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## GENDER AND SECURITY

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### JCSP 41

#### *Exercise Solo Flight*

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### PCEMI 41

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CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE – COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES  
JCSP 41 – PCEMI 41  
2014 – 2015

EXERCISE *SOLO FLIGHT* – EXERCICE *SOLO FLIGHT*

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## INTRODUCTION

*Man assumed the direction of government and war, woman of the domestic and family affairs and the care and training of the child. . . It has been so from the beginning... and it will continue to be so to the end, because it is in conformity to nature and its laws, and is sustained and confirmed by the experience and reason of six thousand years... The domestic altar is a sacred flame where woman is the high and officiating priestess... she should be separated from the exercise of suffrage and from all those stern and contaminating and demoralizing duties that devolves upon the hardier sex – man.*

- Nineteenth-century male anti-suffragist

Deeply ingrained views about the so-called ‘natural’ and historic role of women, and men, have shaped societal attitudes, and impacted on political thought. Observed real, and perceived, differences between the sexes have not remained value neutral, rather they have been assigned deeper meaning through a valuation of relative worth, and of societal importance. Predominantly male contributions to politics and warfare have been revered, studied and imitated. The female contributions, largely constrained to the private sphere of the home, have been undervalued, both literally in terms of remaining largely unpaid, as well as in terms of recognition. The strict masculine-feminine dichotomy requires that one is defined by its direct opposition and contrast with the other. The propensity to associate the male and the masculine, with the public sphere has discouraged the incorporation of ideas and approaches that are considered feminine. Female participation has been limited. Thus, historically, women and the feminine have been systematically excluded from the institutions which control and direct “one of the state’s defining functions: the legitimate use of violence.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Annica Kronsell, *Gender, Sex, and the Postnational Defense: Militarism and Peacekeeping* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 20.

Gender analysis is a relatively new tool that is useful as an explanatory framework for world politics. It also aids in incorporating gender considerations in policymaking. Analysis shows that the feminine, considered lesser within the established gender hierarchy, and women themselves, have been largely excluded from international relations (IR) and security discourse. At the same time, women have always been directly implicated in and affected by instability and conflict. The number of women in IR, politics, and the military has been slowly increasing. Balancing the representation of the sexes will take considerable time and may never reach parity. While diversity will broaden perspectives, it is not the panacea to the myopic lens of power politics that has dominated IR thus far. Women are not a homogenous group representing identical experiences across cultures, ethnicities and class. Everyone is a product of a gendered society, and gendered institutions that filter aspiring participants through discriminating expectation and reward systems. To achieve real change gender considerations need to be incorporated as meaningful considerations by all actors.

Nonetheless, the notion that women generally represent particular characteristics persists, as does the notion that raising female participation can affect individual and institutional change. The United Nations (UN) advocates that women's pacific nature, and feminine traits, can be harnessed to advantage, particularly in peacekeeping. Troop contributing nations are encouraged to employ military women in tasks that require a light touch (presumed to be lacked by men), and to temper harassment and violence of military men.<sup>2</sup> This may be a testament to the resistance of the powerbrokers to accept

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<sup>2</sup> United Nations, "United Nations Peacekeeping," last accessed 8 May 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/womeninpk.shtml> .

and incorporate tenants of gender analysis themselves. The women are being set upon a difficult task that relies on them possessing, and employing stereotypically feminine traits. The assumption being made is that women, including those who are members of an institution with strong normative effects like the military, are inherently pacific by nature. This paper posits that women have no more naturally pacific than men are inherently aggressive, and that such dichotomous trait assumptions are rooted in historically ingrained gender bias that is harmful to IR, in theory and in practice.

