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INTEGRATING WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES: TWO WAYS FORWARD

by

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December 2018

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INTEGRATING WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES: TWO WAYS FORWARD

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ABSTRACT

Despite the participation of women in the armed forces for many decades, resistance to integrating women fully into the armed forces still exists. Women have contributed in combat previously, but they have been released and assigned traditional roles after the end of conflicts. Despite the record of women's valuable service, doubt about women's integration in the armed forces continues, and the participation of women in various countries' armed forces differs both in numbers and roles. In this connection, this research identifies the major debates surrounding the full integration of women in the armed forces. The thesis also identifies how technological changes and changes in the nature of war itself, as well as legal provisions conducive to the integration of women in the military, have increased the participation of women in the military. Through case studies of the armed forces of Canada and Jordan, the thesis reveals that cultural differences in different countries preclude a single approach to integrating women in the military. Moreover, acknowledging that the legislative provisions of a country, its cultural norms, and the policies of a nation's armed forces affect the integration of women in the military, the research makes some recommendations to increase the participation of women in the military.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| CAF | Canadian Armed Forces |
| CST | Cultural Support Teams |
| DWMA | Directorate of Women's Military Affairs |
| FET | Female Engagement Teams |
| GFA | Gender Field Advisors |
| GFP | Gender Focal Points |
| IDF | Israeli Defense Force |
| JAF | Jordanian Armed Forces |
| LGBT | lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender |
| MIT | Massachusetts Institute of Technology |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| RCAF | Royal Canadian Air Force |
| SPP | State Partnership Program |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNSCR | United Nations Security Council Resolution |
| U.S. | United States |
| WFP | Women in Force Program |

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DISCLAIMER

The views expressed in the thesis, **Integrating Women in the Armed Forces: Two Ways Forward**, are those of the author and do not represent the policies, directives, and views of the Government of Nepal or the Nepalese Army.

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I. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

There has been a significant leap forward with regard to women's participation in the armed forces and their diversification of roles in the 21st century. Women in some countries serve in all four functional areas of the military: combat-service support functions that include medical roles, transportation, and logistics; combat support roles that include artillery, engineers, signals, intelligence, and reconnaissance; operational functions in ships, submarines, and aircraft, and as operators of drones; and ground combat roles as Special Forces.¹ A Canadian woman, Major Eleanor Taylor, led an infantry company in Afghanistan in 2010; Yoko Azuma, a Japanese woman, currently commands a warship squadron;² and Air Force General Lori J. Robinson is serving as the commander of North American Aerospace Defense Command and United States Northern Command.³

In some countries, the process of fully integrating women into the armed forces, especially in ground close combat, has either taken a long time or has yet to happen. It was not until 2015 that the first two female officers graduated from U.S. Army Ranger School, after completing a grueling six-month course.⁴ In February 2016, the President of India, Pranav Mukherjee, announced that Indian military would at last allow women to opt for combat roles in all services of the Indian military.⁵ More recently, in April 2017, United Kingdom's (UK) Prime Minister Theresa May witnessed the graduation of the

¹ Randolph Fitriani, G. S. Cooper, and Ron Mathews, "Women in Ground Close Combat," *The RUSI Journal*, 161 no. 1 (2016): 14–24, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2016.1152117>.

² "Japan's Navy Appoints First Woman to Command Warship Squadron," Reuters, March 6, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-defence-femalecommander/japans-navy-appoints-first-woman-to-command-warship-squadron-idUSKCN1GI0VC>.

³ "General Lori J. Robinson, USAF: Commander, North American Aerospace Defense Command and United States Northern Command," *U.S. Northern Command*, accessed on May 15, 2018, <http://www.northcom.mil/Leadership/Article-View/Article/835186/general-lori-j-robinson>.

⁴ "12 Female Soldiers Have Now Graduated Army Ranger School," *Military.com*, April 9, 2018, <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/04/09/10-female-soldiers-have-now-graduated-army-ranger-school.html>.

⁵ Sanchari Pal, "Marching Ahead: 13 Incredibly Brave Women in Indian Armed Forces Who Broke the Glass Ceiling," *The Better India*, January 24, 2017, <https://www.thebetterindia.com/83280/brave-women-soldiers-indian-armed-forces>.

first female officer commissioned into an armored regiment to take part in ground close combat roles.⁶

Over the years, across the globe, the opportunities for women in the armed forces have increased immensely; however, some gender-based discrimination persists in the armed forces of various nations.⁷ For example, a virginity test is a prerequisite for women to join the security forces in Indonesia.⁸ Saudi Arabia, as part of “Vision 2030,” has opened the armed forces to women since February 2018 but has imposed twelve restrictions,⁹ including that an applicant needs the permission of a male guardian living and working in the same region where she will work.¹⁰ Today, Singaporean women serve in the armed forces as officers, warrant officers, and military experts, taking roles from tactical war fighting to operational and strategic planning—but they do not serve as part of the National Service, the obligatory conscription period that applies only to men.¹¹ Similarly, Israel has a three-year conscription period for men but a period of a little less than two years for women.¹² In India, the military recruits women only in officers’ ranks through short-service commissioning.¹³

⁶ Ben Farmer, “Theresa May Salutes First Female British Army Officer Bound for Frontline Combat Job,” *The Telegraph*, April 13, 2017, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/04/13/first-female-british-army-officer-commissioned-royal-tank-regiment/?li_source=LI&li_medium=li-recommendation-widget.

⁷ Helena Carreiras, “Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies,” *Res Militaris*, no 1 (September 2015): 1, http://resmilitaris.net/ressources/10217/79/res_militaris_article_carreiras_gender_and_civil-military_relations_in_advanced_democracies.pdf.

⁸ “Indonesia: No End to Abusive Virginity Tests,” The Human Rights Watch, November 22, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/11/22/indonesia-no-end-abusive-virginity-tests>.

⁹ “Saudi Arabia Now Opens Doors of Military Jobs to Women,” *Tribune*, February 23, 2018, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1643108/3-saudi-arabia-now-opens-doors-military-jobs-women>.

¹⁰ Bethan McKernan, “Saudi Women to Serve as Soldiers as King Salman Sacks Army Chiefs in Huge Military Shake-up,” *Independent*, February 27, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-arabia-women-soldiers-serve-military-mohammed-bin-salman-military-mbs-crown-prince-a8231096.html>.

¹¹ “Let’s Be Real, No One Really Wants Women to Serve NS,” *RICE*, December 3, 2017, <http://ricemedia.co/lets-real-no-one-really-wants-women-serve-ns>; <https://www.mindef.gov.sg/oms/arc/women.html>.

¹² Casey Cromwell, “What You Should Know about Israel’s Mandatory Military Service for Men and Women,” *ENTITY*, March 24, 2017, <https://www.entitymag.com/what-know-israel-mandatory-military-service-men-and-women>.

¹³ “India: Combat Role for Women in Indian Army” *ENTITY*, July 22, 2017, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1922232547?OpenUrlRefId=info:xri/sid:primo&accountid=12702>.

Nevertheless, such discrimination against the women in the armed forces is being challenged, and the issues of equality have resulted in the increase of women's participation. Helena Carreiras opines that socio-economic factors, political factors, and the international context together with the strategic orientations, military culture, and the organizational structure of the armed forces affect women's participation in the armed forces.¹⁴ She observes that social pressure resulting from court challenges for equal opportunities led to greater participation for women in the military in such countries as Canada, the UK, and Germany; whereas, military organizations themselves became more open to women in the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway.¹⁵ Randolph Fitriani, G.S. Cooper, and Ron Mathews cite the examples of the ruling of the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal in the late 1980s, the Israeli High Court of Justice's decision in early 1990s, and the European Court of Justice's decision regarding eliminating discrimination against women in the armed forces.¹⁶ The participation of women in the armed forces is likely to continue increasing around the world in response to such rulings. Notably, in 2000, even some democratic North American Treaty Organization (NATO) countries did not have good representation by women in their armed forces: Italy until 2000 had male conscription only and no women in military, Poland and Turkey had 0.1 percent each, and Germany had only 1.4 percent.¹⁷ By 2012, the figures were much different; for example, women accounted for 7 percent of Germany's military.¹⁸

A. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis seeks to answer the following major research question: What constitutes "successful" integration of women in the armed forces? The other sub-question this thesis seeks to answer is: Do the models of integration support democracy appropriately?

¹⁴ Helena Carreiras, *Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 19.

¹⁵ Carreiras, 107–108.

¹⁶ Fitriani, "Women in Ground Close Combat," 14–24,

¹⁷ Carreiras, 99.

¹⁸ Fitriani, 18.

B. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Serious concerns exist regarding women's integration in the armed forces. Ashley Fantz observes that by the time the UK and the United States contemplated recruiting women for ground close combat role, at least 16 countries had already allowed women in combat.¹⁹ Still, even in some of the forces that have been gender-integrated for the longest time, certain unease prevails at the prospect of women serving in the armed forces. Marcia Kovitz opines, "What makes women's entry so threatening, now, is that, despite the Forces' reliance on a dualized gender system, it is under orders to integrate women on an equal footing. This has the potential of challenging and disrupting not only men but also the military's very goals and methods. In this sense, women are the 'enemy within.'"²⁰ Similarly, Martin Van Creveld argues: "More women in the forces are not the cure. They are the disease, or at least part of it. Feminization will inevitably lead, by all signs has already led, to the creation of a vicious cycle."²¹

Several models have emerged for women's participation in the national defense. The Canadian model is one. The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) are one of the world leaders in terms of military gender integration, where women serve not only in higher proportion but also in diverse fields. Furthermore, the CAF Employment Equity Plan of November 2010 envisions integrating women up to 25.1 per cent, which, as of January 2014, stands at 14.8 per cent.²² Though women have been involved in Canada's military service for more than 100 years, their roles expanded in 1971 following the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. In 1989, CAF opened all military occupations to women, with the exception of submarine service,

¹⁹ Ashley Fantz, "Women in Combat: More Than a Dozen Nations Already Doing It," *CNN*, August 20, 2015, <https://www.cnn.com/2015/08/20/us/women-in-combat-globally/index.html>.

²⁰ Marcia Kovitz, "The Enemy Within: Female Soldiers in the Canadian Forces," *Downsview* 19, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 40, ProQuest.

²¹ Martin Van Creveld, "Military Women Are Not the Cure. They Are the Disease," November 24, 2016, <http://www.martin-van-creveld.com/military-women-not-cure-disease/>

²² "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," March 6, 2014, National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/news/article.page?doc=women-in-the-canadian-armed-forces/hie8w7rm>

which opened in 2000.²³ Subsequently, CAF women have taken part and led units in combat. CAF, rather than granting special privileges to women, strives to level the playing field for them by eliminating discriminatory practices.

