK (Pol) the CF supposedly applies a gender neutral approach to the selection of personnel for service on such missions.<sup>58</sup> There are no quotas for women on deployments in the CF but regardless of this many women contribute to and participate in international operations. Despite the limited distribution of the statistics of women deploying on international operations, University doctoral student Krystel Carrier-Sabourin obtained statistics that show approximately nine percent of the military personnel deployed to Afghanistan since 2003 have been female.<sup>59</sup> While this number is significantly lower than 14.7% of women who are

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<sup>56</sup> Canadian National Action Plan *Building Peace and Security for All*.

<sup>57</sup> Email Tony Anderson DFAIT to Maj Haevens Women in Peace and Security 10 Feb 2012.

<sup>58</sup> Email Capt MacQuarrie, to Maj Haevens, Employment of Women, 01 Mar 2012.

<sup>59</sup>Valerie Fortney, "In Afghanistan, Canada's female soldiers earned the right to fight, and die, as equals."

currently in the regular force, but it must be remembered that the Afghanistan mission was extensively a Land-based operation and there are approximately 12% of the land forces is female.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, the percentage of women deploying is still considerably lower than the representation of women in the CF. However, further research into the disparity may be useful to ensure that women are fully contributing to peace and security as part of the CF based on their represented numbers in the force and if they are not, the reasons causing this lower representation if a truly gender neutral approach to selection is used. Nevertheless, as the desk officer for CF gender integration Capt Heather MacQuarrie highlights, “Canada does not fully leverage the contribution of EE and Diversity to its international missions because diversity is not a planning criteria for force composition.” Such initiatives remain in the narrow Director of Human Rights and Diversity (DHRD) portfolio. She further states “there is no appetite for making any focused effort to increase the number of deployed women.”<sup>61</sup> Reporting and releasing the numbers of women deploying and the types of positions they hold on these operations, would be an important first step to address the lower representation of women on operations, in addition to the desired outcome of the NAP as highlighted above.

In addition, the Standing Senate Committee report applauded the indicators provided in the NAP regarding reporting the numbers of women deployed on operations but again went further to state that:

- The CF and RCMP should set clear objectives to increase the proportion

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<sup>60</sup> CF Employment Equity Report 2010-11 schedule 5.

<sup>61</sup> Email Capt MacQuarrie to Maj Haevens Employment of Women 01Mar 2012.

of female personnel in international deployments to twenty percent by 2015.<sup>62</sup>

The Committee believed concrete goals and timelines were very important. The Committee appeared to have the statistics of the number of females in the CF at the time of the hearings/report (14.7% Reg force 17.5% Res force) but still set a very high percentage of 20% for deployment on international operations by 2015. Such a goal, while desirable, at this time would be very difficult to implement with the current numbers of women in the CF and would place an unsustainable operational tempo on them. However, as the CF has indicated in its targets to increase its female population to 25%, perhaps this is the reason the Committee set such a high goal. Once such targets are achieved this goal to deploy 20% women could be a reality.<sup>63</sup> However, the CF has had a goal of increasing its percentage of females to the 20-25% range for over 30 years and so far has been unable to reach anywhere near this goal. On the other hand, although, reporting the numbers of women deployed in an important first step the recording and reporting of the tasks and roles of these women is equally important. To truly have the greatest impact on WPS women must be employed in roles where they interact with local population. Currently, the majority of women still deploy in support roles and may not have as much contact with the local population as those in combat and operational positions.

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<sup>62</sup> The Honourable Nancy Ruth Chair, The Honourable Mobina S. B. Jaffer Deputy Chair: *Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights – Women, Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women’s Engagement*, iiv.

<sup>63</sup> CF Employment Equity Report 2010-11, 3.

The third section of the NAP highlights the leadership required in the area of participation of representation:

**Participation and Representation (Leadership)**

- Encourage troop- and police-contributing countries to foster the participation of women in peace operations and in training relevant to peace operations.

Indicator 13-1: Number of Canadian interventions in the United Nations Security Council, General Assembly, Special Committee on Peacekeeping or other relevant international fora that explicitly encourage troop- and police-contributing countries to address the participation of women in peace operations and in training for peace operations.

-Actively encourage UN and other multilateral efforts to involve women, including Indigenous women, in peace agreements and mediation processes, and ensure that such agreements take into account the differential experiences of women and girls, women's and girls' human rights and the rights of the child.

-Support UN human resources reform processes, particularly with regard to recruitment, to increase the number of women in decision-making positions relating to peace and security and, where appropriate, identify strong Canadian candidates for such positions.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Canadian National Action Plan: *Building Peace and Security for All*.



This area of the NAP again highlights the Canadian commitment to promote the involvement of women in the process. Both acknowledging the numbers of CF women participating in international operations and expanding training to cover a gendered approach would show Canada leading by example and should encourage other nations to do the same. The low representation of women at higher rank levels (Major – General) 7.7% currently limits the number of women in the CF who could be placed in key decision making positions. The Standing Senate Committee explicitly acknowledged the low percentage of women in these key leadership positions and as with the other recommendations, concluded that Canada had the ability to be a leader in WPS but implementation had to “begin at home.”<sup>65</sup> It recommended the following:

The CF and RCMP should both develop time-bound strategies to increase the number of women that can be appointed to high-level leadership positions as part of international security deployments, and for retaining women at these ranks.<sup>66</sup>

This recommendation astutely points out the matter that CF domestic/internal policies of HR such as recruitment, retention, and diversity are innately linked to achieving Canada’s international policy goals. The need to go beyond current strategies for managing diversity and gender integration is a complicated matter that will be discussed in further sections of this paper.

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<sup>65</sup> The Honourable Nancy Ruth Chair, The Honourable Mobina S. B. Jaffer Deputy Chair: *Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights – Women, Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women’s Engagement*, 94.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid* iix.

Finally the protection of women is highlighted in the NAP and the sections below relate to CF operations:

**Protection:**

-Direct Canadian diplomatic missions and deployed Canadian Forces or Canadian police personnel to include information on observed or credibly reported serious violations of women's and girls' human rights in their periodic reporting to competent mission authorities on peace operations, and to address reports of alleged sexual exploitation or abuse by Government of Canada personnel with the utmost seriousness.

-Indicator 16-1: Extent to which Canadian diplomatic offices and deployed Canadian Forces or police personnel include information on observed or credibly reported serious violations of women's and girls' human rights in their periodic reporting to competent mission authorities on peace operations.

-Indicator 16-2: Number of reported cases of sexual exploitation or abuse in peace operations, fragile states and conflict-affected situations, allegedly perpetrated by Canadian military personnel, police or civilian Government officials, and the percentage that are:  
referred to a competent Canadian authority;  
addressed in a timely, appropriate and transparent manner.

Develop training modules for Government of Canada personnel being deployed to peace operations, fragile states or conflict-affected situations, which identify and address in a meaningful way the differential impact of conflict on women and girls. This training will be specific to protection in the region of assignment or mission area, will be offered either pre-deployment or in the field, will draw on experiences/lessons learned from previous engagements, and will address protection issues including sexual violence, sexual exploitation and abuse of women and girls, and trafficking in persons.

-Indicator 17-2: Number and percentage of Government of Canada personnel deployed to peace operations, fragile states or conflict-affected situations who receive region- or mission-specific pre-deployment or field training on protection issues that addresses the differential impact of the conflict on women and girls in a meaningful way.

-Indicator 17-3: Extent to which DND/Canadian Forces strategic direction or equivalent policy guidance for deployed Canadian police address in a meaningful way the importance of protecting women's and girls' human rights on international operational deployments.<sup>67</sup>

As highlighted from the excerpts above, the NAP covers a number of key areas that DND/CF have a role to participate in. However, the NAP was developed by DFAIT and

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<sup>67</sup>Canadian National Action Plan: *Building Peace and Security for All*.

some of the reporting requirements and possible augmentation to training are up for debate in military circles. The NAP, although signed, acknowledged, and approved by numerous cabinet ministers, has not been approved by a parliamentary committee and therefore its implementation is not as straight-forward as one may believe upon initial reading of the document.

One major criticism, in military circles, to some of the themes in the NAP is that they may lead to “artificial goals” (e.g. quotas on numbers of women in the CF or on operations) that may limit command maintenance of operational effectiveness and flexibility. Words such as “operational effectiveness” and maintenance of “command flexibility” have an almost eerie ring to them as they were the same words previously used to prevent women from serving in operational environments. As Davis, points out, “[t]he military continuously creates and reinforces discourses of gender and sex to support military culture in the name of operational effectiveness.”<sup>68</sup> The irony is that increased female participation and any sort of diversity implemented correctly will in many cases improve operational effectiveness as has been demonstrated in comprehensive operations such as Afghanistan (which will be discussed in further sections of this paper). It is still contended within some CF circles that the military plays too important a role in Canada to be “limited” by policies and quotas merely a result of political correctness. However, such a perspective fails to incorporate that the CF is a tool of the wider society it responds and reports too and must be representative of it at the risk of losing touch with it.