The first part of this paper will discuss gender as an important concept in IR, politics, and defense, and note its relevance in relation to women specifically. The paper will use the UN's stated aspirations for women in peacekeeping, and peace building to illustrate persistent gender-based assumptions about women's pacific natures. The second part will review women's historical role and participation in defense and violence, and question the validity of the knowledge claims that women are naturally pacific. The third part will note the problems with ascribing particular traits to women, particularly service women, and discuss fundamental structural and systemic impediments to female-led mainstreaming of feminine values in masculinized institutions. The paper will conclude that gender balance is not a substitute for broader gender awareness. If substantive change in approach is desired, then feminine values and ideals themselves must be broadly incorporated and accepted within institutions.

### The Relevance of Gender

The topic of gender raises issues of biology, history, psychology, as well as our very understanding of the world around us and our place in it. The issues challenge our

own well ingrained assumptions and lens on the world. Sex is the biological phenomenon of being male or female and a relatively simple concept. Gender, which can often be conflated with sex, is a social meaning that is experienced. Gender, therefore, is a complex and fluid concept that permeates life experience though few of us are cognizant of it or give it much thought. Whether we are conscious of it or not, gender matters because it informs all of our thoughts, judgments, actions, and expectations creating limiting frameworks of thought and analysis.

Gender defined roles are an ever present reality that plays out across cultures and time. Throughout history there existed a clear, general division between men and women and their respective roles at home and, more broadly, in society. As members of either sex consistently undertook traditionally assigned and accepted roles, the generalized traits associated with that sex became inextricably linked to the particular role. Men were land owners, providers, warriors, scholars, and politicians. These male pursuits required what were considered masculine traits of strength, intelligence, aggression, courage, and risk taking. The converse applies with respect to what has long been considered feminine. Child rearing, nursing, and tasks associated with the home, or the private sphere of life, have traditionally been the domain of women. Consequently, femininity is associated with sentimentality, weakness, cleanliness, and inclination towards peace.

The link between certain pursuits and gender characteristics has reinforced the identification of certain roles in society with a particular sex. In this way, the desire or inclination by a member of the 'wrong sex' to pursue a particular activity has been viewed as unnatural as has been the case with women and politics or military service. Gender stereotyping cuts both ways as can be attested to by male nurses, or masseurs,

whose professional prospects can suffer as a result of stereotypes and related discrimination.<sup>3</sup> Character traits have also taken on particular automatic associations like strength to male, physical prowess rather than, for example, child birth. This is perhaps a somewhat oversimplified introduction to the complexity of issues related to gender. The subject is not simply a matter of equality for those who wish to have access to a ‘non-traditional’ role or vocation nor is this about women’s rights.

The ‘natural’ inferiority of the feminine is systematically used to legitimize power hierarchies. The global universality of the culturally accepted gender distinction is exemplified by the fact that structural hierarchies, while emphasizing various differences to maintain existing power, all “share a common feature: the denigration of feminized qualities attributed to those who are subordinated.”<sup>4</sup> The privileging of the masculine, while conversely devaluing the feminine, is so culturally internalized, both individually and collectively, that we all unconsciously, and continuously reproduce the status quo.<sup>5</sup>

### Gender and Public Life

Women, protected from ‘all those stern and contaminating and demoralizing duties’ associated with politics were largely left out of official positions in politics and the public sphere until relatively recently. Women’s eventual right to full political participation began incrementally with what were initially limited extensions of suffrage

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<sup>3</sup> Associated Bodywork & Massage Professionals, “Gender in the Profession,” last accessed 7 May 2015, [http://www.massagetherapy.com/articles/index.php/article\\_id/1376/Gender-in-the-Profession](http://www.massagetherapy.com/articles/index.php/article_id/1376/Gender-in-the-Profession); American Society of Registered Nurses, “Men in Nursing,” last accessed 7 May 2015, <http://www.asrn.org/journal-nursing/374-men-in-nursing.html>.