The Jordanian practice is another model. The Jordanian Armed Forces with respect to various roles of women in the military claim that they are the best and ideal bridge between East and West.²⁴ Women entered the Jordanian Armed Forces in the 1950s; however, their number increased after the establishment of Princess Muna College of Nursing in 1962. Since 1990, the roles of the women diversified and women started taking up jobs that were strictly reserved for men—for example, Royal Guard Protection Unit, military police, and military intelligence.²⁵ The Jordanian Armed Forces established the Directorate of Military Women's Affairs in 1995, and the armed forces, in 2005, introduced a 10-year strategy for enhancing the role of women. Women, while they are segregated as platoons and live in separate quarters from the male cadets, are integrated in the academic requirements of the course. The women must perform according to the same standards as men except for minor differences in physical fitness requirements. In 2015, the female Jordanian armed forces company for special tasks participated in the 15th NATO Days in Ostrava, the largest security show in Europe.²⁶

These two integration models reflect different ideals. The Canadian practice of integrating women in the military reflects Western ideals. The Jordanian practice, a different kind of women's integration model, fails to fulfill all of the conventional expectations of full integration of the West. Nevertheless, the latter has actually been putting women in varied roles that have yet to be realized in the armed forces of many other countries. The models work in their particular political and cultural context. Therefore, it is important to understand what constitutes "successful" integration of

²³ "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces"

²⁴ Jumana Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces," *Women in International Security*, November 28, 2017, <https://www.wiisglobal.org/2017/11/28/jordanian-womens-evolving-role-in-the-armed-forces/>

²⁵ Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

²⁶ Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

women in the armed forces, and understand whether the models of integration support democracy appropriately.

C. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review identifies various arguments both for and against women's participation in the armed forces. The opinions are classified into five broad groupings: women's roles; suitability and standards; rights versus readiness; cohesion, discipline, and morale; and public opinion.

1. Women's Roles

Mady Wechsler Segal sees that having women stay at home and men perform the warrior roles is the cultural ideal in most societies.²⁷ She discovered that German society during World War II labeled female soldiers as civilians despite the women wearing military uniforms and performing military tasks. Nancy W. Gallagher observes that people do not associate military roles with women, as the majority of women compared to men oppose the use of force and do not like militant international policies.²⁸ Van Creveld, who believes that women are a weakness in the military, argues that women would be best suited as "secretaries, bank-tellers, pharmacists, book-editors, bakers, psychologists, and wealth managers"—but not soldiers.²⁹

By contrast, Carreiras points to the evolution of women's roles in the armed forces.³⁰ The military has utilized women in different military roles mostly when there are insufficient numbers of men or during times of crisis. Subsequently, women's experience enables their use in the next crisis; however, as the mission terminates or the threat decreases, women's participation is limited and they are expected to return to their

²⁷ Mady Wechsler Segal, "Women in the Armed Forces" in *Women and the Use of Military Force*, ed. Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993), 81–83.

²⁸ Nancy W. Gallagher, "The Gender Gap in Popular Attitudes Toward the Use of Force," in *Women and the Use of Military Force*, ed. Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993), 23–37.

²⁹ Martin Van Creveld, "Military Women Are Not the Cure. They Are the Disease," Martin Van Creveld, November 24, 2016, <http://www.martin-van-creveld.com/military-women-not-cure-disease>.

³⁰ Carreiras, *Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*, 1.

traditional roles.³¹ Following this thought, Shelly S. McNulty quotes Kennedy who asserts: “In every time of crisis, women have served our country in difficult and hazardous ways.... women should not be considered a marginal group to be employed periodically only to be denied opportunity to satisfy their needs and aspirations when unemployment rises or a war ends.”³² Moreover, Tim Newark argues, “The true professionalism of ancient and medieval woman warlords, who fought for land and ambition as tenaciously and effectively as their male counterparts, has been largely forgotten.”³³ Recently, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, the other follow-up resolutions, and the subsequent policies of the regional organizations and respective countries’ action plans, all emphasized the importance of women’s roles in the military.³⁴ Yet, Carreiras observes that the demand for equal participation and role of women has resulted in two contradictory arguments: some charge that feminization of the armed forces has occurred, and others claim that the stereotypical view of the masculinization of warfare still exists.³⁵

2. Suitability and Standards

Skeptics suggest that physiological conditions and psychological differences make women unsuitable for military service. First, men are stronger than women. The average man can lift, carry, and run better than an average woman because an average man has 30 percent more muscle strength and aerobic capacity compared to an average woman; speed, strength, and stamina, the crucial attributes of combat soldiers, are found less in women, making them physically inferior.³⁶ Next, according to Jack Kenny,

³¹ Segal, “Women in the Armed Forces,” 81.

³² Shelly S. McNulty, “Myth Busted: Women Are Serving in Ground Combat Positions,” *The Air Force Law Review*, 68 (2012): 119–165, ProQuest.

³³ Amazons, Dahomey, Zenobia, Boudica, Eleanor, and Joan of Arc are some of the women warlords of the past; Tim Newark, *Women Warlords* (London: Blandford, 1989), 136.

³⁴ Sahana Dharmapuri, “Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Putting the Responsibility to Protect into Practice,” *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 4 (2012): 241–271, http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/1355_prot_implementing_1325_within_the_responsibility_to_protect_dharmapuri.pdf, 241–271.

³⁵ Carreiras, “Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies,” 2.

³⁶ Linell Letendre, “Women Warriors: Why the Robotics Revolution Changes the Combat Equation,” *Prism* 6, no. 1 (March 2016): 90–103, ProQuest.

pregnancy is a big issue that makes women unsuitable for combat. In the 1990s, a “military commission” discovered women to be three times more non-deployable compared to men, of which 47 percent of the cases were attributed to pregnancy.³⁷ Similarly, a RAND study in 1997 showed pregnancy as a major concern.³⁸ Likewise, Kenny cites the large number of cases of pregnancy among U.S. troops in Iraq that irritated Major General Anthony Cucolo, who said that he would court martial and jail the pregnant soldiers together with the male soldiers who made them pregnant.³⁹ In addition, research shows that military postpartum women have moderate-to-high levels of fatigue. The fatigue level increases when she returns to the normal workplace; combat for her is far too difficult, which makes her unsuitable.⁴⁰

Still leaning on the women-as-nurturers trope, other detractors claim that women lack a particular trait needed in combat: the killer instinct. Sophie Moura quotes Major Kellie McCoy, engineer company commander in the 82nd Airborne Division, who did three tours in Iraq and won two Bronze Stars: “I don’t care how emotionally prepared you are, I never get over seeing casualties.”⁴¹ Moreover, studies demonstrate that women’s operating styles are contradictory to the ethos of military as they are comfortable with structures that are less pyramidal, and they are prone to compromises and cannot assert their decisions.⁴²

The counterargument regarding physical weakness of women is that the use of technology has not only made it easier for the women but also necessitated their participation to increase operational effectiveness. Technological advancement supports

³⁷ Jack Kenny, “Wanted: Women in Combat for Wars without End,” *The New American* 30, no. 24 (December 2014): 24, ProQuest.

³⁸ Margaret C. Harrell and Laura L. Miller, *New Opportunities for Military Women: Effects Upon Readiness, Cohesion, and Morale* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1997), 97.

³⁹ Kenny, “Wanted: Women in Combat for Wars without End,” 24.

⁴⁰ Jacqueline D. Rychnovsky, “Postpartum Fatigue in the Active-duty Military Woman,” *JOGNN* 36, no. 1 (February 2007): 45, [https://www.jognn.org/article/S0884-2175\(15\)33649-2/pdf](https://www.jognn.org/article/S0884-2175(15)33649-2/pdf).

⁴¹ Sophie Moura, “Kellie McCoy: The Next General Petraeus,” *Marie Claire*, September 12, 2010, <https://www.marieclaire.com/career-advice/advice/a5360/kellie-mccoy>.

⁴² Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson, “The Impact of Women’s Use of Military Force” in *Women and the Use of Military Force*, ed. Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993), 212.

that today's warfare requires brain rather than muscle power.⁴³ May Dejevsky observes that combat is turning more technical and in turn the equipment, though complex, is smaller and lighter; therefore, she opines, women should not be held back simply because of illogical views about physical standards.⁴⁴ The technological advancement because of robotics will demonstrate improvement of fighting capability in gender-diverse situations and will necessitate more diversity.⁴⁵ Israel has already discovered that women better control unmanned ground vehicles compared to male counterparts because of their capability to focus on details for the employment of robotic systems in ground combat.⁴⁶

A RAND study in 1997 discovered that gender integration had a positive effect in increasing professional standards.⁴⁷ Likewise, a RAND study in 2002 demonstrated that women can embrace difficult physical work, and they perform about the same as men in skill trainings.⁴⁸ Similarly, a 2005 study made in Israel showed that women soldiers possessed superior skills and qualities required of a professional soldier.⁴⁹ Studies have also shown that despite the purported physiological disadvantage, through careful planning and utilization of appropriate training doctrines that accounts for the female's physical fitness and new technology, women are suitable to be integrated in almost all combat front line missions.⁵⁰ Michael Fallon, the then Secretary of State for Defence of

⁴³ Rosemarie Skaine, *Women at War: Gender Issues of Americans in Combat* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1999), 25.

⁴⁴ May Dejevsky, "Women Should Be Allowed into Combat Now: Why the Wait?" *The Guardian*, December 19, 2014, ProQuest.

⁴⁵ Linell Letendre, "Women Warriors: Why the Robotics Revolution Changes the Combat Equation," *Prism* 6, no. 1 (March 2016):90–103, ProQuest.

⁴⁶ Letendre, 90–103.

⁴⁷ Margaret C. Harrell and Laura L. Miller, *New Opportunities for Military Women: Effects upon Readiness, Cohesion, and Morale* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1997), 99–101.

⁴⁸ Margaret C. Harrell, Megan K. Beckett, Chiaying Sandy Chien and Jerry M. Sollinger, *The Status of Gender Integration in the Military: Analysis of Selected Occupations* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2002), xx.

⁴⁹ (1) Discipline and motivation, (2) maintaining alertness, (3) shooting, (4) managing tasks and organization, and (5) displaying knowledge and professionalism in weapon use; Ellen L. Haring, "Women in Battle: What Women Bring to the Flight," *Parameters* 43, no. 2 (2013): 27–28, ProQuest.