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<sup>68</sup> Karen Davis, “Gender Neutrality and Sexual Difference: Limits to Cultural Intelligence in the Canadian Forces”1-7.

As mentioned previously, it is asserted within the CF that many of the promoted themes of WPS have already been incorporated into CF training and deployments. In some cases this is true: CF members participating in missions training the military in Serra Lone teach classes on gender considerations.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, at a strategic/national level, the principles of WPS have been considered and where required (as interpreted by DND/CF) incorporated into DND/CF policy.<sup>70</sup> However, below the national/strategic level, the level most CF members operate in, such considerations are not exactly obvious as was pointed out by the Standing Senate Committee on Human's Rights report on WPS. Specific mention of WPS and the role of women in the peace and security process is needed. LCol Anne Reiffenstein, one of the CF's most Senior female Combat Arms officers writes in her master's thesis proposing gender mainstreaming that outside of some "gender awareness" training being conducted at the Canadian Peace Support Training Center in Kingston, Ontario, "there was little in the way of gender training in the formed units that are deploying with the Road to War."<sup>71</sup> In addition she stated that "gender was captured peripherally in cultural awareness briefings that were becoming marginally more sophisticated but content relied heavily on the lessons that were learned by those military personnel deployed before them and their cultural encounters."<sup>72</sup> Personally, I can also attest to her observations as a CF member who has deployed

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<sup>69</sup> DPK (Pol) Col Chamberlain phone conversation 17 Feb 2012.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Major Anne Reiffenstein, "Gender Mainstreaming the Canadian Forces" ( Master's Thesis, Canadian Forces College, 2008), 60.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, 61.

overseas three times most recently in 2008 (twice to Afghanistan where I worked with the local population, including women): I have not experienced specific gender awareness training or any mention of WPS training prior to or during the deployments.<sup>73</sup> As mentioned above although, at the tactical level, training that incorporates WPS may not translate into direct mention of women in the security arena, teaching on the protection and consideration of all human rights (which innately should incorporate women) are a part of the curriculum of CF individual and collective training. However, as Davis, highlights in her paper *Gender Neutrality and Sexual Difference: Limits to Cultural Intelligence* in the Canadian Forces:

The capacity to effectively understand and negotiate a gendered organization, including optimum employment and deployment of all diversity, including gender, requires motivation, cognitive processing, and knowledge informing operationally effective behaviour, including policy development and decision-making from the tactical to strategic level.<sup>74</sup>

Perhaps more emphasis on WPS and gendered considerations at the tactical level should be considered if the CF is to claim to have already incorporated WPS into the organization. An example where there is an apparently insignificant oversight is the attribution of only male pronouns to Commanders in the Land Forces Doctrine Manual and Canadian Forces Command in Land Operations Manual:

The Canadian soldier is a volunteer citizen who represents the essential attributes of the society he protects. He is a soldier, who as a member of the Canadian Army embraces Canadian military values of integrity, loyalty, courage, and duty. Moreover,

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<sup>73</sup> The deployments include a mission to Bosnia as part of the National Support Element, and Two missions to Kandahar in 2005/6 with the Provincial Reconstruction Team and later in 2008 with the National Support Element.

<sup>74</sup> Karen Davis, "Gender Neutrality and Sexual Difference: Limits to Cultural Intelligence in the Canadian Forces", 1-6.

applicable Canadian social values and standards of behaviour, as represented by government, must be maintained within the army.<sup>75</sup>

Failure to use gender neutral pronouns in the wording in these key doctrine documents (and in this instance discussing Canadian societal values) published as recently as 2007/08 –which are “fundamental principles by which military forces guide their actions in support of objectives”<sup>76</sup>— ironically highlight that there is still work to do in understanding and raising awareness at even a basic level of acknowledgment of women’s roles in the CF and in the peace and security process.<sup>77</sup>

### **The Canadian Forces and Gender Neutrality**

Much of the DND/CF’s view on WPS, both internally, and externally, stems from the CF’s human resources policies and its approach to the integration of women into the CF. In summary, a gender-neutral policy has been determined to be the best approach for the CF to use as an organization since mandated full integration in 1989. Such an approach consists of policies that do not differentiate between women and men but approach all service people as equals. However, as pointed out in a publication by the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute on *Challenge and Change in the Military Gender and Diversity Issues*, researcher Berard Boene states, “[women] bank on equality of

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<sup>75</sup> Department of National Defence, B-GL-300-003/FP-001 Command in Land Operations (Supersedes B-GL-300-003/FP-000 dated 1996-07-21) Issued on Authority of the Chief of Defence Staff OPI: DAD 6 2007-07-27 p 1-1. Note the preface has a disclaimer that states: 1. Unless otherwise noted, masculine pronouns apply to both men and women. Regardless the exclusion of gender neutral wording is unnecessary – publications by any government department are to be gender neutral <http://www.noslangues-ourlanguages.gc.ca/bien-well/fra-eng/style/nonsexistguidelines-eng.html>.

<sup>76</sup> CFJP 01 Canadian Military Doctrine Issued on authority of the Chief of the Defence Staff Custodian: Canadian Forces Experimentation Centre issued 11-2009.

<sup>77</sup> Department of National Defence, B-GL-300-001/FP-001, Land Operations (English), 2008-01-01 uses more gender neutral wording and has less occasions of male only pronouns but does not contain the disclaimer on the use of male pronouns.

treatment as the system encourages them to do, only to discover that the universal rules that govern it were historically designed for men only and still mechanically favor the majority.”<sup>78</sup> Although the CF has made many changes to procedures over the years to avoid policies that favor men, leaders and policy makers in the CF must be aware that due to the historic and present-day dominantly male culture that prevails in the CF there are still areas where systematic discrimination is prevalent. Leaders must continue efforts to eliminate such discrimination and ensure that the CF is, in fact, providing a “gender equal” working environment. The CF also tends to use gender to refer to the sex of a person. However most academic writing and research in this area uses a broader definition of “gender” that includes concept that gender also involves the interaction of women and men stemming from social rules and norms.<sup>79</sup>

In keeping with gender neutral policy only a criteria of merit is used by the CF to assign people to a position or posting very rarely are formal special measures used to select candidates for key positions or assignments.<sup>80</sup> The CF adopted this type of policy to try to fully integrate women into the force after a time when different standards existed for men and women that prohibited women from completing certain roles. This caused resentment among many men, left with positions that were deemed to be more physically

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<sup>78</sup> Franklin C. Pinch, Allister T MacIntyre, Phyllis Brown and Alan C Okros. *Challenge and Change in the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues*, (Canadian Defence Academy Press, Kingston , 2004), 45.

<sup>79</sup> Paula Trachy, “Women Citizen Soldiers: The Gender Integration of the Canadian Forces”, (Masters Thesis, McMaster, 2001), 101.

<sup>80</sup> One case in which special measures have been applied is the selection of women for the Canadian Forces Staff College 5 positions were reserved for women who had the qualifications to attend but did not rank high enough within their respective branch selection lists to attend that year. This commenced in 1997 but was discontinued in 2011. This measure was controversial on both sides of the gender equality arguments. Karen Davis, *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces*, 157-172.



demanding. It was seen that the best way for women to be accepted and integrated was for gender neutral policies to permeate the system so that it would not be perceived that a woman was qualifying or advancing for any other reason than merit and thus cohesion (a very important part of military life) would be maintained. Additionally, the ideals of liberal feminism in the 1970s and 80s, a pursuit of equality based on sameness, were used within Canada. Canadian feminists used this liberal feminist momentum to push forward equity in a number of key areas, the military was one of the last government organizations to “get on board” and a organization where the government had to ensure the changes in governmental policy were made with outside oversight. Legal challenges and outside intervention had to be conducted as a result of which the rights of women to serve in all areas of the CF was successfully argued on the basis of reason and the rational that women were full citizens and had the right to enroll in the military based on their “capacity” and “desire.” This is a liberal feminist perspective.<sup>81</sup>

Reminiscent of the effects of Kanter’s tokenism theory, women in the CF are often conditioned very quickly within their military careers not to stand out.<sup>82</sup> Early in military training, both women, and men are taught to assimilate socially in to the norms of the organization. Socialization within the military is very important as is the process by which recruits form their identity and transition into the organization. It is a defining process where norms, values, beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes are learned and this

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<sup>81</sup> Paula Trachy, “Women, Citizens and Soldiers: The Gender Integration of the Canadian Forces”, 5.