<sup>4</sup> V. Spike Peterson, “Gendered Identities, Ideologies, and Practices in the Context of War and Militarism,” in *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via (California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010), 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Female political participation has increased but remains at under parity in almost all world states, and across international governance institutions. Increased female participation is important beyond purely egalitarian, moral or esthetic reasons. The aim is also not to feminize or soften politics as feared by IR theorist Francis Fukuyama who takes a stereotypical view that female leadership equates to risk aversion and weakness, and therefore can be dangerous.<sup>6</sup> Decision making and policy choices are naturally informed by individual gendered experience. One of the ways to generally broaden perspectives among decision makers is to diversify participants within the power group. As it happens, Fukuyama's fears about the impact of female involvement in political matters may be misplaced based on recent, yet unpublished, research. Professor Sylvia Bashevkin studied prominent female foreign policy leaders in the US and by all indications their approach to international relations was anything but sheepish.<sup>7</sup> The correlation between caution or risk aversion and the feminine means politicians of either sex risk being criticized for being weak and 'girly' based on their choices. The fact that effeminate comparisons constitute an insult is illustrative of the subordination of the feminine to the masculine.

Gender analysis has centered on the fundamental link between masculinity and war. Issues of gender continue to permeate the military context. Women's military service remains fraught with controversy since, within most societies, the military is the ultimate proving ground of manhood through the testing of masculinity. All that is

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<sup>6</sup> Francis Fukuyama, "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," *Foreign Affairs* 77(5) (1998): 24-40.

<sup>7</sup> Professor Sylvia Bashevkin is a professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. She analyzed decision making and influence of Hillary Clinton, Condoliza Rice, Madeleine Albright, and Jeane Kirkpatrick and she presented her unpublished findings at the Atlantic Council of Canada Women, Peace & Security Conference held on April 28, 2015.



feminine is antithetical to the hyper-masculinized warrior culture deemed necessary to turn men into combat soldiers. Most militaries that allow female service limit the availability of occupational streams to medical care, administration and support. The proportion of serving military women in 2012 varied across NATO member states from 2 percent in Poland to 15 percent in Canada and the US, and 20 percent (the highest) in Hungary.<sup>8</sup>

The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) is one of the few states that do not close any occupation to women, though force integration remains troubled.<sup>9</sup> Historically, the extent to which either men or women had the opportunity to be considered warriors was informed by the extant understanding of class, gender, race, religion, nationalism, and the interests of the state.<sup>10</sup> Gender remains the pervasive preoccupation of those opposing complete integration of women in western, liberal-democratic states.<sup>11</sup> In the US, and in Israel, military service has been linked to greater opportunity to serve at the highest rungs of political power which makes female integration a matter of democratic citizenship rights.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Lana Obradovic, *Gender Integration in NATO Military Forces: Cross-national Analysis*, Burlington (Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 53.

<sup>9</sup> Karen Davis, "Negotiating Gender in the Canadian Forces 1970-1999" (Doctor of Philosophy thesis, Royal Military College of Canada, 2013).; National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, "External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces," last accessed 5 May 2015, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/caf-community-support-services/external-review-sexual-mh-2015/summary.page>.

<sup>10</sup> Karen Davis, *Negotiating Gender* . . . , 26.

<sup>11</sup> Kingsley Browne, *Co-Ed Combat: The New Evidence That Women Shouldn't Fight the Nation's Wars* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Eric M. Blanchard, "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 28, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 1292; Tami Amanda Jacoby, "Fighting in the Feminine: The Dilemmas of Combat Women in Israel," in *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via (California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010), 80; and Ilene Rose Feinman, *Citizenship Rites: Feminist Soldiers & Feminist Antimilitarists* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 199.

Politics, the legitimate use of force, as well as the broader related concepts of security and IR, are all interconnected and gendered. Research has demonstrated the gender bias in IR core concepts like violence, war, peace and security.<sup>13</sup> For example, discourse within the security and IR conceptual frameworks often relates the start and end of conflict or war by the deployment and redeployment of troops. This approach equates 'security' with questions of particular physical security as assessed by need for military intervention. This narrow conceptualization ignores the insecurity that exists before officially declared conflict, one that is acknowledged by the deployment of troops. Before the break out of open hostilities, some of which may even be precipitated or intensified by the deployment of force, the security situation disintegrates. Decrease in law and order, and other essential government and social services have a significant impact on civilians generally, and on women specifically, given their societally assigned dominant role as care providers. Gender bias renders women invisible in security discourse, relegating them to being acted upon by the security apparatus.

