GENDER ADVISORS IN NATO: SHOULD THE U.S. MILITARY FOLLOW SUIT?

LIEUTENANT COLONEL KEIRSTEN H. KENNEDY*

I. Introduction

Members of the U.S. military serving in multinational assignments or working in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) cannot help but compare their own military structure and practices to those of other nations. In some instances, the United States serves as the model for other nations' militaries—an example is the noncommissioned officer (NCO) system, in which the U.S. NCO usually carries more responsibility than his European counterpart.¹ In other instances, the U.S. military might come across unique positions on a staff and wonder if those might be a good fit in the United States. One such position is the Gender Advisor (GENAD) created in NATO in the late 2000s.² This article outlines the history and rationale for a GENAD in NATO, explains the function and responsibilities of a NATO GENAD, presents examples of gender perspective integration in military missions, and examines why such a position could be of benefit in the U.S. military.

^{*} Judge Advocate, U.S. Army. Presently assigned as NATO Legal Advisor, 1 (German/Netherlands) Corps, Muenster, Germany. LL.M., 2011, The Judge Advocate General's School, U.S. Army, Charlottesville, Virginia; J.D., 2001, George Mason University School of Law; Bachelor of Arts, 1998, University of Connecticut. Previous assignments include Professor and Director, Professional Communications Program, The Judge Advocate General's Legal Center and School, Charlottesville, Virginia, 2011-2014; Brigade Judge Advocate, 8th Military Police Brigade, Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, and Baghdad, Iraq, 2008-2010; 25th Infantry Division and 8th Theater Sustainment Command, 2006-2008 (Chief of Justice, Special Assistant U.S. Attorney, Chief of Legal Services); Senior Defense Counsel, Baghdad, Iraq, 2006; Senior Defense Counsel, Vicenza, Italy, 2004-2006; Defense Counsel, Fort Polk, Louisiana, 2002-2004. Member of the bars of the District of Columbia, The Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces, and the United States Supreme Court. The author wishes to thank Lieutenant Colonel John Moore, Lieutenant Colonel Christian Schoor, Major Laura O'Donnell, and Major Emilie Van den Hurk for their assistance and insight in the writing of this article.

¹ Michael L. Lewis, *Europe's NCOs*, NCO JOURNAL (Aug. 2012), http://www.eur. army.mil/pdf/NCO1.pdf. *See also General Breedlove Visits Norway*, SHAPE (Feb. 6, 2016), https://shape.nato.int/ 2016/general-breedlove-visits-norway.

² BI-STRATEGIC COMMAND, DIR. 40-1 (2 Sept. 2009) [hereinafter Bi-SC 40-1] (Bi-SC 40-1, dated September 2, 2009, has been superseded by Bi-SC 40-1 Rev 1, dated Aug. 8, 2012). See also Role and Experience of International Organisations in Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Afghanistan, NATO.INT (Nov. 11, 2010), http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_68078.htm?selectedLocale=en.

II. History of the Gender Advisor Staff Position

A. 2000-2008: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)

In 2000, the United Nations (UN) passed UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, titled Women and Peace and Security.³ In it, the UN recognized two distinct areas of concern: a woman's role in conflict and a woman's role in the peace process.⁴ Representative Ms. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah introduced the resolution when it was Namibia's turn to chair the UN Security Council. It was unanimously passed after two days of discussion and was supported by international women's organizations.⁵ There are four pillars to the resolution: participation, protection, prevention, and relief and recovery. The resolution stresses the importance of ensuring protection of women's rights, as well as the full involvement of women in promoting peace and security.⁶

³ S.C. Res. 1325, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1325 (Oct. 31, 2000), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/pdf/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement.

The preamble acknowledges both the specific effect of armed conflict on women and women's role in preventing and resolving conflict, setting these in the context of the Security Council's responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has eighteen brief points covering, broadly speaking, three main themes [of protection, participation, and gender perspective].

Id. The resolution further recommends specialized training for peacekeepers and notes the need to track data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls. S.C. Res. 1325, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1325 (Oct. 31, 2000).

⁴ What is UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and Why Is It So Critical Today?, UNITED STATES INSTITUTE FOR PEACE, http://www.usip.org/gender_peacebuilding/about_UNSCR _1325#What_is_U.N._Security_Council_Resolution_1325 UNSCR 1325 (last visited July 27, 2016) ("[United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR)] 1325 is a landmark international legal framework that addresses not only the inordinate impact of war on women, but also the pivotal role women should and do play in conflict management, conflict resolution and sustainable peace."). See also Kathleen Kuehnast et al., WOMEN AND WAR: POWER AND PROTECTION IN THE 21ST CENTURY (2011).

⁵ Michelle Landsberg, *Resolution 1325—Use It or Lose It*, Ms. MAGAZINE (Summer 2003), http://www.msmagazine.com/june03/landsberg.asp.

⁶ Cynthia Cockburn, Snagged on the Contradiction: NATO, UNSC Resolution 1325, and Feminist Responses, CYNTHIA COCKBURN BLOG, http://www.cynthiacockburn.org/BlogNATO1325.pdf.

The resolution contains eighteen action sentences, wherein the UN "urges," "encourages," "further urges," "requests," "emphasizes," etc.⁷ Interestingly, the resolution appears to have two purposes: first, to include women in the peace process; and second, to protect women from an "inordinate impact on women" in war.8 The first four of the resolution's eighteen action paragraphs deal with—to greatly paraphrase—employing more women at senior levels of member states' governments and other decision-making entities. The Security Council "[urges] Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict Additionally, the Secretary-General should "appoint more women as special representatives and envoys "10 Paragraphs five through eight propose gender perspective training on the "protection, rights, and special needs of women" affected by conflict.¹¹ From the ninth paragraph onward, it is clear that the women the resolution is referring to are women within the region of conflict; specifically, women who should be protected from the effects of that conflict. This is important to note and understand because UNSCR 1325 attempts to address two areas involving women: essentially, women's advancement in the workplace (paragraphs 1-4) as well as protection of women in war-torn countries (paragraphs nine and onward). As a result of this dual aim, nations and organizations have struggled to fully implement UNSCR 1325 (both to employ more women and to protect women from conflict).