<sup>82</sup> Karen Davis, “Gender Neutrality and Sexual Difference: Limits to Cultural Intelligence in the Canadian Forces”, 1-20.

socialization has a huge effect on the culture of the organization.<sup>83</sup> While a gender neutral policy allows women the opportunity to break into military circles formerly dominated by men, it does not easily allow for changes or opportunities for women to use their leadership or other skills that are different from men. As the composition of the military continues to be predominantly male, women are forced to assume roles modeled on gender norms and expectations that are resoundingly male associations based around a “male warrior culture.”<sup>84</sup> Women are required to change their behaviors and expectations to fit in with the male-dominated group. On top of this, women and men in the military, in conjunction with the socialization process, are also taught and subsequently perpetuate the ideas of gender neutrality and shy away from recognition of differences in all people due to the need to conform to group norms.

Although the concept of gender neutrality, as described above, had its reasons for implementation and is widely believed to create efficiency in the system from an organizational stand point, the CF needs to start to look beyond this initial concept and develop dialogue that will allow CF members to be comfortable to discuss, discover, and accept the differences between men and women, and acknowledge the strengths that diverse groups bring to operations and problem solving. Davis highlights this concept in her paper on cultural intelligence in the CF, stating that “regardless of and because of gender and sex, the experiences that men and women bring to the organization will differ depending upon an endless array of factors, including gender role expectations in their

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<sup>83</sup> Justin Wright, *Socialization of OCDT at Royal Military College 2006*, (Study Commissioned by the CFLI 2008), 1.

<sup>84</sup> Karen Davis, “Gender Neutrality and Sexual Difference: Limits to Cultural Intelligence in the Canadian Forces”, 1-20.

formative years.”<sup>85</sup> She goes on to discuss the “undeniable physiological differences among women and men and the various abilities that such diversity brings to the team.”<sup>86</sup> She challenges readers and senior leaders in the CF to address matters of gender through an “inclusive approach” that disregards the socially-constructed expectations of diversity between women and men. Such an “inclusive approach,” along with its possible impact on WPS as well as and recruitment and retention of women into the CF, must be explored within CF circles beyond the Chief of Military Personnel (CMP) and DHRD circles. This discussion has to come out of its “stove pipe” as a purely human resource or “soft” issue and be embedded into operational thinking throughout the CF. As the CF desk officer for gender at DHRD Capt Heather MacQuarrie, astutely points out:

My conclusion would be the CF must continue its EE and Diversity initiatives in order to successfully meet the challenges of the contemporary operational environment....The two are linked. There is an internal as well as an external aspect to EE/Diversity. That link remains to be understood....<sup>87</sup>

Such concepts are already making headway in NATO and other western militaries and the window for Canada to be a leader or even a participant in this area is closing. This is important for Canada for two reasons: first, as a small country our forces must be interoperable with other nations and in particular NATO forces, and second, the CF must do something to show true progress in meeting the goals it and the CHRC has set, as the status quo of only gender neutral policies has out-lived its useful life.

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<sup>85</sup> Karen Davis, “Impact of Gender Differences on Conducting Operational Activities”, *Challenge and Change in the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues*, (Canadian Defence Academy Press 2004) 1-2.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, 1-21.

<sup>87</sup> Email Capt MacQuarrie to Maj Haevens, NATO Committee of Gendered Perspectives, 01 March 2012.

## The CF and Gender Fatigue

One of the reasons the CF may be experiencing resistance to the acceptance of new approaches on diversity is that it is likely experiencing a common phenomenon in modern day organizations known as gender fatigue. Dr Elisabeth Kelan developed this concept based on her studies of the IT and high-tech industries, which are traditionally male-dominated entities. Her work identifies a central dilemma where employees recognize that there is still gender discrimination in their organizations but believe or claim these workplaces are gender-neutral. The underlying theme in her research is that because not being seen as a gender neutral organization has such negative connotations, managers, employees, etc. do not want to acknowledge that discrimination is still taking place (albeit in fewer instances) in the workplace, and therefore, are not properly able to discuss and work through the current gender issues.<sup>88</sup> In such situations, organizations have difficulty to move forward and make the organization better from a gender equality standpoint. Employees tend to individualise any discrimination that occurs or to place it in the past, whether this discrimination is against them personally or against another colleague. Kelan believes this compounds the problem as it leads to a “lack of language” to discuss the structural inequalities among male and females “making gender inequality even more difficult if not impossible to address.”<sup>89</sup> Due to the history of gender integration in the CF--where legislation and outside pressure was applied to force the CF to create a gender neutral environment--there is a great deal of sensitivity surrounding this subject. Paula Trachy, CF member and academic discusses a similar concept in her

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<sup>88</sup> Elisabeth Kelan, “Gender Fatigue: The Ideological Dilemma of Gender Neutrality and Discrimination in Organizations.” *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences* 26.3 (Sept 2009), 197-210.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, 208.

master's thesis on women as citizen soldiers and the integration of women into the infantry she responds to a comment from a senior CF officer that there are "no gender problems only leadership problems"<sup>90</sup>

In this once succinct statement the CF describes exactly why its program of gender integration has failed in the past and why it will continue to fail in the future. By denying there the existence of "gender problems", and therefore gender stereotypes, the CF undermines its ability to address the unofficial structural barriers.<sup>91</sup>

These sentiments are echoed by the CF gender integration officer in 2012, when she asserts that the dogma in CF circles is:

All legislative, regulatory and policy barriers to the employment of women have been dismantled IAW the 1989 Tribunal ruling, all occupations open, and the assumption is, that with this, gender integration may be considered a *fait accompli*. Absolutely no restrictions on the employment of women....the CF has not yet met its EE targets for the rep[resentation] of women. But this is not taken to mean that G[ender] I[n]tegration] isn't complete.<sup>92</sup>

In my opinion, an example of gender fatigue can be seen on the current Canadian Forces College Joint Command and Staff Program (2011/12), which as discussed previously, is a course to train middle-level officers for higher command and staff billets. The candidates for this course are selected by their respective branches based on performance and merit and has approximately 125 students attending at the ranks of Maj/LCdr and LCol/Cdr of which only eight are female (6.3%), a much lower percentage

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<sup>90</sup>Paula Trachy "Women, Citizens and Soldiers: The Gender Integration of the Canadian Forces", 22.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, 22.

<sup>92</sup> Capt MacQuarrie email to Maj Haevens, Employment of Women, March 01 2012.

than the numbers of females serving in the CF or even at that rank level.<sup>93</sup> The course material discusses employment equity at length and the efforts and extent the CF goes to in order to be an inclusive employer, which in many cases it is. (although it should be noted that the course material never directly mentions WPS or UNSCR 1325).<sup>94</sup>

However, based on the attendance statistics of females in this instance, such policy does not appear structurally to be permeating and positively affecting the numbers of women in the middle and senior rank levels. As a participant on the course, it feels uncomfortable to discuss this fact openly, whether this is an instance of gender fatigue or simply not seen as a concern to most people involved, in my experience neither men nor women seem comfortable to discuss this issue in a formal matter.

### **Another Approach to Gender Integration?**

Evident from the yearly EE report statistics the number of women in the CF is remains stagnant and, in fact, the enrolment of females has dropped by almost 25% (from 15.85% to 12.67%) in the last three years. The current strict gender-neutral policy no longer appears to be successful in increasing female attraction and participation in the CF, which is a stated policy goal both externally mandated by the CHRC and internally mandated by the CF Employment Equity Plan with stated targets for female participation of 25.1%.<sup>95</sup> The effects of the gender neutral polices have far-reaching effects because, as described in previous sections, females are reluctant to draw attention to themselves, and the CF is also reluctant to portray itself in a manner that truly shows the diversity of

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<sup>93</sup> CF Employment Equity Report 2010-11, schedule 6.

<sup>94</sup> As a student I did not see WPS or UNSCR 1325 mentioned in the course material or in lectures.