### Women and Conflict

Women have not been equal partners in security matters. As such, women are more often the objects of action in conflict, rather than actors themselves. Women are affected across the spectrum of conflict in various ways. In conflict civilians, women among them, make up the largest proportion of casualties. The United Nations has reported that civilians made up 90 percent of the casualties of war at the turn of the last

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<sup>13</sup> Laura Sjoberg, "Introduction to Security Studies: Feminist Contributions," *Security Studies* 18, no. 2 (April 2009): 196.

century.<sup>14</sup> The capturing, rape and prize-taking of women as part of the spoils of war has long been a standard practice.<sup>15</sup> Rape as a weapon of war is not an ancient practice as during the Second World War, Russian and Japanese military engaged in sanctioned rape and, “it is estimated that as many as 17,000 women were raped by American servicemen in Europe between 1942 and 1945.”<sup>16</sup>

Women continue to be marginalized in most societies where they engage in the bulk of feminine social roles and contributions like dependent care. Negative effects of subjugation on women are exacerbated in conflict. Women participate directly in combat, become victims of rape, and become displaced, thus losing whatever economic means of survival they may have had at home. Through conflict loss and displacement of people, women, particularly the elderly, may become separated from family support.<sup>17</sup> Refugee camps present harsh conditions. With no formal means of self-support some women are driven to prostitution which exposes women to additional health threats such as HIV. Importantly, effects of conflict are not bound in space and time. In the immediate aftermath of the Rwandan genocide the remaining population was approximately 70 percent female and left to bury the dead, rehome thousands of orphans and rebuild homes.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 49.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Elizabeth Ailes, “Camp Followers, Sutlers, and Soldiers’ Wives: Women in Early Modern Armies (c. 1450-1650),” in *A Companion to Women’s Military History*, ed. Barton C. Hacker and Margaret Vining (Boston: Brill, 2012), 73.

<sup>16</sup> Nicole Detraz, *International Security & Gender*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 48.

<sup>17</sup> Gwyn Kirk, “When is War Over? Women’s Stories of Healing and Rebuilding after the War.” In *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via, page-page. California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010., 171.

<sup>18</sup> Laura Sjoberg, “Reconstructing Women in Rwanda,” in *Women, War, and Violence: Personal Perspectives and Global Activism*, ed. Robin M. Chandler, Lihua Wang, and Linda K. Fuller (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 174.

Military presence, particularly the establishment of large, long term American bases, has had profound impact on surrounding communities, and particularly on women. During the Cold War the US established bases in the Pacific including in Vietnam, and the Philippines. The experience of civilian women in the vicinity of US military bases revolved around prostitution, violence, and police harassment. The local prostitution was regulated in accordance with American policy whereby women were licensed for the 'entertainment business' which required them to be tested regularly for venereal diseases, including HIV.<sup>19</sup> This was clearly coordinated for the protection of service men; an acknowledgement that they were taking advantage of local services. Yet there was no parallel protection for the women as the men were not mandatorily tested. Of the children of service men born to Filipino mothers (some 30,000 per year during the 1970s and 1980s) many remained unsupported and had no claim to US citizenship.<sup>20</sup>

Even peacekeeping has been a source of harm largely related to sexual abuse and exploitation. The threat from peacekeepers should not come as a complete surprise. Peacekeepers are assigned by the contributing nation from among its regular military personnel who may, or may not, have received some form of gender sensitivity training. Considering that, many of the contributing nations continue to struggle domestically with human rights abuses (eg. Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka) it should not entirely be surprising that problems arise during peacekeeping deployments. The ongoing problems of abuse have caused the UN to create a peacekeeping manual that addresses behavioral standards.