Nevertheless, setting aside—for the moment—the issue of employing more women at senior levels, one positive thing UNSCR 1325 established (or validated) was a link between "women's experiences of conflict [and] the international peace and security agenda."12 It "recogni[zed] the disproportionate impact of armed conflict on women, [acknowledging] the

⁷ S.C. Res. 1325, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1325, UNITED NATIONS, paras. 1-18 (Oct. 31, 2000), https://documents-dds.ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/pdf/N0072018.pdf? OpenElement.

⁸ What is UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and Why Is It So Critical Today?, UNITED STATES INSTITUTE FOR PEACE, http://www.usip.org/gender_peacebuilding/about_ UNSCR 1325#What is U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 UNSCR 1325 (last visited July 27, 2016)

⁹ S.C. Res. 1325, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1325 para. 1 (Oct. 31, 2000), https://documents-ddsny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/pdf/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement. ¹⁰ *Id.* para. 3.

¹¹ *Id.* para. 6.

¹² Global Study on UNSC Resolution 1325, UN WOMEN, http://wps.unwomen.org/en (last visited July 27, 2016).

fact that women continued to be excluded from participating in the peace process . . ."¹³ In conflict, women and children are truly at a disproportionate disadvantage when it comes to sexual violence and violations of human rights.¹⁴ Not only that, but women are not participating in (or worse, being excluded from) discussions and meetings at the conclusion of a conflict: when it is time to restabilize and—hopefully—usher in peace in the region.

Once the UN passed UNSCR 1325, individual nations began to take note of the issues the resolution raised and developed plans to address those very same issues along national lines.

B. 2008-2012: NATO Action Plan and Bi-Strategic Command Directive 40-1

The way NATO and participating nations implement UNSCR 1325 is with National Action Plans (NAPs), which usually set forth some type of framework relating to gender issues. The North Atlantic Treaty

Throughout history, we have seen that violence against women is an integral aspect of militarization and war.... Rape and other forms of sexual violence are used as instruments of violence and terror—as torture, punishment, intimidation, coercion, humiliation, and degradation. Nonetheless, it is only recently that the international human rights community has begun to recognize rape as violence rather than as an assault on honour or a crime against morality.

Id. (internal citation omitted). See also Lisa Denney & Pilar Domingo, A Problem-Focused Approach to Violence Against Women: A Political-Economy of Justice and Security Programming, POLITICS & GOVERNANCE (Mar. 2013), https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8325.pdf.

¹³ ALLIED COMMAND OPERATIONS (ACO), DIR., SH/SAG/GEN/15-310385, "ACO Gender Functional Planning Guide," July 24, 2015, encl. 1, para. 2 (NATO Unclassified, Releasable to SWE) (on file with author). For an analysis and history of the disproportionate impact on women of gender-based violence in conflict, see Rashida Manjoo & Calleigh McRaith, Gender Based Violence and Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas, 44 CORNELL INT'L L. J. 11, 14 (2011).

¹⁴ Tadzie Madzima-Boshi, *The Effects of Conflict Are Felt Hardest by Women and Children* (May 10, 2013), https://www.insightonconflict.org/blog/2013/05/effects-conflict-women-children/. *See* Manjoo & McRaith, *supra* note 13, at 16-17 (listing some effects of gender-based violence in conflict as sexually transmitted diseases, injury to reproductive organs, unwanted pregnancy or miscarriage, social stigma/difficulty in societal reintegration (especially post-rape), and psychological consequences, such as depression, anxiety, shock, sexual dysfunction, suicide, and behavior disorders).

Organization adopted the UN resolution in 2007,¹⁵ publishing Bi-Strategic Command Directive (Bi-SC)¹⁶ 40-1 (issued in 2009), which "detail[ed] how [the Allied Command Operations (ACO)] and [the Allied Command Transformation (ACT)] [would] implement UNSCR 1325 and its related resolutions."¹⁷ Further, NATO revised Military Committee (MC) 249/1 (issued in 1976), resulting in MC 249/2 published in 2009 to support the implementation of USNCR 1325 and then updating the document as MC 249/3 in 2014.¹⁸ "In 2010, [NATO] adopted the first result-oriented

In 2007, [North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)] adopted a Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) policy, tasking member states to develop practical proposals for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. In September 2009, NATO approved the "Bi-Strategic Command Directive 40-1 Integrating UNSCR 1325 and Gender Perspectives in the NATO Command Structures Including Measures for Protection During Armed Conflict" (which was revised in 2012). The directive is applicable to all international military headquarters or any other organisations operating within NATO chains of command.

Id.

¹⁵ Robert Egnell et al., *Implementing a Gender Perspective in Military Organisations and Operations: The Swedish Armed Forces Model, Report/Department of Peace and Conflict Research*, at 11 (2012), http://jamda.ub.gu.se/bitstream/1/733/1/egnell.pdf.

¹⁶ OFFICE OF THE LEGAL ADVISOR, ALLIED COMMAND TRANSFORMATION, STAFF ELEMENT EUROPE, NATO LEGAL DESKBOOK 25 (2d. 2010) [hereinafter NATO Legal Deskbook] (copy on file with author) (defining "Bi-SC Directive" as a "strategic command directive signed by both strategic commanders (SACEUR and SACT)").

¹⁷ Integrating UNSCR 1325 and Gender Perspective into the NATO Command Structure, ODSACEUR/20130701 (July 1, 2013), https://lawfas.hq.nato.int/RC/References/ UNSCR_1325_NATOGenderPerspective.pdf (NATO Unclassified memo from Deputy SACEUR to Commander, Joint Force Command Brunssum, standardizing how NATO Command Structure and NATO Force Structure should integrate UNSCR 1325 to certify units as NATO Response Forces (NRFs)) (login and password required). Organized in three main categories, NATO consists of a civilian structure, a military structure, and agencies (also sometimes called organizations). North Atlantic Treaty Organization, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/structure.htm (last visited Aug. 3, 2016) (select "Organization," then "Structure" tabs). Within the NATO military structure, there are three further sub-entities: the military committee; Allied Command Operations (ACO); and Allied Command Transformation (ACT). Headquartered in Mons, Belgium, ACO is sometimes used synonymously with Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, or Homepage, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, http://www.shape.nato.int/ (last visited Aug. 3, 2016). The ACT is headquartered in Norfolk, Virginia. Homepage, NATO ALLIED COMMAND TRANSFORMATION, http://www.act.nato.int/ (last visited Aug. 3, 2016).