⁵⁰ Yoram Epstein, Ram Yanovich, Daniel S. Moran, Yuval Heled, "Physiological Employment Standards IV: Integration of Women in Combat Units Physiological and Medical Considerations," *European Journal of Applied Physiology* 113, no. 11 (November 2013): 2673–2690, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs00421-012-2558-7>.

UK, in December 2014 announced that all roles in the Royal Armed Forces would be determined by capability and not gender, in order to maximize the pool of candidates possessing necessary talents and energy.⁵¹ Lieutenant General Angus Campbell, commander of the Australian Army, who is the Special Forces officer, has argued for the suitability of women in combat units; the *Strategist* quotes the general, “I don’t have enough [women] and I want more [...] I can’t possibly imagine, therefore, that the Army is as smart as it could be and as it needs to be.”⁵²

Furthermore, though the occurrence of conventional warfare cannot be ruled out completely, the objective of military operations has changed largely from strict military objective to setting conditions for political outcomes. Most warfare is, and will be, stability peace operations and limited warfare.⁵³ In such operations, women in combat units can act as force multiplier in such areas as information collection and its analysis because of increased contacts with local women. Women’s participation helps further the civil-military relationship with the locals due to better understanding of local culture. Subsequently, women’s participation will help gain legitimacy and foster force protection.⁵⁴ M.C. Devilbiss argues, “[The] military need itself explains the suitability of women in the armed forces.”⁵⁵ Similarly, Robert Egnell argues that the tactical level innovations of the U.S. armed forces to utilize women in Iraq and Afghanistan in the form of Team Lioness, Gender Field Advisors (GFA), Cultural Support Teams (CST), Female Engagement Teams (FET), and Gender Focal Points (GFP) came into practice not because they were politically, socially, and legally correct but solely because of their

⁵¹ Michael Fallon, “The Armed Forces Will Open All Roles to Women - Including Combat,” *Telegraph*, December 19, 2014, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/defence/11305184/The-Armed-Forces-will-open-all-roles-to-women-including-combat.html>.

⁵² Brendan Nicholson, “ADF Women Are Already in Combat,” *ASPI*, March 24, 2017, <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/adf-women-already-combat>.

⁵³ Robert Egnell, “Gender Perspectives and Military Effectiveness: Implementing UNSCR 1325 and the National Action Plan on Women, Peace, Security,” *Prism* 6, no. 1 (March 2016):76, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/1042427.pdf>.

⁵⁴ Egnell, 77.

⁵⁵ M.C. Devilbiss, *Women and Military Service: A History, Analysis, and Overview of Key Issue* (Maxwell AFB, AL: Air University Press, 1990), xv.

suitability and necessity in the field.⁵⁶ More recently, the need to increase the pool of candidates due to the declining willingness of male youths to join the armed forces in some countries leaves no option but to increase women's participation.⁵⁷

3. Rights Versus Readiness

One argument, which comes from ancient teachings of Plato and Aristotle, is that when women entertain the full rights of citizenship, then women too are obligated to share the responsibility of nations' defense.⁵⁸ The argument continues that there should be no discrimination when both men and women serve in the armed forces. Rosemarie Skaine argues that all soldiers should be treated equally as "a soldier is a soldier."⁵⁹ In this spirit, Skaine quotes Mariner: "[M]y choice is to engage in the direct physical confrontation of the infantry, to close with and kill or capture the enemy, to hold the high ground. [...] I can do it. I want to do it. I should be given the chance to do it."⁶⁰ In the same way, Fitriani, Cooper, and Mathews argue that women possessing the required mental and physical capabilities and also the desire and motivation to serve in ground combat roles should have the right to do so.⁶¹ Moreover, as combat duty is generally a prerequisite for achieving promotions, scholars argue that it is the right of women in the armed forces to claim the same roles and opportunities as their male counterparts.⁶²

Other scholars argue that when it comes to national defense, combat readiness takes a higher priority over the rights of women to serve in the military. Linell Letendre quotes U.S. General Robert H. Barrow, who argues that since the military is continuously preparing for winning the next conflict through combat readiness, arguing for the rights

⁵⁶ Egnell, "Gender Perspectives and Military Effectiveness: Implementing UNSCR 1325 and the National Action Plan on Women, Peace, Security," 74.

⁵⁷ Carreiras, "Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies," 8.

⁵⁸ Rick V. Adside, "Women in Combat: Attitudes and experiences of U.S. Military Officers and Enlisted Personnel" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2001), <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/1013>.

⁵⁹ Skaine, *Women at War: Gender Issues of Americans in Combat*, 9.

⁶⁰ Skaine, 9–10.

⁶¹ Fitriani, "Women in Ground Close Combat," 14–24.

⁶² "A Documentary about Women in Combat," *Sisters in Arms*, accessed on May 10, 2018, <https://sistersinarms.ca>.

and opportunities of women makes no sense.⁶³ The Center for Military Readiness argues that integrating women in ground close combat impacts overall readiness by lowering the standards of the armed forces.⁶⁴ Van Creveld, who suggests that the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) should abolish conscription for women, demobilize all women, and re-enroll them as civilians, argues that women negatively affected the readiness of the force, and “the IDF’s days of greatness are definitely gone.”⁶⁵

Nonetheless, a RAND study found that gender had minimal negative impact on readiness compared to leadership and training.⁶⁶ Similarly, Taylor, the first Canadian military female officer, a major then, who led an infantry company in combat, believes that women’s integration in combat does not negatively affect readiness when militaries adhere to qualification standards.⁶⁷

4. Cohesion, Discipline, and Morale

The next body of literature argues that women’s presence affects the cohesion, discipline, and morale of the troops, negatively impacting overall combat effectiveness. Combat units rely on each other’s comradeship, which enables soldiers to take up life risking missions believing that their comrades will be there forever for them; this brotherhood spirit, as argued by Latendre, is undermined by integrating women into combat roles.⁶⁸ Lauren F. Serrano, herself a Marine, contends that the mission of the marine, to “locate, close with, and destroy the enemy by fire and maneuver and/or repel the enemy assault by fire and close combat,” is better confined to men. She argues, young men, raging with testosterone, are distracted by women and sex and therefore cannot

⁶³ Letendre, “Women Warriors: Why the Robotics Revolution Changes the Combat Equation,” 91.

⁶⁴ Charles R. Drennan, “Stakeholder Analysis of Integrating Women into Ground Combat Units,” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2014), 46–47, <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/42613>.

⁶⁵ Martin Van Creveld, “Armed But Not Dangerous: Women in the Israeli Military,” *War in History* 7, no. 1 (2000): 98.

⁶⁶ Harrell and Miller, *New Opportunities for Military Women*, 99–101.

⁶⁷ “A Documentary about Women in Combat,” *Sisters in Arms*, accessed on May 10, 2018, <https://sistersinarms.ca>.

⁶⁸ Ben Farmer, “Brave Choice: A Woman’s Right to Fight on Front Line,” *The Telegraph*, December 5, 2014, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/defence/11276970/brave-choice-a-womans-right-to-fight-on-front-line.html>.

focus on the mission.⁶⁹ Similarly, Taylor argues, in combat troops' violent profession, "The military throws young women at them and is shocked—shocked—to discover that men don't always behave like gentlemen."⁷⁰ She further argues that discipline and effectiveness are severely disrupted when young women and men work and live together in combat zones. Reuters reports 50 percent more cases of unplanned pregnancy in military women compared to non-military women.⁷¹ The implication is that the women are to blame; Ben Farmer believes that the integration of females in front line combat increases the chances of sexual abuse.⁷² A RAND study of 1997 shows that some causes for the decline in morale of the troops are: double standards for male and female, sexual harassment, dating, and having sexual relations.⁷³

On the other hand, scholars argue that women's presence in combat does not negatively affect cohesion and operational effectiveness but instead strengthens it. Recent research conducted on social integration in militaries suggests that, though brotherhood could have been important in past, professional competence overrides male bonding toward cohesion in combat units for the successful accomplishment of the task.⁷⁴ Carreiras opines, today women are already an active and important component of military forces; therefore, not including but restricting women from equal roles in combat damages cohesion.⁷⁵ She argues that cohesion flourishes by equal sharing of tasks and responsibility. Carnegie Mellon University, in partnership with Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), discovered that a group's collective intelligence continuously increases with the increase of women's participation because of the "social sensitivity" more prevalent in women. Indeed, as The Catalyst Information Center revealed,

⁶⁹ Kenny, "Wanted: Women in Combat for Wars Without End," 18.

⁷⁰ Kenny, 20.

⁷¹ Kenny, 20.

⁷² Farmer, "Brave Choice: A Woman's Right to Fight on Front Line."

⁷³ Harrell and Miller, *New Opportunities for Military Women*, 99–100.

⁷⁴ Carreiras, "Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies," 6.

⁷⁵ Carreiras, 7.

“Companies with the most women board directors had better financial performance than those with the least women board directors.”⁷⁶

King finds that for the effective fulfillment of the mission, training and competence bolster unit cohesion in troops irrespective of biological makeup.⁷⁷ Similarly, a study by the defense department in the UK found leadership to be a critical factor for the troop’s cohesion and effectiveness, which are not affected by women’s participation.⁷⁸ Similarly, Ellen L. Haring opines that military organizations ranging from small tactical team to joint staff would be more intelligent with an optimum number of women through better task cohesion.⁷⁹ GFA, CST, FET, and GFP made the American troops more capable during operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

5. Public Opinion

A number of studies observe that another obstacle to women’s participation in the military is negative public opinion on sending women to combat. The public at large associates men and women, respectively, with war and peace, and do not want to see women in combat even if they are capable, as they need to be protected.⁸⁰ It is hard for the public to face the death of women in combat and being taken prisoners of war. Moreover, women, unfortunately over a long time in history, have been considered as the spoils of war where the winners take the losers’ women.⁸¹ Dejevsky argues that women should be protected because of their natural disposition for giving birth and nurturing, and the death of a mother in combat would be very detrimental to her children.⁸²

⁷⁶ Ellen L. Haring, “Women in Battle: What Women Bring to the Flight,” *Parameters* 43, no. 2 (2013): 29, ProQuest.

⁷⁷ Egnell, “Gender Perspectives and Military Effectiveness: Implementing UNSCR 1325 and the National Action Plan on Women, Peace, Security,” 79.

⁷⁸ Paul Cawkill, Alison Rogers, Sarah Knight, and Laura Spear, *Women in Ground Close Combat Roles: The Experiences of Other Nations and a Review of the Academic Literature* (Wiltshire, UK: Defence Science and Technology Lab, 2009), 25–40.