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<sup>19</sup> Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (California: University of California Press, 2014), 166.

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

### Women's Good Nature and Moral Superiority

There has been a particular resurgence of interest in women's role in peace, rebuilding and reconciliation. There is growing acknowledgement and acceptance that gender matters in the public realm. Recognition that gender consciousness should be integrated was expressed in United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325. The resolution calls on states to 'mainstream' gender. Each nation is left to interpret, and implement the resolution though the UN does provide some guiding materials.<sup>21</sup> The natural tendency is to equate gender based concerns with women's equality. This has resulted in a practical interpretation, even by the UN, of the resolution with initiatives aimed at greater numerical inclusion of women.<sup>22</sup> States, therefore, have been encouraged to add more women to state military service. The women are presumed to bring to bear certain traits that will gain the affected population's trust, but more importantly, temper aggressive male behavior.

The initiative is based upon an implied hope that women will not only refrain from resorting to violent excesses, but they will have a pacifying effect and prevent any violent excesses by their fellow service personnel. Women will be more empathetic and better understand local women. This expectation trades on the perpetuation of deeply held beliefs about women's pacific nature. Given women's limited past participation in state violence, and a resulting dearth of data, one cannot purport to make definitive pronouncements about female nature. However, there are abundant indications that

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<sup>21</sup> United Nations, "United Nations in Peacekeeping," last accessed 8 May 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/womeninpk.shtml>.

<sup>22</sup> Olivera Simic, "Increasing Women's Presence in Peacekeeping Operations: The Rationales and Realities of 'Gender Balance'," in *Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security*, ed. Gina Heathcote and Dianne Otto (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 186.

women may be as violent as their male counterparts are assumed to be. The next section will review women's participation in, and links to violence, followed by a discussion of the mischief which can result from, what this paper argues, are misplaced expectations.

### Presumed Nature of Women

“Women's involvement in political violence continually tends to shock us, no matter the context, challenging cross-cultural gendered normative assumptions about human behavior...”<sup>23</sup> Across cultures, and across time, a rejection of aggression of women as being unnatural, and sometimes a byproduct of an unstable emotional nature or sourced in grief. In 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe “women who exhibited traits such as aggression and ambition would have been as too masculine and thus would have been guilty of disrupting the social order.”<sup>24</sup> Queens and other female rulers, in their roles as political leaders, fulfilled military duties but had to take particular care in doing this so as not to appear too masculine in contravention of prevailing popular views about women.<sup>25</sup>

Science has not shown that women and men embody particular traits as a matter of hard-wired physiology. Speculation and knowledge claims based on limited anecdotal evidence and, more often, on broad generalizations, permeate lay and social science literature. “Man construed as violent, whether eagerly and inevitably or reluctantly and tragically; woman as nonviolent, offering succor and compassion: these tropes on social identities of men and women, past and present, do not denote what men and women *really* are in time of war, but function instead to re-create and secure women's location as

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<sup>23</sup> Karla J. Cunningham, “Female Participation in the Iraqi Insurgency: Insights into Nationalist and Religious Warfare,” in *Women, War, and Violence: Personal Perspectives and Global Activism*, ed. Robin M. Chandler, Lihua Wang, and Linda K. Fuller (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 205.

<sup>24</sup> Mary E. Ailes, *Camp Followers* . . . , 63.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

noncombatants and men's as warriors," (*original emphasis*).<sup>26</sup> The reality is that in warfare both sexes are challenged for survival. Expectations and roles are not the main concern in the face of threat. Yet, the narratives of war are predictable and consistent helping to cement common social hierarchies.

The assumptions about human nature have been, more often than not, produced to suit particular ends including the perpetuation of hegemonic power. That is not to say that the created and reinforced narratives are consciously master-minded. As noted previously, the unquestioned status quo is one that we all perpetuate as dogma. Men holding positions of power in world politics was not remarked upon, much less questioned for centuries. Only recent inquiry has taken interest in the reasons behind existing structures, opening discussion about possible effects of such monopolistic trends.