NORTH ATLANTIC MILITARY COMM., MC 0249/3 (MILITARY DECISION), THE NATO COMMITTEE ON GENDER PERSPECTIVE (NCGP) (Feb. 3, 2014) (NATO Unclassified), http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2014_01/20160615_1401-tor-ncgp.pdf. Substantively similar to military committee (MC) 249/2 (2009), MC 249/3

NATO Action Plan for the implementation of [NATO's] Policy on Women, Peace, and Security, which is revised every two years." The policy and action plan were both updated in 2014 to read:²⁰

> The NATO Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security sets the course for this with two overarching objectives. Firstly, it aims to reduce barriers to the active and meaningful participation of women in the security institutions and operations of NATO, Allies, and Partners. Comparative data shows that progress in including more women in our institutions has been modest, and mixed. Secondly, that Action Plan strives to integrate a gender perspective into the day-to-day security business.²¹

As of July 2016, fifty-eight nations have published various types of NAPs to promote women, peace, and security.²² The United States is no different: "On December 19, 2011, President Barack Obama signed

A revised Policy and a new Action Plan were adopted in 2014 by NATO, Allies, EAPC partners and six global partners. In total, fiftyfive nations signed off on the new NATO Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. In 2009, NATO's two Strategic Commands-Allied Command Operations and Allied Command Transformation issued a Directive (Bi-SC Directive 40-1) on integrating UNSCR 1325 and the gender perspective into the NATO command structure. The Directive was updated in 2012.

⁽²⁰¹⁴⁾ mainly updated Annex B; instead of the "NATO Office on Gender Perspective (NOGP)," the annex now refers to the "IMS [International Military Staff] Office of the Gender Advisor." Id.

¹⁹ ALLIED COMMAND TRANSFORMATION GENDER ADVISOR PORTAL, Who We Are (June 9, 2016), http://www.act.nato.int/gender (outlining six tracks to NATO's action plan: (1) mainstreaming in policies, programs, and documentation; (2) cooperation with international organizations and civil society; (3) education and training (ACT); (4) operations; (5) public diplomacy; and (6) national initiatives).

²⁰ Marriet Schuurman, NATO and the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda: Time to Bring It Home, 14 CONNECTIONS: QUARTERLY J, 3 (2015), http://www.nato.int/cps/en/ natohq/opinions_124032.htm?selectedLocale=en. Ms. Schuurman, NATO's Special Representative for Women, Peace, and Security, summarizes the history of NATO's implementation of UNSCR 1325 as follows:

²¹ Schuurman, *supra* note 20.

²² List of National Action Plans for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325, I KNOW POLITICS, http://iknowpolitics.org/en/knowledge-library/website-database/list-national-actionplans-implementation-unscr-1325 (last visited July 27, 2016).

Executive Order 13595, instituting the U.S. 'National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security.'"²³

Notably, the implementation tool NATO chose in 2009—with a Bi-SC directive—is mere "guidance on how gender perspectives can be integrated into the planning and conduct of NATO-led operations as a tool to increase operational effectiveness." Although technically a directive, which—in the common sense of the word—would normally direct certain actions, events, etc., the language in the directive did not mandate or order anyone to do anything; it simply "aim[ed] to ensure implementation of [UNSCR] 1325." It became clear that stronger language was called for in the directive to ensure the fledgling program promoting women, peace, and security would survive in NATO.

The former gender advisor for the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), Ms. Charlotte Isaksson²⁶ of Sweden, explained in 2015 that NATO implemented UNSCR 1325 for two reasons: because "[i]international armed conflict has a disproportionate impact on women in terms of gender-based violence . . ." and because "[w]omen are also active agents in the prevention and resolution of conflicts. Adequately recognizing the role and influence of native women in conflict zones can yield benefits for conflict resolution and intelligence gathering."²⁷

²⁶ Ms. Charlotte Isaksson was the Supreme Allied Commander Europe's (SACEUR's) Gender Advisor from 2011-2016 (accepting the position as Senior Gender Advisor at the European Union External Action Service on September 2, 2016). *SHAPE Says Farewell to ACO Gender Advisor Ms. Charlotte Isaksson This Week*, FACEBOOK.COM (Sept. 2, 2016), https://socialfeed.info/shape-says-farewell-to-aco-gender-advisor-ms-charlotte-isaksson-this-week-3744586 (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe *Facebook* page). From 2001 to 2011, Ms. Isaksson was the Senior Gender Advisor at the Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters. *Charlotte Isaksson*, LINKEDIN, https://be.linkedin.com/in/charlotte-isaksson-992bb215 (last visited Jan. 6, 2017).

²³ ROBERT EGNELL ET AL., GENDER, MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS, AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE: THE SWEDISH MODEL (2014) ("Then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton announced this initiative at Georgetown University, describing it as a 'comprehensive effort across the U.S. government to advance women's participation for making and keeping peace."").

²⁴ BI-STRATEGIC COMMAND, DIR. 40-1, INTEGRATING UNSCR 1325 AND GENDER PERSPECTIVE INTO THE NATO COMMAND STRUCTURE (Revision 1) (8 Aug. 2012) [hereinafter Bi-SC 40-1, Rev 1].

²⁵ Bi-SC 40-1 Rev 1, *supra* note 24, para. 1-1.