⁷⁹ Haring, “Women in Battle: What Women Bring to the Flight,” 27–28.

⁸⁰ Carreiras, *Gender and the Military*, 5.

⁸¹ Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson, “The Impact of Women’s Use of Military Force” in *Women and the Use of Military Force*, ed. Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993), 213.

⁸² Dejevsky, “Women Should Be Allowed into Combat Now.

A study of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War showed that Israeli men soldiers tried to save and assist female soldiers rather than continuing with their attack. Therefore, after 1950, women were recruited only as administrators, medical assistants, and trainers until 1973, the end of the Yom Kippur War.⁸³ In response to the argument that some women may be able to deal with combat equally as well as men, if not better, Buchanan opines, “but that is true of some 13-, 14- and 15-year-old boys, and some 50- and 60-year old men. Yet we do not draft boys or men that age or send them into combat. Is this invidious discrimination based on age, or ageism?”⁸⁴

In contrast, Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson, citing various anecdotes, argue that public opinion on women taking part in combat has changed.⁸⁵ They argue that the public has accepted women not being family bound. According to them, associating women with non-violence and not recognizing their capability to command and use military force are unjust identifications. Citing examples of Margaret Thatcher and Winnie Mandela, they further argue that women have embraced violence by serving as commanders-in-chief in time of war and by leading troops during violent revolutions.⁸⁶ Likewise, Dejevsky argues that the Gulf War significantly demonstrated that women can be sent to war, including women who have small babies.⁸⁷ She further argues, as women have already gone into harm’s way and sacrificed their lives, there should be no more restriction for women to serve in combat.

Moreover, Egnell argues that though a practice may look odd in the beginning, it turns out fine later: the enrollment of African Americans and subsequently lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals in the armed forces invited great debates at the time of their enrollment. He argues that just like the population has adjusted to the presence of African Americans and LGBT individuals in the armed services, the public

⁸³ Kenny, “Wanted: Women in Combat for Wars without End,” 21.

⁸⁴ Kenny, 24.

⁸⁵ Mady Wechsler Segal, “Women in the Armed Forces” in *Women and the Use of Military Force*, ed. Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993), 81–93.

⁸⁶ Howes and Stevenson, “The Impact of Women’s Use of Military Force,” 208.

⁸⁷ Dejevsky, “Women Should Be Allowed into Combat Now.”

will also accept women in combat roles.⁸⁸ Meghann Myers quotes Spencer, a former Ranger school instructor and current strategist at West Point, who once believed infantry as solely a masculine task but no longer thinks so: “I definitely brought it in from society. We all go through things that shape what we think the military’s going to be and what war’s going to be.”⁸⁹

6. Conclusion of Literature Review

Serious concerns exist regarding women’s integration in the armed forces. Still, even in some of the forces that have been gender-integrated the longest, certain unease prevails at the prospect of women serving in the armed forces let alone in combat. Scholars are divided when it comes to integrating women in the military. Some scholars like Kovitz are totally against the integration of women in any capacity in the military. In the meantime, there are scholars who believe integrating women in the military makes it a smarter force, and the changing nature of conflict and the use of technology not only make women’s integration easier but also necessitates it for optimum output. The opponents of integrating women in military argue that military readiness is compromised while providing equal opportunities to women. Some researches, however, indicate that women’s participation increases work efficiency. Moreover, technological development in the military and the changing nature of warfare necessitates women’s participation in the armed forces. Furthermore, public opinion increasingly favors women joining the armed forces, and inequalities are facing constant legal challenges to provide equal opportunities to women.

D. RESEARCH DESIGN

This study consists of a qualitative case study based on analysis and evidence from scholarly articles and the cases. Specifically, the thesis analyzes, compares, and contrasts women’s participation in the Canadian and Jordanian armed forces, which

⁸⁸ Egnell, “Gender Perspectives and Military Effectiveness: Implementing UNSCR 1325 and the National Action Plan on Women, Peace, Security,” 75.

⁸⁹ Meghann Myers, “Women in the Infantry: How the Army Is Growing Its First Female Enlisted Grunts,” *Army Times*, May 21, 2017, <https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2017/05/21/women-in-the-infantry-how-the-army-is-growing-its-first-female-enlisted-grunts>.

represent two distinct models. That is, both countries have a long history of integrating women in combat, albeit in different ways. The study compares the policies on recruitment and training, including standards, employment, and deployment of women soldiers; retention policies; impact on operational readiness; and how these policies and practices support democratic values in the respective armed forces. Data sources for the study comprise secondary scholarly literature: books, reports, articles, newspaper articles, and recommendation papers presented in different workshops, conferences, and researches. This study also explores primary sources, mainly the websites of relevant governments and armed forces.

E. THESIS OVERVIEW AND CHAPTER OUTLINE

The thesis is divided into five chapters. This first chapter has presented the major research question and a literature review, as well as expressed the significance of the study, potential explanations and hypotheses, and research design. Chapter II discusses the history of women's participation in the military. It also discusses recent trends in women's participation in the armed forces. Chapter III explores the practices of integrating women into the Canadian armed forces. Chapter IV traces the integration of women into the Jordanian armed forces. Finally, Chapter V contains an analysis of the cases, conclusion and recommendations.

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II. BACKGROUND

Military service has largely been the purview of men. Nonetheless, women's involvement in the military has a very long and profound history. Over time, women have been intermittently involved in the military, although these women have received less priority and recognition than men. Still, especially in times of need, women have distinguished themselves with their military service. Devilbiss argues that both external—from the society in terms of equality—and internal—because of the need in military—factors have influenced the participation of women in the military.⁹⁰ The integration of women in the military around the world has taken different paths: some countries integrated women into their armed forces a long time ago, whereas this is a recent process in some countries; some countries practice full integration, while others do not allow women in direct combat; many countries have mixed-gender units—Canada is an example—while other countries have female-only units, for instance, Jordan.

A. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Scholars of women's participation in the armed forces write on the history of women at arms, from the myths of the Amazons to the recent achievement of women service members, both glorifying women and showing the evolution of women's participation in the armed forces.⁹¹ Throughout history, women have contributed immensely, in varied roles, during different types of conflicts, often getting less recognition for their heroics or even plain good work. Hacker argues that at least “from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, if not earlier, women in armies were not only normal, they were vital. Armies could not have functioned as well, perhaps could not have functioned at all without the service of women.”⁹²

⁹⁰ Devilbiss, *Women and Military Service: A History, Analysis, and Overview of Key Issue*, xv.

⁹¹ Devilbiss, *Women and Military Service*, 1–11; Tim Newark, *Women Warlords: An Illustrated History of Female Warriors* (London: Blandford, 1989), 9–136.

⁹² Carreiras, “Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies,” 7.

Since the Old Testament's mention of Deborah's leadership to the Gulf War and beyond, women have actively participated in combat.⁹³ Plato argued that both men and women must be tasked in the same way with regard to war.⁹⁴ Boudicca, the Celtic Warrior queen, was Britain's first woman warrior; she led the rebellion against the Roman Empire.⁹⁵ Furthermore, women have dressed as men to take part in war when their gender did not permit them to serve openly: Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine commanded a group of women disguised as men in the Second Crusade during the 12th century; similarly, in the 17th century, Queen Jinga of Angola, disguised as a man, led a war of liberation against the Portuguese.⁹⁶ Even during the American Revolution, Deborah Samson disguised herself as a man to enlist in the Massachusetts Regiment.⁹⁷ Women disguised as men took part in combat during the U.S. Civil War, as well. During the Civil War, however, many more women worked as nurses and in various administrative functions. When the Civil War ended in 1865, these female nurses were relieved of duty, and men resumed taking care of patients in hospitals during peacetime.⁹⁸

In World War I, a large number of women in Germany, Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom participated in war, in nursing and non-nursing roles.⁹⁹ In World War II, recruitment methods and women's roles diversified: U.S., British, and Soviet women, besides nursing, performed intelligence and counterintelligence activities. Russian, French, and Italian women, to name a few, became active members of resistance groups; Germany, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom conscripted women; and the United States, though it set necessary legal provisions for conscription of women in nursing duties, did not implement conscription because of the termination of war in

⁹³ Skaine, *Women at War: Gender Issues of Americans in Combat*, 46.

⁹⁴ Skaine, *Women at War*, 44–46,

⁹⁵ Fitriani, Cooper, and Mathews, "Women in Ground Close Combat," 14–24.

⁹⁶ Skaine, *Women at War*, 46.

⁹⁷ Shelly S. McNulty, "Myth Busted: Women Are Serving in Ground Combat Positions," *The Air Force Law Review*, 68 (2012): 119–165, ProQuest.

⁹⁸ Devilbiss, *Women and Military Service*, 2.

⁹⁹ Segal, "Women in the Armed Forces," 82.

1945.¹⁰⁰ In Germany, during World War II, some conscripted women wore uniforms, worked under military chains of command, and performed military functions; however, for social reasons, they maintained civilian status.¹⁰¹ Some Israeli women served in guerrilla activities and combat operations during the War of Independence; however, after the state of Israel formed, Israel did not allow women in direct combat until the mid-1970s because of cultural factors.¹⁰²

Women's participation in the U.S. armed forces picked up in the early 1970s, albeit with various restrictions. Since 1973, there has been a gradual diversification of roles for women in the military previously held by men.¹⁰³ Prior to January 1994, the "Risk Rule" in the United States restricted women going to the battlefield. The direct ground combat exclusion for women, following the Risk Rule until 2013, restricted women from serving in such combat units as infantry, armor, artillery, combat engineering, and special operations, below brigade level.¹⁰⁴ Since 2001, however, because of the large demand of troops for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, over half of all U.S. servicewomen served in those operations and over 40 percent of them got involved in combat operations, in contrast to the existing policy.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the military's need to engage with women in Muslim countries necessitated the use of women soldiers. Despite all these facts, the U.S. Marine Corps, in September 2015, with regard to a 2013 Department of Defense ruling requiring the military services to recruit women into combat units, requested a waiver in infantry and armor; the Defense Department denied the request.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ Segal, "Women in the Armed Forces," 83.

¹⁰¹ Segal, 83.

¹⁰² Segal, 84.

¹⁰³ Jomana Amara, "Roles and Challenges of Women in the Military," in *Psychosocial Interventions for Veterans: A Guide for the Non-Military Mental Health Clinician*, ed. N.D. Ainspan, C. Bryan, and W.E. Penk. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/42153>.