<sup>95</sup> CF Employment Equity Report 2010-11, 3.

employment offered, opting to emphasize the traditional masculine warrior aspects of the profession.<sup>96</sup> Although combat was indeed at the center of the Afghan mission, the approach to this type of operation was diverse and a host of tactics both kinetic and non-kinetic were used during the mission. Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT) working with the local population and Operational Liaison and Mentoring Teams (OLMT) working with the Afghan Security Forces and Military were a huge part of this mission and in conjunction with combat missions operational and strategic objectives were achieved. However, there did not appear to be as much emphasis or promotion on such “comprehensive operations” as perhaps should have been, and that will be discussed in the chapter on comprehensive operations. Perhaps there are further opportunities for success in these areas along with future incorporation of WPS aspects. Therefore, Canadians are not fully aware of what the CF truly offers and opportunities to recruit the female population may be missed. It is suggested that a new approach that steers away from strict neutrality be incorporated. An approach flexible enough to acknowledge differences and accept them--not as impediments to operational effectiveness but as enablers instead. In addition to the above-mentioned gendered dialogues highlighted by Davis, the CF in conjunction with the “whole of government” approach must determine new ways to accept and embrace differences among women and men along with diverse cultures and ethnic backgrounds. In this way, ‘difference feminist arguments’ come into play. Difference feminist scholars’ arguments are centered on the concept that liberal or sameness feminist arguments do not properly address the “historic power inequalities,

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<sup>96</sup> Karen Davis, “Impact of Gender Differences on Conducting Operational Activities”, in. *Challenge and Change in the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues*, 25.

between men and women.”<sup>97</sup> The arguments of these feminists is that equal opportunity does not guarantee an equal outcome in the case of female integration due to socially and biological differences and there is extensive thought and development to show that equality and equal treatment are different concepts. In many cases equal treatment of people (men or women) is accomplished by acknowledging differences and within organizations to ensure there is flexibility in policy to deal with these differences.<sup>98</sup> As Davis and Trachy highlight, the CF must consider a gender approach that incorporates differences as positive and use this diversity to its full potential in a coordinated manner throughout the organization.

### **WPS in Other Government Departments and International Organizations**

Although it would be refreshing to see the CF examine its decades-old policies on gender neutrality and conformity, even if the CF continues to ignore gender differences and persists along gender neutral policies internally, it can no longer turn a blind eye to gender dialogue, gender mainstreaming, and the increasing role of women in peace and security processes within Canada and internationally. For example DFAIT has considerable numbers of women in their organization. Women make up 44% of high level management and overall the number of women serving in DFAIT is 52.5%.<sup>99</sup> This demonstrates that considerable numbers of women are interested in this line of work and female leaders have been developed throughout the organization. The government of

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<sup>97</sup> Paula Trachy, “Women, Citizens and Soldiers: The Gender Integration of the Canadian Forces”, 16.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, 16.

<sup>99</sup> DFAIT Workforce Analysis Employment Equity 31 Dec 2011.



Canada and the OGD's are already examining such initiatives and as part of the "whole of government" approach the CF must also show a willingness to participate.

As demonstrated in previous sections, the UN and the international community agree that women have a large role to play in the peace and security agenda. Some may argue against WPS initiatives as Canada is choosing to be less involved in the UN, particularly on the operational deployment side, and therefore the UN concerns of items like WPS are less relevant. However, NATO countries have also started to recognize benefits of a gendered approach to certain key areas of security, although Canada was initially seen as a leader in the integration of women and WPS within NATO countries that influence is declining. In fact, the CF/Canada failed to attend a yearly conference the last two fiscal years held by the NATO Committee on Gendered Perspectives (formerly the committee on Women in NATO Forces). The absence of Canada was the exception when compared to other nations. The reason for this absence highlights the CF's failure to acknowledge that gender in the military is more than simply an employment equity issue under the portfolio of Chief of Military Personnel (CMP) and DHRD. This embarrassing absence occurred due to the shift in the NATO perspective for the "Committee on Women in NATO Forces" beyond its original mandate to become the "Committee on Gendered Perspectives". From the CF's perspective it was determined that funding and representatives for this conference no longer would originate from DHRD as this committee looked at much broader issues than employment equity, which is the purview of DHRD, but should rest with ADM(Pol) and DPK Pol and D NATO

Pol.<sup>100</sup> The failure of the ADM(Pol) to send a representative from Canada appears to demonstrate that the CF does not place a priority on this matter and that gendered perspectives may still be seen as “soft” HR issues instead of an opportunity to explore this matter an operational enabler with other NATO countries. Moreover, this could easily be perceived by our allies as a blow to our reputation as a progressive force in the area of the integration of women and departure away from other NATO allies in this area.

NATO, as an organization, rapidly appears to be embracing gendered perspectives and encourages the increased involvement of women in the peace and security process, and the approach is centered on the concepts of gender mainstreaming. This should be seen as important to Canada and the CF as in recent years NATO has become the primary multilateral instrument for international deployments in which Canada has been involved. As discussed by Capt Heather McQuarrie at DHRD in an explanation to an ADM (Pol) staff officer regarding NATO’s evolving outlook on gender:

NATO and its partners are promoting the role of women within the NATO-led ops and missions as well as improving their knowledge and skills in relation to questions of gender and diversity. Gender has a central role in NATO's new strategic concept and it is important that NATO nations share a common understanding of the gender perspective.<sup>101</sup>

There are two main bodies within NATO that ensure momentum and emphasis are maintained on the WPS agenda. Firstly, there is the NATO committee on Gendered Perspectives that is an advisory board to the NATO Military Committee. It evolved from

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<sup>100</sup> Email Capt MacQuarrie forwarded to Maj Haevens NATO Committee on Gendered Perspective, 01 March 2008.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

the former Committee on Women in NATO Forces and was expanded in 2009 to encompass gendered perspectives. Secondly, there is the Office of Gender Perspectives which is a permanent office established to support this work and the committee.<sup>102</sup> Over the last three years the engagement of NATO senior leaders in this area has been gaining momentum; at a speech in late 2010, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen acknowledged the importance of organizations such as NATO along with nation states to commit to the principles of UNSCR 1325 and WPS. He stressed that: "...women are not just victims of conflict. They must also be part of the solution. If women are not active participants in peace building and reconciliation, the views, needs and interests of half of the population in a conflict area are not properly represented."<sup>103</sup> He also made an important observation to NATO nations:

The percentage of female military personnel in NATO's nation's armed forces varies between 3% and 18%. I firmly believe these figures are too low. And that far too often, we focus on more traditional types of military capability, and we overlook the tremendous force multiplier effect of employing women in our armed forces. I believe Allies in general should increase their effort to recruit, retain and deploy female military personnel.<sup>104</sup>

Along with the NATO Secretary General, the Chair of NATO's Military Committee, Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola, spoke of the need to involve more women in peace-building and decision-making" and "the much greater recognition in our organization of

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<sup>102</sup> The Committee on Gendered Perspectives [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_50327.html](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50327.html); Internet, accessed March 23 2012.

<sup>103</sup> Speech by NATO Secretary General [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-E2180248-13A4E998/natolive/opinions\\_67602.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-E2180248-13A4E998/natolive/opinions_67602.htm) 29 Oct 2010; Internet, accessed March 20 2012.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

the importance of this issue to NATO operations and activities.”<sup>105</sup> He also expanded on NATO’s desire to pursue gender perspectives training beyond the senior level and bring it down to the operational and tactical levels.

These comments are reflective of NATO’s gender mainstreaming approach to operations, an approach which the CF still firmly rejects due to the gender neutral policies that have shaped the integration of women into the forces and the operational effectiveness arguments. While the detailed arguments regarding gender mainstreaming and its benefits are beyond the scope of this paper, the CF may wish to consider its current position on this matter to remain interoperable with NATO forces in the future. Nevertheless, the involvement of Canadian women in conflict and comprehensive operations is occurring and making a difference to people around the globe and this should be highlighted and be something that we as a nation are proud of.

The NATO website for the Committee on Gendered Perspectives is one of the best websites for information on women and gendered perspectives in peace, security, and defense. There is extensive research, studies and information on all aspects of the WPS agenda. While it does focus some of the emphasis on the role of female military and security forces, it is an excellent resource site for all aspects of this cross cutting initiative. Creating such a comprehensive website where women’s achievements are celebrated and promoted in Canada would go a long way to making both our military and

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<sup>105</sup>Engaging Women Crucial for Operations, NATO’s Military Chief says NATO Committee on Gendered Perspectives [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_50327.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50327.htm) 14 Sept 2010; Internet, accessed 23 March 2012.

citizens more aware of the important role women have to play in this arena and help to show women how important and valued their contribution is. Even the promotion of this particular body/website and the concept of WPS within CF circles would be better than the emphasis currently on the WPS initiative in the CF and Canada today. Canada has gained extensive experience in Afghanistan with the deployment of women, and has had some particularly unique experiences with women in combat and operational situations. Unfortunately, there is no initiative to capture this experience and due to the gender neutral policies and unwillingness of women to want to stand out from their peers, much of this experience both for domestic and international forums may be lost if the lessons learned are not collected.