²⁷ Sam Marrero, SACEUR Gender Advisor: Protecting Women Essential to NATO/UN Peacekeeping Success, NAT'L DEF. UNIV. (June 10, 2015), http://www.ndu.edu/News/ArticleView/tabid/6469/Article/601432/saceur-gender-advisor-protecting-women-essential-to-natoun-peacekeeping-success.aspx. But see "We

Thus, NATO established gender awareness training, which takes place prior to military deployment, as well as the position of a gender advisor within each NATO command structure in 2009 (reporting to the ACO Gender Advisor). In 2010, NATO published its strategic concept, reinforcing its position that gender perspective integration—with a GENAD on the commander's personal staff—is mandatory for all units in the NATO military force structure. Clearly, this stronger language (mandating certain actions) began to clarify NATO's growing commitment to gender perspective integration among the NATO Force Structure. NATO

C. 2012-the Present: Bi-Strategic Command Directive 40-1, Revision 1

In 2012, NATO reissued Bi-SC 40-1 (calling it Bi-SC 40-1, Revision 1), noting,

[A]dditional [UNSCRs] and policies have been passed" since 2009, namely UNSCRs 1888 (2009),³¹ 1889 (2009),³² and 1960 (2010).³³ The directive envisioned the

Can Die, Too"—Recruitment and Use of Child Soldiers in South Sudan, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH REPORT 13 (Dec. 2015), https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/ report_pdf/south sudan1215_4.pdf (stating that a vast majority of recruited child soldiers in a conflict are boys).

²⁸ Bi-SC 40-1, *supra* note 2; *see also* Dr. Stefanie Babst, Remarks at the Conference on Women, Peace, and Security—the Afghan View, *Role and Experience of International Organisations in Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Afghanistan* (June 11, 2010), http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_68078.htm? selectedLocale=en (Dr. Stefanie Babst was the Acting NATO Assistant Secretary in November 2010.).

²⁹ NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL INTERNATIONAL STAFF, *The Alliance's Strategic Concept*, Document PO (2010)0169 (Nov. 19, 2010), http://www.ft.dk/samling/20101/almdel/upn/bilag/ 24/920917.pdf.

³⁰ Robert Egnell et al., supra note 15. ("The Bi-Strategic Command Directive 40-1 was updated in 2012 with an increasing amount of measures to be undertaken by member and partner states.").

³¹ S.C. Res. 1888, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1888 (Sept. 30, 2009), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N09/534/46/pdf/N0953446.pdf?OpenElement.

³² S.C. Res. 1889, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1889 (Oct. 5, 2009), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N09/542/55/pdf/N0954255.pdf?OpenElement.

³³ S.C. Res. 1960, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1960 (Dec. 16, 2010), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N10/698/34/pdf/N1069834.pdf?OpenElement. Since then, UNSCR 2242 (2015), has reaffirmed the international community's commitment to women, peace, and security. S.C. Res. 2242, U.N. Doc. S/Res/2242 (Oct. 13, 2015), https://documents-ddsny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N15/311/09/pdf/N1531109.pdf?Open

creation of a gender advisor who participates in "operational planning and preparation, integrating UNSCR 1325 and gender perspectives at all levels of planning [which is] imperative when developing strategies to address the full spectrum of crisis management scenarios in which NATO is involved.³⁴

The NATO headquarters assigned on a rotating basis as the NATO Rapid Deployment Force (NRF) would be (and are currently) evaluated for NRF certification on their "inclusion of gender perspectives in operational planning and assessments"³⁵

Consisting of three chapters (introduction, education and training, and implementation), the 2012 directive outlines aims, rationales, definitions, policies, training requirements, operational planning and tactical considerations, as well as standards of behavior and reporting. The most interesting and useful part of the Bi-SC 40-1, Revision (Rev) 1 is the annex portion; in its five annexes are the following topics: (A) Gender Advisor and Gender Field Advisor: Roles and Responsibilities; (B) NATO Standards of Behaviour; (C) ACT Education and Training Programme Framework; (D) Reporting of Gender Perspective in Operations; and (E) References. These are useful in understanding the function and responsibilities of the NATO gender advisor program within a NATO Force Structure.

III. Function and Responsibilities of the NATO Gender Advisors, Gender Field Advisors, and Gender Focal Points

The position of GENAD came about in 2009 because "NATO commanders and their staffs are not yet trained and skilled in planning and execution of operations with an integrated gender perspective." The

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Element. See also Global Study on UNSC Resolution 1325, UNWOMEN.ORG, http://wps.unwomen.org/en (last visited Aug. 3, 2016).

³⁴ Bi-SC 40-1, *supra* note 2, title page.

³⁵ Integrating UNSCR 1325 and Gender Perspective into the NATO Command Structure, ODSACEUR/20130701 (July 1, 2013), https://lawfas.hq.nato.int/RC/References/UNSCR_1325_ NATOGenderPerspective.pdf (NATO Unclassified) (login and password required).

³⁶ Bi-SC 40-1 Rev 1, *supra* note 24, ann. A, para. 1. Notably, NATO seems to be moving away from the initial trend of appointing a majority of female GENADs, Gender Field Advisors (GFAs), and Gender Focal Points (GFPs). E-mail from Lieutenant Colonel John

NATO GENAD is a designated special staff officer who—much like the Legal Advisor (LEGAD), ³⁷ Political Advisor (POLAD), and Civil Advisor (CIVAD)—personally advises the unit commander on gender matters. The GENAD—not to be confused with the Gender Field Advisor (GFA) and the Gender Focal Point (GFP)³⁸—helps the commander and military unit integrate "gender perspective . . . [in] the planning, execution, and evaluation phases of NATO-led operations."³⁹

What is gender perspective? "Within scholarly research on international law, there is a range of definitions for the term 'gender.' The common element in each articulation of the term is the distinction drawn between differences based on sex (biology) and differences based on social assumptions about masculine and feminine behaviors (social constructs)." For example, in a certain society, going to the well to get water for the household might be viewed as a more feminine task; whereas working in an office outside the home could be considered a more masculine role. Examining these roles is a large part of the GENAD's function. "Gender perspective looks at the impact of gender on people's opportunities, social roles, and interactions." The first point to make in this explanation is that the term "gender" is not interchangeable with "sex."

Sex refers to the permanent and immutable biological characteristics common to individuals in all societies and cultures, while "gender defines traits forged throughout the history of social relations." Gender, although it originates in objective biological divergences, goes far beyond the physiological and biological specifics of the two sexes in terms of the roles each is expected to play. Gender differences are social constructs,

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Moore, NATO Legal Advisor and Trainer, Joint Warfare Center, to author (Sept. 6, 2016, 06:36 EST) (on file with author) [hereinafter Moore E-mail].

³⁷ Colonel Brian H. Brady, *The NATO Legal Advisor: A Primer*, ARMY LAW., Oct. 2013, at 4, 4.