¹⁰⁴ Amara, "Roles and Challenges of Women in the Military,"

¹⁰⁵ Amara, "Roles and Challenges of Women in the Military"

¹⁰⁶ Linnel Letendre, "Women Warriors: Why the Robotics Revolution Changes the Combat Equation," *Inclusive Security*, March 2016, <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/publication/women-warriors-why-the-robotics-revolution-changes-the-combat-equation/>.

The United States and the United Kingdom, in policy, did not integrate women in close combat roles during the first decade of the 21st century, even after women had long been participating in combat in more than a dozen other countries.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, India, the largest democracy, even today recruits women in officer positions only in limited occupational specialties.¹⁰⁸ Denmark and the Netherlands permitted women to enroll in combat roles in 1978 and 1979, respectively.¹⁰⁹ In 1985, Norway was the first NATO country to let women to work in all military occupations, which included submarines; even Canada, though it had opened all combat related occupations to women in 1989, opened submarines to them only in 2001.¹¹⁰

The United States and the United Kingdom are also making progress in integrating women into combat roles. In April 2015, the first two female officers graduated from the U.S. Army Ranger School, completing a demanding course.¹¹¹ In April 2017, in the United Kingdom, a female officer, for the first time, got commissioned into an armored regiment.¹¹² Saudi Arabia, surprisingly, as part of “Vision 2030,” opened the armed forces to women starting in February 2018.¹¹³ Currently, women hold prominent positions in the armed forces around the world. For example, Yoko Azuma, a Japanese woman, commands a warship squadron;¹¹⁴ U.S. Air Force General, Lori J.

¹⁰⁷ Fantz “Women in Combat: More Than a Dozen Nations Already Doing It.”

¹⁰⁸ “India: Combat Role for Women in Indian Army,” *Entity*, July 22, 2017, <https://Search.Proquest.Com/Docview/1922232547?Openurlrefid=Info:Xri/Sid:Primo&Accountid=12702>.

¹⁰⁹ Fitriani, Cooper, and Ron Mathews, “Women in Ground Close Combat,” 14–24.

¹¹⁰ “A Documentary about Women in Combat,” *Sisters in Arms*, accessed April 20, 2018, <https://sistersinarms.ca/>.

¹¹¹ “12 Female Soldiers Have Now Graduated Army Ranger School,” *Military.com*, April 9, 2018, <https://www.Military.com/Daily-News/2018/04/09/10-Female-Soldiers-Have-Now-Graduated-Army-Ranger-School.Html>.

¹¹² Farmer, “Theresa May Salutes First Female British Army Officer Bound for Frontline Combat Job.”

¹¹³ “Saudi Arabia Now Opens Doors of Military Jobs To Women,” *Tribune*, February 23, 2018, <https://Tribune.Com.Pk/Story/1643108/3-Saudi-Arabia-Now-Opens-Doors-Military-Jobs-Women>.

¹¹⁴ “Japan’s Navy Appoints First Woman to Command Warship Squadron,” Reuters, March 6, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-defence-femalecommander/japans-navy-appoints-first-woman-to-command-warship-squadron-idUSKCN1GI0VC>.

Robinson, is currently the commander of North American Aerospace Defense Command and United States Northern Command.¹¹⁵

B. RECURRING CONCERNS IN INTEGRATING WOMEN IN MILITARY

There are twelve major questions, as per Devilbiss, that have been present regarding women's participation in the armed forces:

- a. Should women be in the military at all?
- b. If they are to be in the military, should they be given full military status (rank, benefits and privileges, duties and obligations)?
- c. What kind of military training should they get?
- d. What kinds of military tasks should they perform?
- e. What should be the relationship between women and weapons?
- f. How many women should there be in military organizations?
- g. How high (to what rank) are women permitted to progress in the organizations?
- h. How well will military men and women work together (Especially, will men take orders from women)?
- i. What effects will women's biology have on an organization based on men's biology?
- j. Who will monitor the interests and concerns of women in the military?
- k. Can women (as individuals or as a group) be incorporated into the brotherhood of war?
- l. Will women change the ethos of military organizations?¹¹⁶

Recently, the opportunities for women in military have increased significantly worldwide; however, some restrictions, notably involvement in direct combat, still

¹¹⁵ "General Lori J. Robinson, USAF: Commander, North American Aerospace Defense Command and United States Northern Command," *U.S. Northern Command*, accessed on May 15, 2018, <http://www.northcom.mil/Leadership/Article-View/Article/835186/general-lori-j-robinson>.

¹¹⁶ Devilbiss, *Women and Military Service*, 61–62.

exist.¹¹⁷ It is evident that the demand for equal participation of women in the armed forces has divided commentators into two groups. A group of people worry that the feminization of the armed forces has occurred, whereas, the other group claims that there is a continued need to fight against the stereotypic view regarding masculinization in the armed forces.¹¹⁸

The women in the armed forces still have only a token representation and is not evenly distributed. More than two-thirds of military women (70.4 percent) serve in support and medical functions, 17.5 percent serve in technical areas, and only seven percent of women occupy operational positions.¹¹⁹ Carreiras reveals that in 2000 NATO countries as a whole had 12.2 percent, 10.2 percent, and 6.3 percent women, respectively, in Air Force, Navy, and Army.¹²⁰ In the 2000 NATO data, the female officers outnumbered female NCOs plus the female enlisted in the U.S., United Kingdom, Greece, and Czech Republic.¹²¹ By 2000, the overwhelming majority of armed forces did not have quantitative restrictions; however, the logistical considerations (lack of women-friendly infrastructure) and special skills requirements for some positions, which women could not gain because of functional restrictions, limited the number of women joining the armed forces.¹²²

Melissa T. Brown through the analysis of 30 years of military recruiting advertisements argues that the advertisements reinforce the links between the military and masculinity.¹²³ Furthermore, RAND research of 2017 finds that the resources available to commanders of the recruiting services were insufficient to recruit more

¹¹⁷ Carreiras, "Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies," 1.

¹¹⁸ Carreiras, "Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies," 2.

¹¹⁹ Carreiras, 199.

¹²⁰ Carreiras, 101

¹²¹ Carreiras, 111.

¹²² Carreiras, 102–103

¹²³ Melissa T. Brown, "A Woman in the Army Is Still a Woman: Representations of Women in U.S. Military Recruiting Advertisements for the All-Volunteer Force," *Journal of Women Politics and Policy*, May 11, 2012, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2012.667737>.

women through increased advertising.¹²⁴ It also discovered that the majority of female recruits prefer women recruiters rather than men. Similarly, it recommended that women in the armed forces be made visible to the public in order to generate interest among women who may not have earlier considered joining the armed forces.¹²⁵

Physical fitness standards during recruitment and training come into frequent discussion. Some countries are continuing with the same standards that existed prior to the integration of women, whereas some have different sets of requirements for females and males. Not surprisingly, the more gender-neutral an armed force, the more gender-neutral are its physical fitness requirements.¹²⁶

C. PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL ARENA

Women have represented their country and military in different international forums. They have led combat units in battle, and women have formed crucial elements of peacekeeping forces. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 puts emphasis on women's participation in peacekeeping missions. We have seen earlier how women took part in World War I and World War II, and how the role of women in combat achieved prominence when women were deployed in Afghanistan and Iraq—not for political reasons but because of ground necessity.

D. SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND AMBIGUITIES IN MILITARY

Women because of their minority and limited roles in the military are considered “second class citizens.”¹²⁷ The infamous Tailhook Convention, in which male participants abused female participants at a convention in the Hilton Hotel in Las Vegas in 1991, demonstrates how male members of the military treat their female

¹²⁴ Douglas Yeung, Christina E. Steiner, Chaitra M. Hardison, Lawrence M. Hanser, Kristy N. Kamarck, *Recruiting Policies and Practices for Women in the Military* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2017), 53.

¹²⁵ Yeung et al., 58.

¹²⁶ Drennan, “Stakeholder Analysis of Integrating Women into Ground Combat Units,” 46–47.

¹²⁷ Kristen W. Culler, “The Decision to Allow Military Women into Combat Positions: A Study in Policy and Politics,” (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2000), 35.

counterparts.¹²⁸ Military in most countries is a separate entity confined to itself and many people do not know about its culture and attitudes, especially toward women. The armed forces in the meantime portray military as a safe environment for women and claim they take cases of sexual exploitation and abuse as a form of grave misconduct. The seriousness in handling the cases of sexual exploitation and abuse in the meantime could invite the situation whereby male commanders avoid having female soldiers as staff and assistants.¹²⁹ There is another dimension to women's integration in military that stirs resentment and hostility among their brothers in arms: some male soldiers feel that they get unfair treatment compared to their female counterparts, and they think that women take undue advantages because of their gender.¹³⁰

E. LEGAL APPEALS FOR INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN MILITARY

In 1989, the Canadian military was obliged to change its existing policy on recruitment because of the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal ruling regarding discrimination against women, which ultimately led to full integration of women into the CAF.¹³¹ Similarly, in 1994, Alice Miller appealed to the court, the Israeli High Court of Justice, demanding the opportunity to compete for all military positions; the decision ultimately went in her favor.¹³² Likewise, all German military positions opened to women in 2000 after the ruling of the European Court of Justice.¹³³ In November 2012, in the United States, Major Hegar, Captain Farrell, Captain Bedell, and Staff Sergeant Hunt appealed to the San Francisco Federal Court demanding removal of an unconstitutional provision restricting women from combat roles.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ Culler, "The Decision to Allow Military Women into Combat Positions: A Study in Policy and Politics," 35.

¹²⁹ Harrell and Miller, *New Opportunities for Military Women*, 100.

¹³⁰ Mpho C. Mophuting, "Expanding the Shield and Facing the Challenges: Integration of Women in Botswana Defense Force (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2003), 24–29, <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/1084>

¹³¹ Fitriani, Cooper, and Ron Mathews, "Women in Ground Close Combat," 14–24.

¹³² Fitriani, Cooper, and Mathews, "Women in Ground Close Combat," 14–24.

¹³³ Fitriani, Cooper, and Mathews, 14–24.

¹³⁴ Fitriani, Cooper, and Mathews, 14–24.

F. ISSUES FURTHERING WOMEN'S INTEGRATION

A number of issues favor the integration of women in the military. Researches show time is an important factor for increased integration of women in military but not adequate by itself. Carreiras opines, "The integration of women in military reveals a critical situation, when a pre-existing order is questioned, threatened, or it deviates from its main organizing principle."¹³⁵ She reveals through her research that time alone does not boost the integration of women; the representation of women increases or the discrimination against women decreases when other factors contribute over a long period of time, for example, the "qualified presence" of women in and outside military and not just their simple presence. The militaries around the world could have reflected the variation in qualified presence of women in society at the turn of the 21st century: the numerical representation of women then ranged from zero percent (Italy as of 2000) to 14 percent (United States) among NATO countries.¹³⁶

Volunteer service favors women's integration in military.¹³⁷ Generally, women have a lower representation in militaries that practice conscription because conscription involves males only; Israel is an exception as it practices conscription of both sexes. Therefore, in many countries, the number of women in military has increased with the start of an all-volunteer force, as in the United States.