Although the United States is not as progressive with its inclusion of women in the military and has formal restrictions on the employment of women in combat, there are areas where the United States is making some interesting strides with the expansion of WPS. In late 2011, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton introduced the US NAP on UNSCR 1325. In Afghanistan, starting in 2010, the United States has introduced the concept of female only teams (FET) in their Marine Corps. These teams operate under the Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) mission in Afghanistan, but the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission under NATO is closely studying this concept and considering similar teams. These teams are created for the purposes of interacting with the local female population as Civil Military Affairs Task- Force Leatherneck Commander Col Pratt explains, “Afghan women, however, have significant influence within the home and are privy to large amounts of information regarding the local areas.

Without the FETs, we would effectively be cut off from half the population.”<sup>106</sup> While segregated teams due to cultural considerations in Afghanistan can be of great assistance and highlight the need for more females on operations, future planners must be careful not to segregate or “ghettoize” women and men’s roles in the military based on this one instance, as, in general, mixed-gender teams with diversity will serve the military best in comprehensive operations.

Of note in the article on FTEs was a quote from a 22-year-old female Corporal on her second mission in Afghanistan: “I would not have experienced anything like this anywhere else,” she says. “This is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity.... This is about the bigger picture.”<sup>107</sup> Such enthusiasm messaged firsthand from the women completing these operations and tasks is exciting to see and must be transmitted to more of the population, so the greater society can see what women are doing and young women can use her as an example and role model in their future career decisions. Of interest, as the United States comes to terms with its own policies on the full integration of women in the military various researchers and writers are looking for material about the Canadian experience, it will be interesting to see if other outlets are better able to capture, record, and acknowledge this ground-breaking experience of the CF.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Engaging Women on the Frontline  
[http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news\\_76542.htm?selectedLocale=en](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_76542.htm?selectedLocale=en) July 18 2010; Internet, accessed 23 March 2012.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Email Capt MacQuarrie- forwarded to Maj Haevens, Wall Street Journal, 06 March 2012.

However, if the present indifferent approach continues, instead of being a potential leader in WPS and fulfilling the international obligations we have made, Canada quickly could fall off the radar, and thus lose an opportunity to make a difference in the international arena in this critical area of human rights. As L Col Anne Reiffenstein aptly points out in her Master's Thesis on gender mainstreaming: "International credibility is also at issue when Canada, one of (t)he countries that advocates for women's equality, does not use a policy as stated."<sup>109</sup> WPS is a part of the international security environment that can no longer be ignored by the CF regardless of internal human resource policy.

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<sup>109</sup> Major Anne Reiffenstein, "Gender Mainstreaming in the Canadian Forces", 65.

### Chapter 3 – Women, Peace and Security in Comprehensive Operations

This chapter explores the future of military and CF engagements. It also highlights some of reasons to embrace WPS in relation to the planning and execution of such missions. It demonstrates that comprehensive operations will continue to be of critical significance to Canada and a CF that includes a diverse force will be essential to Canada's successful accomplishment of these missions.

#### **Comprehensive Operations the New Military Paradigm<sup>110</sup>**

There are a number of broader influences that will shape the structure and composition of an armed forces, one of the most important being the national security and defence objectives of a country. The authors Rachel Woodward and Trish Winter of the book *Sexing the Solider* examine the integration of women into the British armed forces and discuss the idea that gender roles are still prevalent in the military and society. As such the participation of women or men in the forces will be enabled or inhibited by what the state believes the military is actually for (national defence, international intervention, peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, post conflict resolution).<sup>111</sup> They contends that a society with broader international defence objectives will likely see value in a more inclusive and diverse military. According to “Canada First Defence Policy” (2008) the mission of the CF is to defend Canada its interests and values, while contributing to international peace and security. The CF is called upon to complete three

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<sup>110</sup> Many of these arguments have been taken from my earlier paper on Comprehensive Operations for the War and Society course submitted 11 Jan 2012.

<sup>111</sup> Trish Winter, Rachel Woodward, *Sexing the Solider*, 19.



major objectives: “Defend Canada – Deliver excellence at home, Defend North America – a strong and reliable partner and Contribute to International Peace and Security – project leadership abroad.”<sup>112</sup> These objectives are in many ways intertwined and since the end of the Cold War Canada has participated in a number of international peace and security operations that have highlighted the requirement for a comprehensive approach.

The Canada First Defence Policy also highlighted that the “CF would strive to achieve excellence in its objectives by recruiting and retaining high quality candidates that reflect the face of Canada.”<sup>113</sup> The 2010-11 CF Employment Equity Report reflects this and states that: “Diversity is viewed as a source of strength and flexibility, and plays a pivotal role in making the CF a modern, forward looking organization.”<sup>114</sup> Therefore, Canada has determined that it has broad national and international goals - many of which fall into the arena of “comprehensive operations” and it intends to achieve excellence in these goals by making use of its diversity. However, for some reason this does not appear to be translating to all levels of the organization and strict gender neutrality concepts remain in place.

The term “comprehensive operations” conjures up a variety of reactions amongst politicians, military leaders, academics, and the public, and it is certainly not a concept that CF/DND leaders should ignore. Although a formal Canadian policy statement on

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<sup>112</sup> Canada First Defence Policy 2008 <http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/pri/first-premier/index-eng.asp>; Internet, accessed 09 March 2012.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> CF Employment Equity Report 2010-11, 2.

comprehensive operations does not currently exist, the literature on CF websites describes it as an approach that uses diplomatic, defence, development, and commercial resources to achieve its aims. It also aligns these aims with those of other agencies in a coordinated integrated approach, which is applied in the required areas of operations. Such an approach entails the use of traditional and non-traditional military activities.<sup>115</sup> Although Canadian women have certainly proven themselves in traditional military activities, these non-traditional activities which are a key part of comprehensive operations would also be of great interest to women and the promotion of such requirements needs to be better communicated to the Canadian public and recognized by both the CF and society.

Although comprehensive operations, such as Peacekeeping/Peace-enforcement and the War on Terror, have been the mainstay of CF and its major allies missions since the end of the Cold War, there is still a reluctance within military and OGD circles to fully accept comprehensive concepts and truly embrace such missions.<sup>116</sup> As Dr Sebastian Gorka from the Institution for Transitional Democracy and International Security contends, there has been a significant failure after the Cold War to understand and articulate what national security and the purpose of the military are in the post-

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<sup>115</sup> Andrew Leslie, Peter Gizewski, and Michael Rostek, Michael "Developing a Comprehensive Approach to Canadian Forces Operations." *Canadian Military Journal* 9, no. 1 (2008), <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/Vo9/no1/04-leslie-eng.asp> Internet, accessed 29 Dec 2011.

<sup>116</sup> Joseph R. Cerami and Jay W. Boggs, eds. *Interagency and Counterinsurgency Warfare: Stability, Security, Transition and Reconstruction Roles*, 2007, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/pub828.pdf> ; Internet, accessed Dec 15 2011, 58.

industrial era.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, the complexity of this “post-Cold War era” demands a military strategy that is flexible, adaptive, and more than simply a tool of violence and last resort. To deal with this complexity, the CF could gain flexibility by taking advantage its current diversity (which includes women) to approach such operations. Non-traditional roles for the military are increasing and both men and women in the CF have proven their abilities in these multi-dimensional responsibilities. Expanding on this concept and highlighting the successes and demonstrating these varied roles to Canadians particularly, women could help to change some of the longstanding perceptions that joining the CF is a masculinized career choice, which may be affecting female enrolment.

The protection of individual human rights, including those of women has become a large part of the national security aims. The CF must be prepared to conduct operations with a measured application of violence that reflects the realities of a complex and global 21st century world. Globalization has created a situation in which the de-stabilization of a state due to civil and internal power struggles can have implications on the security of the entire international community.

Some critics argue that comprehensive operations will soon become irrelevant for the CF, therefore placing much focus on them and the skills and capacities required to operate in such environments is no longer required, and the CF must return emphasis to

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<sup>117</sup> Sebastian, Gorka. " Al Qaeda and Von Clausewitz Rediscovering the Art of War." <http://www.itdis.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Clausewitz.pdf> ; Internet, accessed 22 Dec 2012.

traditional “warrior skills”<sup>118</sup>. However there are three main reasons that Canada will continue with a comprehensive approach. Firstly, it will do so to improve international stability for economic, political, and human rights reasons. Secondly, as a middle power with a limited budget and ‘stomach’ for casualties, continued involvement in smaller “capacity building and training missions” is deemed highly likely.<sup>119</sup> Finally, Canada’s allies in NATO, including the United States and Britain are adopting similar approaches, and remaining an interoperable team member will involve the CF being proficient in Comprehensive Operations.<sup>120</sup> Thus comprehensive operations are an area that the CF must continue to focus on and leverage the skills that women can bring to the fight in addition to combat skills.