³⁸ Bi-SC 40-1 Rev 1, *supra* note 24. For a discussion on the GENAD, GFA, and GFP roles and duties, *see infra*, Sec. III.A.-C.

³⁹ *Id.* ("All of these phases [i.e., the planning, execution, and evaluation phases of NATO-led operations] must be based on initial and regular analysis of social groups with a gender perspective.").

⁴⁰ Helen Durham & Katie O'Byrne, *The Dialogue of Difference: Gender Perspectives on International Humanitarian Law*, 92 INT'L REV. RED CROSS 877 (Mar. 2010), https://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/irrc-877-durham-obyrne.pdf.

⁴¹ Chapter II. The Gender Perspective, FAO CORPORATE DOCUMENT REPOSITORY, http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x2919e/x2919e04.htm (last visited Aug. 3, 2016).
⁴² Id.

inculcated on the basis of a specific society's particular perceptions of the physical differences and the assumed tastes, tendencies, and capabilities of men and women. Gender differences, unlike the generally immutable characteristics of sex, are universally conceded in historical and comparative social analyses to be variants that are transformed over time and from one culture to the next, as societies change and evolve.⁴³

It is important at this point to ensure the understanding of the connection between UNSCR 1325 and the creation of the GENAD position in NATO; without such an explanation, the reader might leap to the conclusion that GENADs occupy themselves with esoteric questions of how women and men behave in society and roles they fulfill in a specific However, in peacetime operations, GENADs also community. concentrate on female representation in NATO nations' militaries, rights of women in the NATO workplace, and a whole host of other womenrelated issues not necessarily specific to NATO nations' militaries.

This contributes to the confusion of what the GENAD's primary function is: advocating for women's rights? Or assessing gender roles in a given society and applying those assessments to mission analysis? Because NATO has almost no control over troop-contributing nations' gender makeup of the troops they decide to contribute, it is difficult for NATO as an organization—whose military might is made up of other nations' militaries-to influence female representation at the highest levels of its military portion of the organization.⁴⁴ Thus, although the policies and encouragement remain in place, 45 it is natural that the focal point of NATO's gender advisor program involves gender perspective integration in military operations. But the take-away here is that both aims are part of the gender advisor's responsibilities. To examine those responsibilities more fully, it is helpful at this point to understand the roles

⁴³ *Id*.

⁴⁴ Marriet Schuurman, *supra* note 20 ("To increase the share of female troops deployed in missions and operations, NATO depends on the Nations contributing troops.").

⁴⁵ At NATO Headquarters, NATO can and does espouse programs to increase women's responsibilities and authority within its organization. Celebrating Female Leadership at North ATLANTIC **TREATY** ORGANIZATION (Mar. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/ news_99120.htm?selectedLocale=en. See also Tara Nordick, Gender Enablers within NATO, NATO LEGAL GAZETTE 31, 50 (Aug. 2013), http://www.ismllw.org/NATO%20LEGAL%20GAZETTE/Legal%20GazetteIssueNo%2 031.pdf (referring to NATO's Diversity Action Plan (2012-2014) and the International Staff's Civilian Personnel Regulations (CPRs), which contain a statement on diversity of staff recruitment at Chapter I, Article 1.3).

of each of NATO's three types of gender officers: GENAD, GFA, and GFP.

A. Role of the GENAD

The GENAD reports directly to the commander at the strategic or operational level. 46 That commander is "responsible for the overall integration of gender perspective into planning, execution, and evaluation" of the unit's missions. 47 The Bi-SC directive explains that a NATO unit must have Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) to describe the GENAD's and GFA's roles, but goes on to note several in a nonexhaustive list of roles for either/both positions, depending on how the unit employs GENADs and GFAs:

- a. Reports directly the commander to ensure gender perspective is integrated in all aspects of planning
- b. Liaises with "all elements of the staff"
- c. Supports operational objectives and activities
- d. Assesses security risks of men and women
- e. Supports staff members in integrating gender perspective in their varying functions
- f. Conducts/disseminates gender analyses
- g. Cooperates and shares information with the international community actors
- h. Supports and enables local law, directives, and commitments related to UNSCR 1325
- i. Supports the commander, J1, and LEGAD with inquiries or investigations (regarding breaches of NATO Standards of Behaviour; allegations of violence, rape, or sexual abuse)

⁴⁶ Notably, the GENAD position exists in NATO units' peacetime establishment (PE) and crisis establishment (CE) lists of positions. However, NATO is only obligated to fill the CE GENAD position; in other words, a NATO unit may never employ a GENAD until it is deployed/on a NATO mission, thus activating (and filling) NATO's CE positions. W. Bruce Weinrod & Charles L. Barry, *NATO Command Structure—Considerations for the Future*, CTR. FOR TECH. AND NAT'L SEC. POL'Y, NAT'L DEF. UNIV. at 15 (Sept. 2010),

http://ctnsp.dodlive.mil/files/2013/08/DTP-075.pdf (noting that PE positions remain unfilled during peacetime, but CE positions are then filled during NATO missions).

⁴⁷ Soldier's Card, THE SWEDISH ARMED FORCES NORDIC CENTRE FOR GENDER IN MILITARY OPERATIONS (Feb. 2015), http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/siteassets/english/swedint/ engelska/swedint/nordic-centre-for-gender-in-military-operations/soldiers-card-feb-2015.pdf.

- Supports a gender balanced force and ensures in particular that women are part of the regular force structure
- Gives special attention to organizations/groups defending women's and children's human rights.⁴⁸

Beyond simply appointing a GENAD and issuing a SOP, a NATO unit must also educate those officers involved in advising on gender integration. To that end, Bi-SC 40-1, Rev 1 outlines mandatory and optional training for gender advisors, field advisors, and focal point personnel.⁴⁹ In 2015, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) issued the ACO Gender Functional Planning Guide, 50 which gives "guidance to GENADs, GFPs, and NATO planning staff It provides gender perspectives to be addressed/considered during each stage of the planning process at the strategic and operational levels."⁵¹ It is a useful step-by-step guide for planners at all levels—tactical, operational, and strategic.