One organizing, powerful, and persistent narrative is one of women as pacific and, given their relative physiological weakness, in need of protection. Despite the narrative, and even what appears to be general adherence by the sexes to overwhelming and enforced societal expectations, the fact is that neither men nor women have universally and consistently exhibited particular traits like aggression. A biological wiring would make behavioral prediction easy, which it is not. Instead, Anne Campbell argues that boys and girls are socially conditioned differently when it comes to their entitlement to express aggression.<sup>27</sup> In Campbell's formulation, boys use aggression to enhance self-esteem, while girls are made to feel the same behavior is a failure of self-

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<sup>26</sup> Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1987), 4.

<sup>27</sup> Suzanne E. Hatty, *Masculinities, Violence, and Culture* (California: Sage Publications, Inc., 2000), 59.

control. Through this process, by the time they reach adulthood, men and women have divergent ideas about aggression.

Not all female direct engagement in conflict has been socially eschewed. In cases of wholesale mobilization of towns or homesteads, particularly in defense, history reveals that women engaged in directly supporting roles. Interestingly, throughout history women participating directly in fighting, under particular circumstances like last-ditch group or town defense efforts, met with no ideological resistance. In this way women showed capacity to act and were accepted in doing so. This was the case with the total wars of the last century when women frequently emerged as visible combatants. There exists a long held, deep seeded belief that women ought to be kept back from direct threat and protected, unless the threat to society is deemed overwhelming which shifts the existing frameworks.<sup>28</sup> The shift is always temporary as women have historically been demobilized and returned to the domestic sphere when the threat was neutralized.

Women have led, made up entire battalions, passed themselves off as male soldiers if required, defended family and community structures, fought in political and guerilla movements, and committed acts of terrorism. “In Africa, specifically, there is evidence that women have had a long history of participation in the liberation struggles of their continent including organized resistance movements, protests, and bearing arms.”<sup>29</sup> Among Aboriginal, Plains cultures, women assumed warrior roles and were granted war

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<sup>28</sup> Karla J. Cunningham, “*Female Participation in the Iraqi Insurgency: Insights into Nationalist and Religious Warfare.*” In *Women, War, and Violence: Personal Perspectives and Global Activism*, ed. Robin M. Chandler, Lihua Wang, and Linda K. Fuller (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 205.

<sup>29</sup> Megan MacKenzie, “Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Re-construction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone.” *Security Studies* 18, no. 2 (April 2009): 241-261. 248.



honors.<sup>30</sup> During the Second World War, Russia mobilized young women volunteers to the front and many European women were members of resistance movements.

More recently, female terrorists have been active in Afghanistan, India, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Pakistan, Russia, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Turkey and Uzbekistan.<sup>31</sup> During the Rwandan genocide female perpetrators helped to concentrate and corral victims. In fact, two women stood trial for helping perpetrate a surprise attack, and providing the gasoline to incinerate victims that they had first lured into a building under the guise of providing them safety.<sup>32</sup> In 2002, during the massacre of Muslims in Gujerat, women actively encouraged and motivated men to rape and kill Muslim women.<sup>33</sup> In Iraq, American female soldiers not only did not prevent their male colleagues from perpetrating abuses, they participated and, according to the photographic evidence, even garnered some enjoyment and comradery from the experience. Pictures of Private Lynndie England abusing male prisoners at Abu Graib prison in Iraq depict her smiling and acting freely. This did not appear to be a woman acting under duress.

Women are not a homogenous block that acts in a biologically predetermined way. Mothers are not always caring by virtue of being a mother. Women who have shown aggression cannot simply be dismissed as emotionally unstable because they do not meet deeply ingrained expectations. Nor are the women who participate direct in conflict aberrations to be dismissed off hand. How men or women present is a product of

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<sup>30</sup> Barton C. Hacker, "Reformers, Nurses, and Ladies in Uniform." in *A Companion to Women's Military History*, ed. Barton c. Hacker and Margaret Vining (Boston: Brill, 2012), 154.