In the complexity of today’s global society, security, and stability is not only the domain of the military, and the Canadian “whole of government” approach makes this clear.<sup>121</sup> As Dr Gorka reminds us, centuries ago Clausewitz highlighted that there is a unity between politics and war, as war is not just an “isolated option when politics runs

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<sup>119</sup> Peter Gizewski, and Michael Rostek, eds. *Security Operations in the 21 Century – Canadian Perspectives on the Comprehensive Approach*. . first ed. Kingston: School of Policy Studies and McGill-Queens Press, 2011, 240.

<sup>120</sup> Roy, Richard and Caroline Vavro. "International Development of the Comprehensive Approach." Chap. 3, In *Security Operations in the 21 Century – Canadian Perspectives on the Comprehensive Approach*. edited by Peter Gizewski and Michael Rostek. first ed. Vol. 1 Kingston Ont: School of Policy Studies and McGill-Queens University Press, 2011. 35-45. \* The US has recently introduce 2 new doctrine manuals FM 3-24 Counter-insurgency and FM 3-07 Stability Operations both of which address comprehensive operations and place them on par with conventional methods of war.

<sup>121</sup> "Developing a Comprehensive Approach to Canadian Forces Operations." *Canadian Military Journal* 9, no. 1 (2008), <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/Vo9/no1/04-leslie-eng.asp>; Internet, accessed 29 Dec 2011.

out of options.”<sup>122</sup> To attain success, there is a requirement for a clear political goal and to achieve this goal all tools of the government must be available. All the government departments must improve their inter-operability and the expansion of roles may complicate this as responsibilities become blurred. However, diversity in the organizations should lead to better cultural understanding internally and externally.

Despite the fact that comprehensive operations are not a new concept, and the likelihood Canada will continue to participate in such operations is high, the advances in the development of policy and doctrine this area has been a slow evolution in the CF and government circles.<sup>123</sup> Research and development is continuing and the lessons learned in current missions are shared; however, a formal strategic policy statement has not been approved. Peter Gizewski, a leading Canadian researcher in this area, contends that “despite growing endorsement of the approach in principle, full acceptance and institutionalization of the C[omprehensive] A[pproach] has yet to be achieved.”<sup>124</sup> There are a number of doctrinal type developments progressing such as the Land Forces development of the Joint, Interagency, Multinational, and Public (JIMP) model that promotes the planning and conduct of land operations in a comprehensive manner.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Sebastian, Gorka. " Al Qaeda and Von Clausewitz Rediscovering the Art of War." <http://www.itdis.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Clausewitz.pdf> ; Internet, accessed 22 Dec 2012.

<sup>123</sup> Peter Gizewski, and Michael Rostek, eds. *Security Operations in the 21 Century – Canadian Perspectives on the Comprehensive Approach*. . first ed. Kingston: School of Policy Studies and McGill-Queens Press, 2011, 2.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, 21.

<sup>125</sup> Andrew Leslie , Peter Gizewski, and Michael Rostek. "Comprehensive Operations: Moving to a JIMP-Capable Land Force " Vanguard Canada. <http://www.vanguardcanada.com/ComprehensiveOperationsGizewskiRostekLeslie> ; Internet, accessed 22 Dec 2011.

However, at a tactical level these concepts do not consistently translate into action, and the emphasis may not always be concentrated in the required areas. With the close-out of operations in Kandahar, Commanders are calling for a “back to basics” approach.<sup>126</sup> Frequently cited by opponents to the comprehensive approach—who argue instead for a return to traditional soldiering skills—is the claim that if the CF concentrates too deeply on the lessons of Afghanistan it will be ‘unprepared’ for the next war. However, as any future operation the CF participates in will be equally, if uniquely, complex—requiring the mutual skillsets of traditional and non-traditional warriors—realistically, the necessity of comprehensive operations will not disappear. In other words, the lessons from CF operations in the Balkans and Afghanistan will continue to be critical in the development and furtherance of comprehensive operations doctrine and the training of CF personnel. This training must be updated to incorporate a diverse and gendered approach. The CF is at a critical juncture and its ability to adapt and continue to improve its competency in conducting comprehensive operations rests with capturing lessons learned by the experiences both men and women in recent operations such as Afghanistan. In sum, as a gendered approach is not currently recognized or acknowledged the combat and comprehensive experience gained by women as well as by men in dealing with effects of peace and security on women will be lost and not incorporated into future training or awareness.

Within the realm of international comprehensive operations there are a number of key areas, which relatively expand the roles and responsibilities of the military; these include security sector reform (SSR), reconstruction, economic development, and

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<sup>126</sup> 2 CMBG Commander Col Heatherington , address to JSCP 38 at CFB Petawawa Oct 2011.

governance. All of these factors must be considered by military planners regardless of the CF's level of involvement in them and in considering them gender must be acknowledged. In particular the UN considers SSR to be a critical component of the stabilization process and a legitimate and useful task for militaries: "UN major policy and operational areas for supporting SSR are through peacekeeping and post-conflict peace building missions and activities. Peacekeeping missions have both implicit and explicit responsibilities to SSR."<sup>127</sup> The CF has strengths and a natural role to play in SSR and can provide much expertise in this area. Involving women and ensuring that all soldiers have a better understanding of the differing needs of women when developing SSR and training national police and armed forces would help to improve Canada's contribution in this area and set the stage for systems that consider gendered requirements from initiation. Such a contribution was highlighted by the Senate Standing Committee on Human Rights report on WPS and was seen to be an area where Canada could have the biggest impact on international WPS.<sup>128</sup>

The areas of reconstruction, rebuilding, and economic capacity building need to be reflected in the same vein as SSR. If the security situation so demands the need for the military to provide security, support, and advice, the leaders of today's military need

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<sup>127</sup> Sarah Meharg and Aleisha Arnmush. "Security Sector Reform: A Case Study Approach to Transition and Capacity Building." *Strategic Studies Institute* (2010): <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/summary.cfm?q=960> ; Internet, accessed 15 Dec 2011, 5.

<sup>128</sup> The Honourable Nancy Ruth Chair, The Honourable Mobina S. B. Jaffer Deputy Chair: *Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights – Women, Peace and Security: Canada Moves Forward to Increase Women's Engagement*, 52

to train and be prepared to support such operations with consideration to the differing perspectives and needs of women and men.

The military must increase training and the non-kinetic skill-sets of its soldiers and leaders in order to accomplish these complex tasks.<sup>129</sup> In many fields such as engineering and medical support the military has a great breath of skills to draw from already. Many of these skill-sets have been used to augment or complement support to missions that created positive second and third level effects. However, non-kinetic skills must become increasingly prevalent and be recognized as important as the kinetic combat capabilities. While combat skills cannot be minimised, until the non-kinetic collaborative skills are recognized as critical—and professional development is aligned—the military will continue to struggle with getting these unique, but equally powerful skills right and achieving true mission success.<sup>130</sup> The fact that the military can be agile and capable enough to complete these apparently contradictory tasks will lead to success and the accomplishment of the mission.

The initial acceptance of comprehensive operations has faced a number of obstacles due to the complexity of the entire concept. As “human security” and global stability have become increasingly important to the international community as well as an integral part of national security, the conduct of comprehensive operations will remain a

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<sup>129</sup> Sarah Meharg and Aleisha Armush. "Security Sector Reform: A Case Study Approach to Transition and Capacity Building." Strategic Studies Institute (2010): <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/summary.cfm?q=960>; Internet, accessed 15 Dec 2011, 46.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*, 306-307.



critical role for the CF. As the Canadian public and government continue to commit the CF to operations that demand a comprehensive approach, the leaders of the institution must ensure there is a prepared, highly trained, and capable force that includes women, available to successfully conduct these roles.