Democratic values and legal provisions are favorable for the integration of women in the military; however, these values alone are not enough. More women are integrated in militaries of countries with democratic values.¹³⁸ This is due to the fact that the military reflects the democratic values inherent in those countries, values providing equal rights to women in all the armed services. Likewise, judicial and legislative provisions promote the integration process, but they alone are not enough. The 1989 change in Canadian legislation, for example, did not invite an influx of women into the

¹³⁵ Carreiras, *Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*, 198.

¹³⁶ Carreiras, 199.

¹³⁷ Carreiras, 199.

¹³⁸ Carreiras, *Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*, 190.

Canadian military let alone that country's Special Forces. In 2013, women represented merely 13 percent of total Canadian armed forces, with just 2.4 percent in combat roles.¹³⁹

Good civil-military relations help integration of women in military and vice versa. Carreiras, acknowledging the gender issue as a battleground for opinions in the civil-military relationship, argues that "both military effectiveness and congruence between the armed forces and democratic social values can better be achieved if gender issues are addressed and gender military integration is promoted."¹⁴⁰ The military force has to ensure military effectiveness so that they can successfully achieve the mission in different strategic environments; in the meantime, the military should reflect the values of the society which pays the military for its security.¹⁴¹ Moreover, politicians do not want to spend more on defense that does not reflect the society because of the fear of probable loss in elections. Opponents of integrating women in the military argue that the military's role, which is to win wars, is not to provide equal rights to every citizen, and the military is not "a laboratory for social experimentation."¹⁴² Yet, not every country needs to experiment as the best practices in such other countries as Denmark, Norway, and Canada, have set precedents for integrating women in the military.

Researchers suggest that male bonding is no more a pre-requisite for unit cohesion, but professional competence of each individual affects unit cohesion significantly.¹⁴³ The experiences of women serving in Iraq and Afghanistan clearly indicate that it is competence and not gender that affects the unit's performance. On March 20, 2005, Army Sgt. Leigh Ann Hester led a counter-ambush when her convoy was attacked by Iraqi insurgents, which earned her the Silver Star, a gallantry medal. Similarly, a 2007 RAND report notes several women receiving commendations and the

¹³⁹ Fritiani, Cooper, and Matthews, "Women in Ground Close Combat," 19.

¹⁴⁰ Carreiras, *Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies*, 2.

¹⁴¹ Carreiras, 3.

¹⁴² Carreiras, 4.

¹⁴³ Carreiras, *Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies*, 6.

Combat Action Badge.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, advances in technology and the fact that women often fare better than men at desk jobs in the military—for instance, launching missiles remotely—necessitate a correction in the proportioning of “brains and brawn” in military services.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, in 2016, U.S. Defense Secretary Ashton Carter, with reference to some physical standards followed by the armed forces, correctly commented that “some standards are antiquated and do not account for the realities of modern warfare.”¹⁴⁶

The need to take part in stability and peacekeeping operations also necessitates enrollment of women. The deployment of women in such operations enhances the military’s access to the local population, which subsequently aids information collection. Women also better understand the sufferings of women and children, who are the main victims of conflict. In this connection, the United Nations believes that women work as force multiplier in its peacekeeping operations.¹⁴⁷

Despite the merit of all the aforementioned drivers, political will is one of the important factors for the integration of women in the military. This factor often plays an important role in convincing unwilling military leadership to incorporate women in the armed forces—especially in combat roles. For example, in response to U.S. Defense Secretary Ashton Carter’s order to open all combat positions to women, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joseph Duford Jr., said, “without enthusiasm, that he would enforce Carter’s mandate.”¹⁴⁸

In light of such outwardly tepid enthusiasm, making military life more visible to potential women recruits helps further the integration of women in military. Opportunities in the military and life in the military remain largely unknown to most people, more so to women. Even in countries that are open to women joining the armed forces, potential candidates share some reservations about joining the military, for

¹⁴⁴ Miranda S. Spivack, “Women in Combat,” *CQ Researcher* 26, no. 19 (May 13, 2016): 448.

¹⁴⁵ Spivack, “Women in Combat,” 436–437.

¹⁴⁶ Spivack, “Women in Combat,” 437.

¹⁴⁷ Carreiras, *Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies*, 6.

¹⁴⁸ Spivak, “Women in Combat,” 448.

example, sexual exploitation and abuse, career uncertainty, and many unknown factors of military culture. Therefore, the objective of any military that aims to further integrate women is to target the mass of women who did not consider joining the military earlier. To this end, a RAND Corporation study recommends increasing the number of female recruiters, placing them correctly, and devising good plans and programs in order to maximize their effectiveness. This should increase the visibility of female recruiters and facilitate more women recruiters gaining greater access to more women recruits.¹⁴⁹ To this end, the Women in Force Program launched by the Canadian military is a step further in informing women about the role of women in military.

G. CONTESTED ISSUES FOR INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN MILITARY

The integration of women in the military, especially in combat roles, remains a contested issue and will remain so for the foreseeable future. Associating “just Warriors” to men and “beautiful souls” to women¹⁵⁰ may not strictly be true; however, “emphasis on ascription by gender, cultural support to traditional divisions of labor, religious fundamentalism, and traditional family forms will thus limit women’s military roles.”¹⁵¹ Similarly, some people vehemently oppose women’s participation in the military; some are tolerant of women joining in certain occupations in the armed forces; and some favor full integration of women in the military.¹⁵² Similarly, there is no single opinion among the feminists: revolutionary feminists argue for the “right to fight” whereas pacifists, or the anti-militarists, oppose women joining the military.¹⁵³

More specifically, research conducted by Rick V. Abside shows that around half of the surveyed military personnel are opposed to women taking part in combat. Abside

¹⁴⁹ Douglas Yeung, Christina E. Steiner, Chaitra M. Hardison, Lawrence M. Hanser, Kristy N. Kamarack, *Recruiting Policies and Practices for Women in the Military: Vies from the Filed* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2017), xi–xiv.

¹⁵⁰ Carreiras, “Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies,” 5.

¹⁵¹ Carreiras, “Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies,” 5–16.

¹⁵² Carreiras, 176.

¹⁵³ Carreiras, 176.

further reveals that most junior enlisted prefer a male-only force. Abside's inference from the research is that in the case of expanding women's role in combat there should be one standard, gender-neutral and age-neutral, for all personnel to make the military a fair institution.¹⁵⁴ In other words, the other dimension of concern for some stakeholders is not women joining in combat when they meet standards equal to men but when, in the name of integrating women, the standards could be reduced, which would ultimately disrupt unit cohesion.¹⁵⁵ Charles R. Drennan identifies that even some female veterans and service members, such as Captain Katie Peronio and Jude Eden, oppose the integration of women in ground combat units.¹⁵⁶

Similarly, politicians do not have a single voice while dealing with integration issues of women in military. Kristen W. Culler has observed that elderly members of Congress generally support the status quo, while the younger members are supportive of integrating women in ground combat units.¹⁵⁷ Drennan opines,

The fundamental differences between the extreme positions of the stakeholder groups suggest that clear agreement among these groups is unlikely. Extreme proponents will continue to push for equal rights and opportunities for women, framing their arguments around fairness; extreme opponent-stakeholders will continue to frame their arguments around effectiveness, claiming that the needs of the military take priority over agendas pushing social change and equality. Successful implementation will require acceptance of some version of a problem and solution frame by a consensus group.¹⁵⁸

Different countries are going through different levels of socialization. As the level of socialization—here granting equal opportunities to women—differs in different countries, the modalities of integration of women in militaries also differ. In Canada, for

¹⁵⁴ Rick V. Adise, "Women in Combat: Attitude and Experiences of U.S. Military Officers and Enlisted Personnel," 98.

¹⁵⁵ Yeung, Steiner, Hardison, Hanser, and Kamarack, *Recruiting Policies and Practices for Women in the Military: Views from the Field*, 21.

¹⁵⁶ Drennan, "Stakeholder Analysis of Integrating Women into Ground Combat Units," 87.

¹⁵⁷ Culler, "The Decision to Allow Military Women into Combat Positions: A Study in Policy and Politics," 99.

¹⁵⁸ Drennan, "Stakeholder Analysis of Integrating Women into Ground Combat Units," 88–89.

example, the need to empower women received prominence in 1970 while this was evident in Saudi Arabia only in 2017, when the country launched its Vision 2030 initiative. The military impacts the society, and the society also impacts the military; however, only limited reform can be successful, without causing much shock in society.

Technology impacts the military in many ways as well. The technological advancement through robotics is expected to do away with the debate that the integration of women would adversely affect the military's effectiveness; the use of robotics in the hands of servicewomen would further the effectiveness of the military.¹⁵⁹ On the other hand, technology reduces the burden of manpower as a whole reducing the number of openings to personnel, men and female alike. Moreover, not all countries have same technological advantage in their military.

It is universal that all militaries' primary task is ensuring the territorial integrity of their respective countries. The level of state threat to different countries varies, however, and the militaries around the world are thus practicing different roles and military operations other than war—anti-terrorism, peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, nature conservation, development work, etc. The general rule in the military is assignment of troops to task. Hence the task the military carries would also determine its composition, including gender integration. “Anthropometric and physiological factors place the average female soldiers at a disadvantage relative to male soldiers in most aspects of physical performance.”¹⁶⁰ Aerobic and anaerobic fitness superiority together with an aggressive nature make men more suitable for Special Forces types of operations, but the same qualities are not necessary for peacekeeping duties. Therefore, “the Marine Corps is by necessity the most restrictive of the four branches due essentially to the special make-up of its forces.”¹⁶¹ Besides the lack of required capability in most women, the other argument is: “what would women contribute to a rifle platoon or a SEAL team? The

¹⁵⁹ Letendre, “Women Warriors: Why the Robotics Revolution Changes the Combat Equation,” 91.

¹⁶⁰ Epstein, Yanovich, Moran, and Heled, “Physiological Employment Standards IV: Integration of Women in Combat Units Physiological and Medical Considerations,” 2673.

¹⁶¹ James Arthur Tamplin, “Women in the Military: A Question of Utilization,” 81, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/36710549.pdf>.