<sup>31</sup> Nicole Detraz, *International Security*. . . , 108.

<sup>32</sup> Laura Sjoberg, "Reconstructing Women . . .," 176.

<sup>33</sup> Cynthia Cockburn, "Militarism and War, in Gender Matters in Global Politics," in *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*, ed. Laura J. Shepherd (New York: Routledge, 2010), 106.

physiology, and the social and cultural norms with which they grew up. Socialization continues throughout adulthood. Whatever the particular aggressiveness of an individual, all military members undergo military training, and then work their way up through the ranks influenced by predecessors and mentors. These processes have normative effects on the individual.

Scientific evidence is lacking with respect to the relative impact of physiology on character traits. Academic gender studies and IR literature is replete with theories though few conclusions can be made. Further cross-disciplinary studies, are required to understand the connection between physiology and socialization. Much of what we are and what we do is learned behavior. Individuals grow up in a gendered world that informs their experiences and knowledge base. Even within strict societal norms, gendered traits are not distributed according to biological sex in absolute terms and present along a spectrum in men, and women. Men are capable of emotion and self-control, as much as women appear to be capable of aggression, and violence. Neither should be expected to suppress their capacity for a variety of responses appropriate to the situation on the basis that taking particular action will render him feminine or make her manly.

In the case of military women, even if physiologically pacific, it is not reasonable to believe that their traits will influence their male peers. Basic training is meant to break down the recruits exactly for the purpose of erasing the individual, and molding and perpetuating a uniform and shared belief system. It is difficult to import new values of any kind to an institution awash in tradition like the military. The feminine values that women are expected to import into the military environment are ones that are antithetic to

the existing institutional culture. Women's attempts to inculcate feminine traits into the greater military force cannot succeed when their own right of belonging in the organization continues to be suspect. Militaries continue to be male bastions of hyper-masculinized culture where women are not yet accepted on an equal footing. The men follow higher rank and those whom they admire – most often men who have proven themselves more fit and competitive. In this environment, women do not hold personal sway. By being competitive, a woman risks emasculating and alienating men. Military women have remarked on the fine gender balance they must strike. If they are perceived as too tough they pose a threat, but they are too feminine then they are viewed as too sexual and weak.<sup>34</sup>

In a gendered organization doing the job 'right' is to do it like the successful men who have done it thus far. The norm is not stated but it exists to set the bar for performance. When others cannot perform the job in the same way, the simple explanation is that they are not qualified. Difference is equated with inadequacy. Thus, to do well within a gendered organization women must conform to the manner of doing things that is expected of them. Carol Cohn describes this as a double bind.<sup>35</sup> The woman has to adopt the practices, priorities, and assumptions previously developed by men or she will appear incompetent. By adapting to the expectations she will not be able to advocate for the issues that she can uniquely offer. Raising women's or feminine views destroys the illusion of sameness, and, by implication, of competence. This phenomenon is not alleviated by ascending higher in the hierarchy. Climbing the next rung is

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<sup>34</sup> Kronsell, *Gender, Sex, . . .*, 50.

<sup>35</sup> Carol Cohn, "Women and Wars: Toward a Conceptual Framework," in *Women & Wars*, ed. Carol Cohn (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 18.

dependent upon acquiescence to what is acceptable. Being in the minority also adds an element of difficulty. One of CAF's first female, tactical helicopter pilots, Major (as she then was) Jamie Speiser-Blanchet described the challenges of coping with a "ubiquitous spotlight that followed the women wherever [they] went... It was not easy to ignore that [she] could not blend in and go unnoticed for long."<sup>36</sup> High visibility and pressure to perform under close scrutiny creates high levels of stress.