As discussed above, in comprehensive operations Canada is applying a “whole of government” approach. OGD’s work together to manage the complex operating environment of today and the departments require a common outlook to solve problems. OGDs such as CIDA and DFAIT have been more active and aware of UNSCR 1325 and women’s contribution to the peace and security process. In a study commissioned to examine the “whole of government” approach and gender in failed states the “unique opportunity to ensure policy coherence across departments and to continue to demonstrate Canada’s leadership on gender equality and women’s rights” was highlighted. While DFAIT and CIDA take Canada’s commitment to UNSC 1325 seriously and work to have this issue cross permeate their departments and policies, the CF/DND continues to show a less than optimal commitment to these principles by using two time tested arguments of operational effectiveness and the internal gender neutrality policy of the CF. The study on the “whole of government” and gender makes it clear that gender equality has low visibility within certain departments and that “gender issues often fall under the heading of protection of civilians or civil and political rights, rather than standing as a specific policy and programming objective.”<sup>131</sup> Based on the findings in the previous section on the CF/DND and the more general/neutral approach the CF

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<sup>131</sup> Jenifier Salahub *Canada’s Whole of Government Approach to Fragile States: The Challenge of Gender Equity*, 7.

appears to take to the matter of gender, while not directly pointing out the CF/DND for this policy in the report, it goes on to state that the “recognition for of gender equality and women’s rights with policy frameworks is essential.... And that all programing be grounding in gender analysis”.<sup>132</sup> It is increasingly important if the CF/DND is going to continue to work with OGD’s on international operations in a “whole of government” approach that matters such as WPS are approached with a similar value. Currently, there are perceptions of militarism and maculation of process within the CF approach from NGO and OGD’s.<sup>133</sup> There are repeated examples of difficulty working with these organizations due to a wide array of differences. Some of which are likely to do with organizational culture. The limited numbers of women, and minimal female socialization within the CF organization may contribute to a difficulty to communicate with these other organizations that are becoming increasingly diverse.

When highlighting the strengths of a diverse CF to complete comprehensive operations, caution must be exercised in creating the amount of emphasis put on gendered roles. As demonstrated in the arguments above, women, and other diverse groups can bring different strengths and perspectives to the organization. However, as highlighted by British researchers Woodward and Winter, the British military’s attempt to show an alternate image of soldiering to attract women in a recruiting campaign that depicted women soldiers as the face of British Army Peacekeepers “ had the potential to transform the or at least extend the context of soldiering, by including qualities

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<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> Samantha Nutt, *Damned Nations*, (McClelland and Stewart, Toronto 2011).

designated as feminine.”<sup>134</sup> However, they continue on to make readers aware that many may also see this depiction as “supporting the essential linkage of men with soldiering and women with peacemaking- supporting a ghettoization of certain feminised areas of work in the army as women’s work.”<sup>135</sup> Thus any communications plan that the CF undertakes to make women more aware of the various opportunities the CF has must be mindful to show them to potential recruits in a manner that remains somewhat gender neutral but at the same time acknowledges the impact that diverse groups that include a healthy mix of the Canadian population can make.

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<sup>134</sup> Trish Winter, Rachel Woodward, *Sexing the Soldier*, 88

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

## Chapter 4 - The Women in the Future Canadian Forces

This final chapter looks more explicitly at the considerations affecting female interest in the CF. It then examines the interests and aspirations of the generation of young women the CF will be recruiting from. The conclusion being that, the needs of the CF and the opportunities it provides could very well align with the women's desires for fulfilling employment that provides a sense of accomplishment, growth, adventure, and altruism. However, the opportunities the CF offers and the concepts of the importance of female participation in WPS must be better recognized by the CF increasingly messaged to women and Canadian society.

### Factors Affecting Female Interest in the CF

As part of the EEA the CF must record and report on its progress with the integration of all DGMs. As the military is considered to be a somewhat unique profession with risks such as unlimited liability it is reasonable to expect that not all Canadians would be interested in joining the CF. Therefore, when the EE numbers are reported rather than targets being compared to simply the population or labour rates the CHRC allows the CF to use comparable civilian labour statistics with an additional "military factor" for each trade within the CF.<sup>136</sup> The exact calculation of these "targets" or "benchmarks" is fairly extensive and beyond the scope of this paper to discuss, but suffice it to say the targets are fairly generous to the CF. The comparisons or targets for

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<sup>136</sup> Dr Irina Goldenburg, *A New Approach to Estimating Workforce Availability for the Canadian Forces* (CORA DHRD 2005).

the employment of women vary from 2% for some trades in non-traditional work areas for women such as electrical technicians to 28% for administrative support positions.<sup>137</sup> Interest and propensity to join the CF is also factored in at the maximum end of the targets but is a complicated measurement that requires surveys of the public interest. Unfortunately, but perhaps in-keeping with the institutional priority of gender integration to date, the survey on interest and propensity to join the CF has not be conducted in 10 years. Nevertheless, the levels of interest and propensity for women to join the force were seen to be at 20% in 2002. These surveys also measured the factors that motivated people to want to join the CF and broke them down by each of the DGMs. Women became much more familiar with the CF between 1997 and 2002 jumping almost 20% in just five years. In 2002 women had the lowest overall interest in joining the CF out of all DMG, which was half the rate of men in the population. Nevertheless, women showed very similar reasons as men for wanting to join the CF and ranked these reasons in similar proportions and in the same order: first to serve my country, for career opportunities/job security and finally for excitement and travel. Of note between 1997 and 2002 the factor of excitement and travel for women jumped by from 6% to 10% and from 7% to 10% for men. The CF has neglected to conduct further interest and propensity studies, which certainly would be helpful in understanding society interest and familiarity with the CF and the reasons why they want to join the CF or not. Recently CF recruiting centers have implemented a voluntary prospect survey of people who enter a recruiting center to determine who they are and what their interests are. Unfortunately I have not been able to access the results of these other than limited results from 2003/04 where the number of female prospects numbered 18%, but these surveys were voluntary

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<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

and not implemented across all recruiting centers in Canada on a uniform basis, and therefore the results could be considered to be somewhat suspect.<sup>138</sup> Regardless, the argument remains that based on continued awareness of the CF in the media and increasing women in the workforce in general it is unlikely that the interest and propensity level of women to join the CF has decreased over the last 20 years. So then one thing that we must continue to question is why, despite full formal integration and efforts to retain current female members, are women not enrolling in numbers anywhere near their supposed interest levels? On top of this and more in relation to the arguments of this paper, we must question why women are not becoming increasingly interested in a career in the CF? As an organization we must look at who the women within the next generation of millennials (currently the targeted CF recruiting pool) are and what they want. Increasing awareness of the role these women have to play in peace and security and the opportunity the CF provided to participate in this will go a long way into piquing their interest in a career as well as their support for the CF as they become the leaders of other organizations and institutions.

Based the interest and propensity reports, only 20% of women showed interest in joining the CF. While much of this can be attributed to societal norms and beliefs the CF has a role to play in attraction of high quality candidates, which include women. Women are increasing entering non-traditional workplaces, which should continue to expand the interest in the CF as a career for females. However, there is another segment of the population that the CF could explore as a high-quality candidates to contribute to the goals and objectives of the CF: the segment of the population interested in making a

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<sup>138</sup> These surveys were not easily accessible despite extensive searching as research for this paper.

difference in OGD, NGO and not for profit organizations. While this group may appear to have fundamental and diametrically opposed visions and outlooks from the military, this segment contains people who want to make a difference and help others. As contemporary operations become increasingly comprehensive in nature these skill sets will be required and the CF will need to work with and relate to these groups. There is a high percentage of women in these groups and if the message of the diverse roles the CF plays in the current operational construct can be better communicated to these groups and Canadians, there is an improved chance that they will consider joining the CF.

In the past there has been a somewhat inconsistent application of gender specific recruiting policies. Some documents and policies have called for focus on target audiences and repeatedly DND literature states long- and short-term recruiting and retention targets for women (as well as for ethnic and aboriginal groups) significantly higher than current populations. Currently the CF EE report discusses, improvements to the CF communications plan that will position EE as an operational imperative, new recruiting videos to “invite” women to apply for positions often held by men and there is a current goal to recruit 25.1% women. Upon review of the CF recruiting website there is a female specific video which is a positive step; however, while an extensive range of occupations are flashed up in the video there is no commentary to explain these roles. Additionally, the videos and narratives for the specific occupations are still very narrowly depicted with males in the operational occupations and females in the support occupations. Currently, there appears to be little beyond cursory measures to pique the

interest of women beyond traditional employment lines or emphasis WPS concepts to potential recruits.

### **Female Generation Y**

Generation Y or the millennials currently comprise the main recruiting base for the CF. While the CF will accept applications from all persons regardless of age, the majority of recruits regardless of sex still join the forces in their very late teens or 20s and are currently part of generation Y. This generation is a large cohort and has been and will continue to be the mainstay of CF recruiting and retention efforts for at least the next decade.<sup>139</sup> This generation has grown up with more diversity than other generations, and they are considered to be the most tolerant generation with respect to gender equality, diversity, and homosexuality. They are also the “first generation to grow up with true images of female empowerment, in a culture that has made gender neutrality the norm.”<sup>140</sup> According to a study commissioned by the Business and Professional Women’s Foundation regarding the desires of generation Y women in the workplace, three values are considered to be the most important (note women in the survey could pick more than one value):

1. Achievement: satisfaction acquired through accomplishment of goals within the organization (50%)
2. Growth: satisfaction achieved through personal and/or organization growth (48%)

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<sup>139</sup> Various authors define generation Y or the millennials by various birth years ranging from 1976 to the year 2000.