Short answer is: distraction, dissension, and distrust. The longer answer has to do with cohesion, bonding, and the vulnerability of men.”¹⁶²

The earlier precedents may not amply justify the reasons for integration of women in the military. Women have taken part in revolutionary warfare; however, women taking part in revolutionary wars cannot be justified for women taking part in combat now because at that time it was the necessity—saving a male for a more important task. Similarly, the white and black issue, in which the society accepted blacks to form part of military—in such countries as the United States—does not equate to the issue of men and women because the attraction factor between women and men.¹⁶³

H. CONCLUSION

Women’s participation in the armed forces can be traced back to time immemorial. Yet, women have been on and off board—the armed forces—whereby women after a conflict ended typically reverted to traditional roles. Since the late 20th century, the participation of women in the armed forces has been increasing because of both external and internal factors, both from society and from within the military. The differences in societies (the cultural practices) ended up in having different forms and levels of women’s integration in the armed forces. The legal provisions in different countries have helped further the integration process but not without opposition. The debate regarding the integration of women in the armed forces will continue to exist. The parties that demand increased participation by women in the military will continue to demand more gender-neutral provisions in the military. At the same time, the technological development in the military and its divergent roles makes it imperative for the armed forces to enlist women in its services. The roles of women in Iraq and Afghanistan, together with their roles in peacekeeping missions, highlight the importance of integration of women in the military. Despite these advances, stereotypes still exist and discourage women joining the military. Moreover, military jobs being unfamiliar to

¹⁶² Anna Simons, “Women in Combat Units: It’s Still a Bad Idea,” 2. *PARAMETERS*, US Army War College Quarterly—Summer 2001 <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/36403>.

¹⁶³ Simons, “Women in Combat Units: It’s Still a Bad Idea.”

women, on one hand, and the issues of sexual exploitation and abuse, on the other, deter women joining the military. Furthermore, up to the present, in many militaries, the training standards, the recruiting advertisements, and working environment have favored men rather than women in the military, resulting in token representation of women in the military.

III. WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

Women in the Canadian military have overcome many restrictions and served with and in the armed forces since late 1800s, from nurses to all military occupations in the Canadian Defense Force. Canadian servicewomen have already commanded combat units, ships, air squadrons, and a Joint Task Force—at equal levels to their male counterparts.¹⁶⁴ Canada is a true leader with respect to women’s integration in the military. The Canadian military reflects the Western ideals of society in which people work together in varied fields irrespective of their gender; the Canadian military practices full integration with mixed gender units.

Nevertheless, this situation did not happen overnight. Initially, women performed the traditional role of nurses. Subsequently, they worked in administrative tasks, for example, cooks to free men to take up more combat-related roles. Later, women worked in combat support and combat service support units that would not involve direct combat with the enemy. Ultimately, they served in combat units and took part in actual combat. The various policies and strategies that the CAF adopted along its history of promoting women’s participation in the armed services, for example, the policies regarding recruitment, promotion, and retention; the policies to curb sexual exploitation and abuse; and the review of training requirements in terms of the field requirement have made the CAF a gender-friendly force.

A. HISTORY OF WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN THE CAF

The traditions for the present-day CAF derive from the colonial militias of the earlier French and British settlements. The Regular Force, then the Permanent Active Militia, was formed in 1871 to preserve the armament of Fort Henry in Ontario and the

¹⁶⁴ “Canada Remembers Women in the Canadian Military,” Veterans Affairs Canada, accessed on July 21, 2018, <http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/those-who-served/women-and-war/militar>.

Citadel in Québec, when the British left Canada.¹⁶⁵ The Canadian society and its military thus follow the liberal English and French traditions.

Canadian servicewomen have been serving for over two centuries both in civilian and military capacities. In 1885, in Northwest Rebellion, a violent five-month insurgency by Métis militants supported by Aboriginal allies against the Canadian government, women in civilian status served as nurses in the Canadian military; similarly, nurses operated during 1898–1902 in support of the forces of the Yukon.¹⁶⁶ In World War I, around 3,000 “Nursing Sisters,” also called “blue birds” because of their dresses, served in the Canadian Army Medical Corps; in World War II, around 4,500 nursing sisters were on attachment to the army, navy, and air force, and among them, around 70 percent served overseas.¹⁶⁷ During this time, Canadian women, who wore military uniforms, held officer positions unlike in other allied countries.¹⁶⁸ Veterans Affairs Canada states that these female officers, addressed as “Ma’am” or “Sister,” commanded respect from troops.¹⁶⁹

Unlike in World War I, as per the Veterans Affairs Canada, during World War II, the military women also served in other military roles raising the enlistment of Canadian women to 50,000 in total in the army, navy, and air force.¹⁷⁰ During World War II, all the branches of the CAF set up female departments: the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) was the first branch of the CAF to open a female division on July 2, 1941; the Canada Women’s Army Corps (CWAC) was created on August 13, 1941; and Women’s Royal Canadian Naval Service opened on July 31, 1942.¹⁷¹ Initially, women were trained for

¹⁶⁵ “Frequently Asked Questions,” National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, accessed on March 15, 2018, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/about/faq.page>.

¹⁶⁶ “Historical Milestones of Women in the Canadian Armed Forces,” National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, March 7, 2018, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/news/article.page?doc=historical-milestones-of-women-in-the-canadian-armed-forces/izkjr17h>.

¹⁶⁷ Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canada Remembers Women in the Canadian Military.”

¹⁶⁸ Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canada Remembers Women in the Canadian Military.”

¹⁶⁹ Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canada Remembers Women in the Canadian Military.”

¹⁷⁰ Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canada Remembers Women in the Canadian Military.”

¹⁷¹ Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canada Remembers Women in the Canadian Military.”

support and administrative duties; however, with the progress of the war, women later worked even in mechanical and electrical fields. Many women in the RCAF were also stationed in the UK along with Canadian squadrons. During World War II, however, the women in the RCAF did not train as flying instructors reflecting the slogan: “We serve that men may fly.”¹⁷² Similarly, the Veterans Affairs Canada notes, the CWAC members initially worked as kitchen employees and medical assistants; their tasks expanded to those of drivers, mechanics, and radar operators; and subsequently, three companies of CWAC female soldiers served abroad in 1943. The Women’s Royal Canadian Naval Service personnel, popularly known as the “Wrens,” like their British counterparts, worked ultimately as on-shore radar operators and technicians, though they too started as cooks and administrators.¹⁷³

The CAF closed the women’s divisions when the World War II ended. The onset of the Korean War amidst the Cold War, and the shortage of personnel, soon led to the recruitment of 5,000 women, who served as nursing sisters both in Canada and in Korea. The number of women in the military dropped because of the technological development that reduced the burden on personnel. Up to the mid-1960s, the CAF exercised the limit of 1,500 female personnel, which was around one and a half percent of its total military strength.¹⁷⁴ The situation became favorable to women in the late 1960s, when the modernized CAF started enrolling women in previously male-dominated tasks,¹⁷⁵ but not in combat.

The Canadian government has been mandating its armed forces to mirror the diversity in Canadian society.¹⁷⁶ In order to accomplish that, in 1970, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women came up with six recommendations to be adopted by the Canadian military:

¹⁷² Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canada Remembers Women in the Canadian Military.”

¹⁷³ Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canada Remembers Women in the Canadian Military.”

¹⁷⁴ National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, “Historical Milestones of Women in the Canadian Armed Forces.”

¹⁷⁵ Veterans Affairs Canada, “Canada Remembers Women in the Canadian Military.”

¹⁷⁶ “Women in the Military,” *Historica Canada*, accessed on July 21, 2018, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/women-in-the-military/>.

- a. standardize military enrollment criteria;
- b. establish equal pension benefits for women and men;
- c. allow women to attend Canadian military colleges;
- d. open all military trades and officer classifications to women; and
- e. remove regulations prohibiting the enrollment of married women and requiring the release of servicewomen upon the birth of a child.¹⁷⁷

In 1989, Canada was obliged to change its existing policy regarding enrollment of women because the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal required the CAF to fully integrate women in the military.¹⁷⁸ As a result, Canada opened all combat roles to women in 1989, with the exception of submarine positions, which opened in 2001. Subsequently, the participation of the women in the CAF increased and, as of April 2018, women comprise 15.4 percent of CAF.¹⁷⁹

Various advisory groups and researches helped further the cause of gender integration in the CAF. The Minister's Advisory Board has helped change beliefs about women's participation in the armed forces; the "adoption of not only a policy, but also a belief in the need for a respectful workplace."¹⁸⁰ In 1998, the Army Lessons Learned Centre stated in a report that to maintain cohesion in a mixed-gender unit "knowledgeable, proactive, and effective leadership" was fundamental, and the members were expected to achieve an operationally required standard. The leadership worked accordingly, and the Canadian Human Rights Commission, in 1999, stated that the commission was satisfied with the commitment of the leadership toward gender integration and further external monitoring of the military in that respect was not necessary.¹⁸¹ Moreover, the CAF considers that "there is no formal requirement to

¹⁷⁷ National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, "Historical Milestones of Women in the Canadian Armed Forces."

¹⁷⁸ Fitriani, Cooper, and Mathews, "Women in Ground Close Combat," 19.

¹⁷⁹ Murray Brewster, "Canadian Military Falling Well Short of Its Target for Recruiting Women," *CBC*, June 5, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/armed-forces-women-recruiting-1.4691356>.

¹⁸⁰ Cawhill, Rogers, Knight, and Spear, "Women in Ground Close Combat Roles," 17.

¹⁸¹ Cawhill, Rogers, Knight, and Spear, "Women in Ground Close Combat Roles," 18.

continue monitoring the effects of gender integration on operational performance or team cohesion, because the principle is no longer considered to be an issue.”¹⁸²

The public and military ultimately welcomed the integration of women in the CAF, though the integration invited criticism in the beginning. Marcia Kovitz, who wrote an article “The Enemy within: Female Soldiers in the Canadian Forces” in *Canadian Woman Studies* in 2000, considers femininity the antithesis of soldiering.¹⁸³ Kovitz argues that “the military’s operational effective is aimed at the enemy [...] and the enemy can be said to represent whatever might impact negatively on the military, from within or without, women come to represent, and thereby to embody, the Enemy itself.”¹⁸⁴ One of the studies commissioned in 2004 assessed the acceptance of women in military: it found that the higher the rank, the higher was the level of acceptance; the combat units were less welcoming to women; and women compared to men seemed more enthusiastic.¹⁸⁵ The Canadian public responded to the incident of May 2006, in which Captain Nichola Goddard got killed in Afghanistan, as a soldier being killed rather than as a woman being killed. This incident highlights the fact that Canadian public has accepted women in combat.¹⁸⁶ Likewise, Corporal Kyle Schmidinger, talking about his confidence in female officers during his deployment in Afghanistan, told the Associated Press that he was undeniably satisfied with his female commander, Captain Ashley Collette.¹⁸⁷ He recounted that the captain did no less than any male commander would do in fighting and caring for the soldiers.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸² Cawhill, Rogers, Knight, and Spear, “Women in Ground Close Combat Roles,” 18.