Beyond the GENAD in the command group, there are also slots for GFAs and GFPs within the unit. The GENAD and GFA have doctrinally similar duties, except the GENAD also "monitors, coordinate[s], and support[s] the Gender Field Advisors."52

B. Role of the GFA

A step below the GENAD in the gender advisor hierarchy, the GFA is pivotal at the operational level and usually is most helpful during a unit's deployment or other type of specific operation. "Gender Field Advisors (GFAs) are tasked to conduct gender analysis in the area of Operations and to ensure that the commanders' intent and execution of tasks will be inline with the UN resolutions and NATO Bi-SC Directive 40-1 (Rev 1)."53 The unit's SOP that lists GENAD duties also applies to the GFA. A level below, the "Gender Focal Points (GFP) are appointed within the units on a tactical level and are allocated to dedicate 10-15 percent of their time to

⁴⁸ Bi-SC 40-1 Rev 1, *supra* note 24, ann. A, para. 5.

⁴⁹ *Id*.

⁵⁰ ALLIED COMMAND OPERATIONS (ACO), DIR., SH/SAG/GEN/15-310385, "ACO Gender Functional Planning Guide," July 24, 2015 (NATO Unclassified, Releasable to SWE).

⁵² Soldier's Card, supra note 47.

⁵³ *Id*.

the task of integrating gender perspective within the ordinary task of the unit."54

C. Role of the GFP

Normally, each section or division within a NATO unit has a designated GFP, which "is a dual-hatted position that supports the commander in implementing directives and procedures with gender perspective."55 They work closely with the GENAD, but report to their regular, functional chains of command, not to the GENAD. The main role of the GFP is to "ensure gender perspective is fully integrated into the daily tasks of [an] operation [at the tactical level]."56 The GFP, who comes from every section (G1, G2, G3, etc.), receives training,⁵⁷ attends conferences, and works with fellow GFPs in the various staff sections to ensure gender perspective is considered at all levels of planning and executing operations.⁵⁸

IV. A GENAD in the U.S. Military?

Although the U.S. military does not employ GENADs,⁵⁹ it does focus on gender issues at the national level and, as mentioned above, has

⁵⁴ *Id*.

⁵⁵ Bi-SC 40-1 Rev 1, *supra* note 24, ann. A, para. 7.

⁵⁶ Id. ("These activities could include, but are not limited to: patrolling, enabling the provision of humanitarian aid, search procedures, assisting national security forces, assessing the different security risks of men and women in monitoring and evaluation activities, and providing gender training for NATO personnel.").

⁵⁷ See id. ann. C (listing mandatory and recommended training for GENADs and GFAs); id. para. 2-7 (mandating training for all gender positions and listing minimum training requirements for compliance).

⁵⁸ Of note, critics of NATO's gender perspective integration cite to NATO nations' inconsistent, ad hoc integration of the principles of UNSCR 1325, explaining the impossibility for NATO as an organization to integrate UNSCR 1325 when NATO's participating members have not made strides in doing so. Chantal de Jonge Oudraat et al., Gender Mainstreaming: Indicators for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and Its Related Resolutions (Feb. 2014), http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/1325-

Scorecard2.pdf ("In 2015, 17 out of 28 NATO member states and 14 out of 41 NATO partner states had developed [national action plans] implementing the principles of UNSCR 1325.").

⁵⁹ Thus far, only the Swedish military employs fulltime gender advisors within its military staff. ROBERT EGNELL, ET AL., supra note 23 (noting the Swedish military "approach[ed] the implementation of a gender perspective in the organization as an issue of operational

implemented a NAP on Women, Peace, and Security.⁶⁰ Although these policies do affect the military, the Department of Defense (DoD) does not have a dedicated program concentrating on integrating gender perspective in the military branches.⁶¹ Instead of GENADs, the U.S. military relies on a robust Equal Opportunity (EO) program,⁶² based on Title VII of the U.S. Code,⁶³ to deal with gender issues within the organization. However, the EO program does not completely fulfill what a GENAD brings to the table in NATO military operations; it concentrates (in part) on addressing gender discrimination within the military rather than integrating gender perspective in operations, as the NATO GENAD program does. Thus, there is a void in the U.S. military in that regard.⁶⁴

A logical question is how a GENAD within the U.S. military structure would be helpful. The answer is—in the same way it is helpful to the units within the NATO military structure—it would provide a focus on gender perspective in all stages of operations. And yet, although arguably helpful,

effectiveness—as opposed to one 'merely' of gender equality, women's rights, or human resources").

⁶⁰ See generally supra note 58. The U.S. National Action Plan (NAP) on Women, Peace, and Security contains a statement of national policy: "The goal of the [U.S. NAP] on Women, Peace, and Security remains as simple as it is profound: to empower half the world's population as equal partners in preventing conflict and building peace in countries threatened and affected by war, violence, and insecurity." The next sentence emphasizes the importance of that lofty aim: "Achieving this goal is critical to our national and global security." The United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security 2 (June 2016), https://www.

whitehouse.gov/sites/whitehouse.gov/files/documents/women-national-action-plan.pdf.

⁶¹ The U.S. NAP cites several examples of initiatives in addressing conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV): one such example is the U.S. government-funded security assistance program Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI), which works with international military forces and police and "emphasizes the prevention and remediation of sexual and gender based violence The [DoD] also works to advance gender integration in partner nation militaries through the National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP)" (citing the Colorado National Guard's engagements with women from the Jordanian Armed Forces on female-specific work topics).

⁶² U.S. DEP'T OF DEF., DIR. 1020.02E, DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE DOD (8 June 2015), http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/102002E.pdf. It is important to note that the GENAD is not at all akin to an Equal Opportunity (EO) representative, nor is the GENAD involved in any sexual harassment complaints, training, etc. Moore E-mail, *supra* note 36.

⁶³ Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, 42 U.S.C. §§ 2000e et seq. (1964), https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/titlevii.cfm.

⁶⁴ Notably, the role of political advisor (POLAD) also does not exist in the U.S. military; yet, U.S. commanders, their staff, and especially legal advisors (usually) satisfactorily incorporate that need to consider political issues when planning and executing missions. *See* Colonel Brady, *supra* note 37, at 4.

is a GENAD truly necessary as an advisor in a U.S. commander's special staff? Examining some examples in which a GENAD proved useful might provide the answer to this question.