<sup>140</sup> Leesa Tannser *Who Are the Millennials?* (DRDC Operational Research Report 2010), 38.



### 3. Altruism: satisfaction achieved by helping others and society (43%)<sup>141</sup>

While the CF offers all these opportunities and is likely well posed to provide such values to its members, of greatest interest with respect to this paper is the opportunity for altruism and the satisfaction achieved by helping others and society. As discussed above in the section on comprehensive operations, the CF is increasingly taking on roles and tasks that are comprehensive in nature and are increasingly broadening the concept of what soldiering is. While combat and measured application of violence will always remain an important component of the military other non-kinetic skills sets that focus on helping others and society are both required and desired from CF members. This is not to suggest that men do not bring such skills to the organization but simply to bring forward that if generation Y women are interested in this value and as the CF already provides an avenue for such a career choice, it should be highlighted to female prospects and the public in general. Of particular interest when these career values are broken down by area of employment, women in the Not for Profit sector, and Government see altruism as being the most important career value with percentages of 57% and 54% respectively. Many women in these two sectors would likely have a higher propensity to join the CF if they better understood the opportunities and the role women have to play in peace, defence and security. This must be embraced and better communicated both within the CF and externally.

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<sup>141</sup> Kara Nicholas Barrett, *From GenY Women to Employers: What they want in the workplace and why it matters for employers* [http://www.bpwfoundation.org/documents/uploads/YC\\_SummaryReport\\_Final\\_Web.pdf](http://www.bpwfoundation.org/documents/uploads/YC_SummaryReport_Final_Web.pdf)(2011). 18; Internet, accessed 23March 2012.

In addition to the findings above, the survey on generation Y women discussed what these women view as critical to career success the highest response at 72% was being able to align with strengths and personality traits.<sup>142</sup> This finding is also important to the CF as it indicates that these women are interested in positions that they feel suit them, they do not want to have to change themselves to fit in. As discussed above, the CF's policies of sameness and gender neutrality is affected by the fact that men dominate the organization and "institutional equity" may, in fact, be systematically biased towards men and masculine traits and strengths which the CF inadequately addresses behind the policy of gender neutrality. The CF must demonstrate all aspects of defence and security and be open about what it does and show current accomplishments in comprehensive operations, including WPS and role it will play in the future in a manner that will appeal to women (as well as to men) to demonstrate that it could be a fit for them based on their strengths and personalities.

This cohort has grown up in a diverse environment and seeks exposure to people outside of their own ethnic group and sex as they see this as a chance to increase their perspectives.<sup>143</sup> They are also highly globalized due to all the technology they have grown up with such as the TV and Internet. Live reporting on the atrocities across the world has made this cohort very aware of issues around the globe, "they have been taught to think in terms of the greater good and to be involved... Human health, the environment, human rights and elimination of poverty are high priority concerns of

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<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, 23.

<sup>143</sup> Leesa Tannser, *Who Are the Millennials?*, 39.

Canadian youth.”<sup>144</sup> They want to help and make a difference, and the CF can give them this opportunity but it must be packaged and communicated in a way that is appealing and seen to be a good personal fit.

### **First Steps in the Promotion of WPS**

The number of women involved in the defence and security sector such as, Public Safety Canada, police forces, and commercial defence industry is gradually growing, but similar to the CF these organizations, have been dominated by males and progress to improve the numbers of women working in these areas is slow.<sup>145</sup> Recently a Canadian networking organization for women working in the security and defence sectors called Women in Defence and Security was created.<sup>146</sup> The Women in Defence and Security motto is “to cultivate and support the advancement of women in all aspects of the national security and defence.”<sup>147</sup> They have scholarships to encourage women to peruse careers related to the national defence and security of Canada, and hold career forums designed to raise awareness of the variety of jobs available in this sector. They also have luncheons and other networking opportunities for women. A number of high ranking military females are a part of this organization and Gen Rick Hillier (Ret’d) is the

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<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*, 40.

<sup>145</sup> Jolynn Shoemaker and Jennifer Park, *WIS Progress Report on Women in Peace and Security* [http://csis.org/files/publication/110726\\_WIIS\\_ProgressReport\\_ExecBranch\\_fnl.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/110726_WIIS_ProgressReport_ExecBranch_fnl.pdf), 2. Internet, accessed March 20 2012.

<sup>146</sup> Of interest this organization does not refer to “peace” in its title or motto unlike many other organizations of this nature.

<sup>147</sup> Women in Defence and Security, [www.wids.ca](http://www.wids.ca); Internet, accessed March 20 2012.

honorary patron of WiDS.<sup>148</sup> Networks such as these are critical to getting the message out about opportunities for women in the security and defence sectors although a number of high- profile CF members both male and female appear to have involvement, it does not appear that this organization is promoted officially within CF official circles. This is a network that the CF should embrace as an institution to get the message about women and their role in peace, security and defence to a targeted female audience.

Another global organization that promotes women in the peace and security process is the organization of Women in International Security whose mission statement is: “Women In International Security (WIIS) is the only global network actively advancing women’s leadership, at all stages of their careers, in the international peace and security field.”<sup>149</sup> It has more than 7,000 members in 47 countries and is committed to conduct research in this field, fostering female leadership development in this area and expanding the network of both men and women who believe in and are dedicated to women’s pursuits in peace and security.<sup>150</sup> The recognition and continued awareness of the role women have to play in the security arena will be important as Canada moves forward with WPS objectives both within the CF and otherwise. Organizations both formal and informal will be critical to this process and awareness of these organizations and networks will go a long way to improving the involvement of women in defence, peace and security in general and in WPS initiatives.

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<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> Women in International Security Website <http://csis.org/program/wiis>, Internet, accessed March 08 2012.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid*

## Conclusion

As demonstrated in this paper, the recognition of the need to better incorporate women and their perspectives into the peace and security process is required. The UN, although struggling itself to achieve the operational objectives laid out under UNSCR 1325, continually has called on the member states to do more to incorporate the needs, perspectives, and participation of women into the peace and security domains. The UN is reflective of its member states along with their contributions and leadership in the area of WPS is still required. The UN, NATO, and the individual countries that these organizations are comprised of are increasingly considering WPS and gendered perspectives in their operations. Until recently, Canada has been considered an active participant along with other nations; however, Canada's and CF's absence at the last two NATO conferences on gender and WPS, due to internal CF politics may be indicative of a loss of some of this reputation. Nevertheless, the GoC and OGD's such as DFAIT and CIDA appear to have placed priority on WPS as demonstrated by the recently approved NAP. Unfortunately, as has been argued in this paper, there are still large disconnects between national/strategic policy on WPS and its operational implementation in the CF. This paper examined in detail the CF's contribution to WPS and the role the CF could play in WPS in the future. It is evident that the CF can make a great contribution to WPS and can reap many benefits with an approach that considers WPS. If the CF is able to balance this priority among others and embrace its role in the area remains to be seen. It is hoped the CF will work diligently to recognize and ensure WPS is adequately

understood and operationalized both for the greater good of Canada and the CF organization.

The paper also examined that in the accomplishment of achieving increased WPS initiatives an additional objective that the CF has been struggling with for some time could also be achieved – the increased representation of women in the organization. However, the recognition of the contribution women can make to peace and security needs to be improved both internally and externally for this goal to occur. It is evident the CF has made significant headway to try to be an inclusive employer in a relatively short time-frame. Nevertheless, as demonstrated, although strict gender neutral policies were useful during the infancy of the integration process, it appears to be time to consider how this approach has affected the organization and consider if a more difference based approach to integration would be beneficial. Such an approach will ensure that the best candidates are considered for employment on the diverse operations the CF will face. If changes to gender neutral policies are not considered by the CF, at the very least, the matter of gender does still need consideration at all levels of the organization and must not be compartmentalized as strictly a human resource or personnel issue. Operational and tactical commanders must make use of and acknowledge all resources entrusted to them – of which diversity is increasingly important in the conduct of CF operations. Dialogue and recognition with regard to the value of diversity and WPS must permeate the organization for the CF to truly have succeeded in its EE objectives regardless of the achievement of recruiting goals or retention targets. Regardless, WPS is gaining momentum and will continue to do so both domestically and internationally.

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