Another expectation is that women will know and understand other women, or be more attuned and sensitive to foreign cultures when deployed. Women do not all share the same backgrounds, experiences and interest even within one society. The same skill set of listening, learning, and remaining attuned to the particular environment are required of men, or women engaged in peacebuilding or reconstruction. One cannot presume that women share a winning formula for resolving social issues everywhere.

Another practical way in which gender mainstreaming has been implemented is to use women to gain trust and legitimacy with the locals. This is problematic for several reasons. First, it does not acknowledge the woman's primarily role as a soldier. Unlike male soldiers who maintain their warrior identity the female soldier is forced to identify as a woman first. The strategy is that, as a woman she can play into perceptions of women, even uniformed women, as a lesser threat. In effect, the female soldier has to give up her identity as a soldier. This perpetuates the perception by some military men that women in uniform are no different than civilians rather than real soldiers.

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<sup>36</sup> Jamie Speiser-Blanchet, "There is No Hell Like Tac Hel!" in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experience*, ed. Karen D. Davis (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 51.

Ironically, what makes female suicide bombers particularly successful is their ability to rely on gendered expectations about women. Female bombers have greater freedom of movement and access without raising suspicion and alarm because they are not seen as a threat. On the other hand, many men have been targeted or have died because they are considered a security risk due to their age and sex. While boys and elderly men may be categorized as civilians, many civilian men of ‘fighting age’ are not afforded their protected civilian status and are often automatically presumed as targets. This sex-based threat assessment dichotomy affects reintegration efforts in post-conflict demobilization. Male fighters are securitized post-conflict while females, presumed not to have been fighters, are desecuritized.

Merely increasing the number of women without incorporating feminine values also allows military men to divest themselves of peacekeeping tasks which are viewed as unmanly. Dutch military men have expressed concerns that peacekeeping, as an activity, is not masculine enough and tarnished their image.<sup>37</sup> In CAF, in this author’s experience, many service personnel openly reject notions of future Canadian peacekeeping, and prefer a narrative of a warrior culture. Viewed as better suited to civilian (equated to womanly) skillsets, peacekeeping is rejected as a mission ill-suited to the military. Assigning women primacy in peacekeeping perpetuates gender dichotomies. This further undermines women’s progress to gain acceptance across the spectrum of military roles and perpetuates the pacific stereotype. By passing off what they dismiss as female tasks the men are absolved from responsibility to actually understand the fundamental issues

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<sup>37</sup> Browne, *Co-Ed Combat* . . . , 90.

behind gender analysis. This is a missed opportunity that has implications for operational effectiveness in the new and evolving security environment.

## **CONCLUSION**

The linking of man's worth to masculinity and a presumed warrior nature, which inherently includes expectations of aggression, extraordinary courage, self-sacrifice and willingness to die to protect, generates particular forms of measurement to which men must live up lest they be considered and derided as 'girly.' All people, being social animals, have a deep drive toward social acceptance and conformity. The need for social acceptance narrows the lens through which a 'real man' can view the world, and assess possible actions. Equally, expectations of femininity limit women's contributions. The benefit of women's experience is excluded from influencing thinking, and policy setting, in the public arena.

Not only does it matter who is engaged in world politics but gender matters. Constructed social order and institutions with women's voice historically absent at formal levels of power and influence. This is important as those in power naturally use their inherently gendered experience to shape policy, define issues of security, and structure institutions. Men wishing to prove, or maintain their male identity are dis-incentivized from considering less violent options that are traditionally equated with weakness and femininity. Associating the feminine and pacifism denies both women's, and men's, agency in choosing political alternatives. Gender needs to be considered. We need to be careful to look beyond mere numbers, of either sex, who are participating and not expect that members of either sex represent all gender experience.

Security is a complex and expanding concept. International security dilemmas require creative solutions unencumbered by socially constructed constraints.

Gender considerations in IR are a more nuanced matter than simply women's rights and representative equality. Balanced representation is good starting point, however, we must avoid conflating the terms gender and woman if the gender analysis framework is to be of assistance in broadening security perspectives.

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