The Nordic Center for Gender in Military Operations,⁶⁵ part of the Swedish military, issued a pamphlet in 2015, citing numerous examples of when a GENAD proved quite useful in operations.⁶⁶ Some examples include the following:

- (a) Afghanistan, ISAF (2013): An all-male unit's area of patrol responsibility included a female-only bazaar; the GFA identified the problem and advised the unit to either include women on its patrol (who could enter the bazaar area) or to change the patrol route (so male soldiers would not have to enter the bazaar).⁶⁷
- (b) Kosovo, KFOR (2012): Roadblocks affected men, women, and children differently: unemployed men worked at the roadblocks, so they had an incentive to keep the roadblocks even as they established alternate supply routes; women could not obtain supplies to run their households due to the roadblocks; children could not attend school due to the roadblocks. Understanding how the roadblocks affected these members of the community (depending on their gender) helped the military commander run an effective roadblock program, lessening impacts on the [various communities] in the process.⁶⁸
- (c) Darfur (Sudan), African Union United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) (2009-2012): Some local

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⁶⁵ NORDIC CENTRE FOR GENDER IN MILITARY OPERATIONS, http://www.forsvarsmakten. se/en/swedint/nordic-centre-for-gender-in-military-operations/ (last visited July 27, 2016). *See also* EGNELL ET AL., *supra* note 23, at 31 ("Its origin can be traced to 10 May 2010, when Norway, Finland, and Sweden decided within the framework of the Nordic Defence Cooperation (NORDEFCO) to establish a Centre for Gender in Military Operations, which came into being on 1 January 2012.").

Whose Security? Practical Examples of Gender Perspectives in Military Operations 2015, NORDIC CENTRE FOR GENDER IN MILITARY OPERATIONS, http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/siteassets/english/swedint/engelska/swedint/nordic-centre-for-gender-in-military-operations/whose-security-2015-low-resolution.pdf (last visited July 27, 2016).
Id. at 14-15.

⁶⁸ *Id.* at 16-17.

women were part of groups called Hakamas, who sang traditional songs in their communities. "In peacetime, their singing would maintain social order in the community. In wartime, they sang to encourage their sons and husbands to fight at the front."69 Although a GENAD was not present in the mission, women made up 32 percent of the Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration (DDR) section working in that area. These women realized that "Darfuri women took part in the peace process to a large extent"70 and used that information to work with Darfuri women to fulfill UNAMID's "mandate [of supporting] the implementation of the peace agreement and protection of civilians."⁷¹

These examples show how considering plans, missions, and operations through a gender-focused lens—viewing them from adult male, female, and possibly even male/female child perspectives—can truly enhance the effectiveness of military actions. Including a GENAD on a U.S. military staff would improve perspective and intelligence within stability operations that, like it or not, the military repeatedly undertakes. The obvious counterargument to that conclusion is that U.S. military members already think, plan, and act with a gender perspective in mind, as approximately 15.7% are women. This claim is worth exploring, and it begins with the percentage of females in the U.S. military.

Just as in the above Darfur example—in which a GENAD did not provide a gender perspective, but women did—can the U.S. military not simply rely on its gender diversity and agile thinking without adding the position of GENAD to a commander's staff? Women, previously barred from serving in combat roles until Secretary Panetta partially lifted the ban in 2013,⁷² can now—as of December 2015—serve in all positions in the U.S. military.⁷³

⁶⁹ Id. at 27-28.

⁷⁰ Id. at 27 ("The Hakamas sometimes travelled with the armed forces to the battlefield and their singing would spur the fighters.").

⁷² Pentagon Makes Women in Combat Rule Change Official, USATODAY.COM (Jan. 23, 2013), http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2013/01/24/women-combat-changepanetta/1861995/.

⁷³ P.J. Tobia, Defense Secretary Carter Opens All Combat Jobs to Women, PBS.ORG (Dec. 3, 2015), http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/watch-live-defense-secretary-carter-tolift-ban-on-women-in-combat-jobs/.

Currently, women account for 15.7% of active-duty personnel in the U.S. military. The Marines have the lowest percentage of women, at 7.6%. Twenty of 336 Marine jobs are currently closed to women. The Air Force and Navy have the highest percentage of women serving: 17.8% for the Navy, and 18.7% for the Air Force.⁷⁴

According to the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC), which "maintain[s] the central repository of [DoD] Human Resource Information,"⁷⁵ the percentage of total female active duty personnel in the U.S. Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marines is 15.7% as of May 2016 (updated monthly).⁷⁶ The DMDC breaks this information down by rank and service, giving actual numbers and then the corresponding percentage to indicate female representation in the services. Women do appear to be well represented across the ranks in the U.S. military, but the real question is whether or not these female servicemembers are in the position to provide gender perspective in their jobs. First, it is impossible to know if these women are inclined to think along gender perspective lines. Second, even if they did, will they be heard, for example, during a planning meeting—if these women voice concerns about how a planned action will affect women in a given community their unit is operating in? Those issues are left to chance without a trained GENAD or GFP to monitor consistent consideration of gender in mission planning.

The Swedish Army introduced the role of gender advisor in 2007,⁷⁷ and the program has grown in scope since then. Sweden plans to assign

The aim of the Gender Field Advisor Course project was to train a group of GFAs who would be able to participate in international operations and missions and advise their commanders on how to integrate UNSCR 1325 and a gender perspective. Other organisations such as the UN, Red Cross, UNHCR and [Organization for Security

and Cooperation in Europe] had previously also established GFA

functions and were used for benchmarking. In 2007, 20 persons from the partner organizations participated in the pilot course.

Id.

David Johnson & Bronson Stamp, *See Women's Progress in the U.S. Military*, TIME.COM (Sept. 8, 2015), http://labs.time.com/story/women-in-military/.

⁷⁵ DEFENSE MANPOWER DATA CENTER, https://www.dmdc.osd.mil/appj/dwp/index.jsp (last visited July 27, 2016).

⁷⁶ *Id.* (in homepage search textbox, type "women" to obtain monthly tally of active duty military personnel by service and rank/grade).

⁷⁷ ROBERT EGNELL, ET AL., *supra* note 23, at 22.

GENADs and GFPs at every brigade by 2016.⁷⁸ Since 2012, training for GENAD and GFP positions occurs mainly through the Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations.⁷⁹ The Swedish government and interested scholars have studied gender integration extensively in the Swedish military formations since that time. One scholar who studied the effectiveness of Swedish implementation of UNSCR 1325 recommends other nations' militaries follow suit; he utilizes an extremely clever argument: he zeroes in on a commander's hesitancy to take actions that detract from achieving the mission, and argues instead that gender perspective integration ultimately improves operational effectiveness.

Professor Robert Egnell, a Professor of Leadership at the Swedish Defence University, and Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace, and Security senior fellow, has authored and coauthored several books and articles detailing the success of the Swedish military in implementing gender perspective; his main point is usually along these lines: militaries are usually unsympathetic to a rights-based argument that the integration of women and gender perspectives in military organizations is the right thing to do. Military commanders—although possibly in favor of improving gender rights in their formations—simply do not view it as a focal point in any of their assigned missions, according to Professor Egnell.

In March 2016, Professor Egnell argued in a *Prism* article that militaries can improve operational effectiveness by implementing UNSCR 1325 and their NAPs; he emphasized the importance of the military institution's buy-in before attempting any wide-sweeping changes.⁸¹ The two questions Professor Egnell addressed are, firstly, why gender

⁷⁸ Sweden Appoints Special Military Gender Advisors, THELOCAL.COM (Feb. 20, 2015), http://www.thelocal.se/20150220/swedish-army-appoints-gender-advisors. "As currently structured, the organization includes two brigade headquarters and eight maneuver battalions: five mechanized, one motorized infantry, one light infantry and one amphibious." Scott R. Gourley, Swedish Army Restructures, Reduces, ARMY MAG. (Feb. 2015), http://www.editiondigital.net/article/Swedish_Army_Restructures,_Reduces/1904 968/242037/article.html.

NORDIC CENTRE FOR GENDER IN MILITARY OPERATIONS, http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/en/swedint/nordic-centre-for-gender-in-military-operations/ (last visited July 27, 2016).
Robert Egnell, Gender Perspectives and Military Effectiveness: Implementing UNSCR 1325 and the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, 6 PRISM 1, at 73, 82 (Mar. 1, 2016), http://cco.ndu.edu/Publications/PRISM/PRISM-volume-6-no1/Article/685108/gender-perspectives-and-military-effectiveness-implementing-unscr-1325-and-the/.

⁸¹ *Id.* at 74-75.

Although the United States has not seriously explored adding a GENAD to its special staff of advisors for commanders, the military has embarked on several initiatives that highlight the importance of gender perspective in operations. For example, in 2009, U.S. Marines were the first U.S. service to employ female engagement teams (FETs), followed by the U.S. Army in 2013. Similarly, in 2014, Norway created its "Hunter Troop," consisting of female infantry soldiers, with the hope of "open[ing] up critical interactions and information channels with indigenous female populations in future conflicts"

V. Proposal for a U.S. GENAD

With NATO's and Sweden's gender advisor programs in mind, the DoD should launch a pilot program appointing trained⁸⁶ GENADs at the division and corps levels of, perhaps, the 82d Airborne Division and XVIII Airborne Corps, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, chosen merely for illustrative purposes for this article. Those GENADs would be part of a commander's special staff, much like the Staff Judge Advocate or Inspector General—and should have the commensurate rank. In a high operational tempo unit, the GENAD might serve to focus operational planning to incorporate a gender perspective—a concept that can only add to the welcome diversity

83 *Id.* at 82.

⁸² *Id.* at 74.

⁸⁴ Sergeant Ida Irby, "FET" to fight: Female Engagement Team makes history, ARMY.MIL (Apr. 18, 2013), https://www.army.mil/article/101111/_FET__to_ fight__Female_ Engagement Team makes history.

⁸⁵ David Leffler, *Hunter Troop Is the World's First All-Female Special Operations Unit*, TASKANDPURPOSE.COM (Sept. 14, 2016), http://taskandpurpose.com/hunter-troop-worlds-first-female-special-operations-unit/.

⁸⁶ The Swedish Armed Forces Institute, or SWEDINT, provides a two-week gender advisor course three times per year. *GENAD*, SWEDISH ARMED FORCES, http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/en/swedint/courses-at-swedint-and-how-to-apply/gfa/ (last visited Aug. 3, 2016) (explaining the aim, target audience, and application instructions for the course).

in thought when undertaking mission planning. Bifurcating the two aims of the NATO gender advisor—(1) encouraging growth in women in leadership roles and (2) integrating a gender perspective in operations—makes sense for the U.S. military. Concentrating on the latter aim—gender in operations—fills a void, whereas efforts to support gender diversity within the U.S. military ranks already exist through EO programs.

After evaluating a GENAD's value added to division and corps staff (in terms of planning and executing operations), the DoD might follow Sweden's example in training and assigning GFPs at the brigade level to fully integrate gender perspective at the lowest tactical level. Officially emplacing a staff officer to concentrate solely on gender perspective in mission execution will achieve an important goal: meeting the objectives of the U.S. NAP on Women, Peace, and Security.⁸⁷

VI. Conclusion

At a time of U.S. military streamlining, adding a seemingly periphery position like the GENAD to a commander's staff might not initially make sense to the casual observer. The U.S. military's reputation is that they are the finest fighting force in the world; a reputation earned through its agile and adaptive servicemembers. However, when the U.S. military is being asked to do more with fewer resources in a complex, unpredictable conflict or security operation, adding an emphasis on gender perspectives to mission planning and execution might just be part of the solution.

⁸⁷ Anne A. Witkowsky, *Integrating Gender Perspectives within the Department of Defense*, 6 PRISM, 1, 34 (Mar. 2016), https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wpcontent/uploads/2016/03/Prism-Vol-6-No-1-Final.pdf (featuring several articles on gender integration in the military).

⁸⁸ Global Firepower Survey, *Countries Ranked by Military Strength* (2016), GLOBALFIREPOWER.COM (Apr. 1, 2016), http://www.globalfirepower.com/countrieslisting.asp.