¹⁸³ Marcia Kovitz, “The Enemy Within: Female Soldiers in the Canadian Forces,” *Canadian Woman Studies: Downsview* 19, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 36–41, ProQuest.

¹⁸⁴ Kovitz, “The Enemy Within,” 1.

¹⁸⁵ Cawhill, Rogers, Knight, and Spear, “Women in Ground Close Combat Roles,” 19.

¹⁸⁶ Cawhill, Rogers, Knight, and Spear, 19.

¹⁸⁷ Spivack, “Women in Combat,” 447.

¹⁸⁸ Spivack, 447.

B. METHOD OF ENTRY AND TRAINING

Entry into the CAF has been voluntary, though it had practiced conscription in World War I and World War II.¹⁸⁹ Outreach activities engaged in by the CAF Recruiting Group with women's professional associations, students, and teachers together with such other proactive measures as taking part in women's career fairs is helping to create a diverse and inclusive military in Canada. Moreover, Defence Employment Equity Advisory Group, one of the four groups in operation because of the Employment Equity Act, provides valuable guidelines to military leadership on gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, in 2017, the Women in Force Program (WFP) started with four pilot projects.¹⁹⁰ As per the Canadian military recruitment team, "The focus of the program is to raise awareness about life in the CAF, and to enable participants to make an informed decision about a career in the military."¹⁹¹ Since the launching of this program, there has been some improvement in the recruitment of women in the CAF.

The CAF has made evolutionary changes in training standards considering the working environment that the soldiers are expected to work in that has to some extent facilitated in the recruitment of women. The scientific correlation of mission essential tasks with the training standards has encouraged Canadians, men and women alike, to enroll in the CAF.¹⁹² For example, the CAF, for the forces to be deployed abroad, has introduced a new training requirement taking into account the equipment, terrain, and the nature of combat. The training, which simulates battle conditions, comprises three stages:

- a. A 5 km march wearing 35 kg of full combat gear, which is to be completed between 50 minutes and one hour. This stage represents the time it might take for a platoon to get back to its base;

¹⁸⁹ J.I. Granatstein and Richard Jones, "Conscription in Canada," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed on October 10, 2018, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/conscription>.

¹⁹⁰ "A New Program Well-suited for Women Considering Joining the Forces," *The Maple Leaf*, accessed on June 21, 2018, <https://ml-fd.caf-fac.ca/en/2017/08/5755>.

¹⁹¹ "A New Program Well-suited for Women Considering Joining the Forces."

¹⁹² Dave Kelm, Jayne Lawlor, and Nicole Martin, "Opinion: It's Time to Reevaluate Standards for Women in the Military," *The Washington Post*, April 16, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/04/16/opinion-its-time-to-reevaluate-standards-for-women-in-the-military/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.3f5b28d4cc45.

b. A five-minute break during which time the soldiers dump part of the load they are carrying. This stage represents the time needed to prepare for the next part of a mission;

c. Completion of a circuit of a series of movements, including a “185 pound casualty drag” where soldiers lift and drag a heavy sandbag while still carrying most of their own gear.¹⁹³

On one hand, the lowering of the standards helps encourage recruitment of women and, on the other hand, increases their deployment abroad. One of the reasons why a number of women even serve in Special Forces in the CAF is because of gender-neutral training standards. The 2017 data show that 10.2 percent of the Special Forces personnel are women.¹⁹⁴ The impact of training standards in enrollment to various services can be understood from the fact that, presently, no woman has qualified for the training to serve in Canada’s elite counterterrorism unit.¹⁹⁵

C. RETENTION

Even though the CAF is gender friendly, the recruitment and retention of women has not been very easy. Childcare, employment of spouse, transfers, pregnancy, and single parenthood form major causes for women to depart from the CAF. In order to avert this, the CAF, which considers supporting fellow soldiers as its moral obligation, has been continually reviewing and amending its policies so that its members can better balance family and military career. The Canadian military established the Family Services Program in 1991. In 2011, the CAF expanded its program so that military families can remain better informed, involved, and connected.¹⁹⁶ In recent years, the Canadian military has made great efforts in order to enhance recruitment and retention of

¹⁹³ David McKie, “Canadian Army Introduces New Fitness Test Requirement for Soldiers Being Deployed Abroad,” *CBC*, November 14, 2017, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/troops-fitness-deployed-test-1.4402024>.

¹⁹⁴ “Historical Milestones of Women in the Canadian Armed Forces,” *National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces*, March 7, 2018, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/news/article.page?doc=historical-milestones-of-women-in-the-canadian-armed-forces/izkjr17h>.

¹⁹⁵ Murray Brewster, “Canada’s Special Forces Want to Attract Women for a Job That’s More Than Kicking Down Doors,” *CBC*, January 10, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/special-forces-women-1.4479883>.

¹⁹⁶ “Women in the Canadian Armed Forces,” *Government of Canada*, accessed on April 22, 2018, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/news/article.page?doc=women-in-the-canadian-armed-forces/hie8w7rm>.

women in the military. The recruitment and retention of service personnel, both men and women, dropped off during the first half of the second decade of this century, in which the retention of women was even lower than that of men. Therefore, in 2016, the Canadian military devised a recruit and retain strategy in order to reach a total enrollment of women at 25 percent by 2026.¹⁹⁷

In May 2016, Chief of the Defence Staff, General Jon Vance, approved the “Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy,” in which “[t]he Canadian military will review its badges, uniforms, flags and associated ceremonial activities to ensure they are welcoming to women, visible minorities, the disabled, indigenous people and members of the gay and transgender communities.”¹⁹⁸ As per its strategy, in which the initial work has already begun, the Canadian military will consider family, culture, and spiritual needs of a person in military assignments and posting.¹⁹⁹

D. INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION

Canadian servicewomen have contributed immensely in the international arena, both as members of the force or in command. In 2010, Major Eleanor Taylor led an infantry company and deployed to Afghanistan.²⁰⁰ Similarly, in 2015, Brigadier-General Lise Bourgon became the first Canadian female commander of a joint task force in Iraq during Operation Impact. The government and military both have been devising different strategies to increase women’s participation in international peacekeeping. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his government are committed to gender equality, and the Canadian government is aiming to increase female participation and award decisive roles to women in international peacekeeping.²⁰¹ Canada will soon deploy its women-inclusive

¹⁹⁷ Nancy Miller Chenier, “Canadian Women and War,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified March 6, 2018, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/women-and-war/>.

¹⁹⁸ David Pugliese, “Canadian Military to Review Uniforms, Badges, Ceremonies to Ensure It Is Welcoming to Women, Minorities,” *National Post*, March 16, 2017, <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/canadian-military-to-review-uniforms-badges-ceremonies-to-ensure-it-is-welcoming-to-women-minorities>.

¹⁹⁹ Pugliese, “Canadian Military to Review Uniforms, Badges, Ceremonies.”

²⁰⁰ “A Documentary about Women in Combat,” *Sisters in Arms*.

²⁰¹ Brewster, “Canadian Military Falling Well Short of Its Target for Recruiting Women.”

UN peacekeepers in Mali.²⁰² Similarly, the CAF will shortly send its female instructors to Jordan to train Jordanian servicewomen.

Canada represents the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives. The committee, which endeavors to fulfill the commitments of gender-related UN Security Council resolutions and other UN resolutions, promotes inclusion of women in peace processes, works towards protection of women in and after conflict, endeavors in safeguarding women against sexual violence, and conducts pre-deployment trainings to peacekeepers on the aforementioned issues. Canada as an important member of the committee functions as a resource country on gender integration issues, though its best practices, for countries wrestling with gender integration.²⁰³ Canadians also work as resource personnel for gender-integration discussions toward gender mainstreaming in NATO-led missions,²⁰⁴ as Canada is one of the world leaders in terms of integration of women in the armed forces. During the initial phase of integration of women in military, Canada took advice from such different countries as Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway. Moreover, it carried out its own trials and researches and concluded that there were no reasons to exclude women in military.²⁰⁵

E. CONCLUSION

CAF is one of the ideal models for the integration of women in the armed forces because of its policies and strategies aimed to diversify the armed forces. Regarding the issues of integration of women in the military, Canada learned from the practices in such different countries as Denmark and Norway. Moreover, Canada also experimented itself with respect to integrating women in the military. Successful translation of the Equity Act by the military leadership in its practices helped achieve higher numbers of women participating in varied occupations in the military. Updating of its training

²⁰² “Canada to Send Force including Female Troops to Support UN Mission in Mali,” *The Guardian*, March 19, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/19/canada-mali-military-un-women>.

²⁰³ Government of Canada, “Women in the Canadian Armed Forces.”

²⁰⁴ Government of Canada, “Women in the Canadian Armed Forces.”

²⁰⁵ Government of Canada, “Women in the Canadian Armed Forces.”

requirements, uniform, and equipment together with the strategy to recruit and retain more servicewomen have made the Canadian military attractive to potential female recruits. Canadian servicewomen have successfully commanded combat units. In fact, the level of gender integration that Canada has achieved is so successful that the military does not record the deployed personnel according to gender.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Government of Canada, “Women in the Canadian Armed Forces.”

IV. WOMEN IN THE JORDANIAN ARMED FORCES

The progress made with respect to the integration of women in the Jordanian Armed Forces (JAF) is not only exemplary in the region but can also form a good link to join the East with the West relating to the participation of women in the armed forces.²⁰⁷ The progress in women's participation in the JAF, the areas of women's participation, their enthusiasm to join the military, and the JAF's training and work cooperation at the national and international level make the JAF a relatively attractive platform for Jordanian women. In the JAF, women receive equal pay and benefits while they fall in lower priority in other services, especially in the private sector.

A. THE HISTORY OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE JAF

Jordan, a predominantly Muslim country, maintains a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary form of government.²⁰⁸ The state religion is Muslim, and many laws in Jordan are based on the Koran. Most women in Jordan cover their heads with scarves. There is limited interaction between the sexes, and segregation by gender is common in public areas; for example, women and men do not sit together on public transportation unless they are married couples or close relatives. The lives of most women are controlled by their male relatives. Therefore, balancing culture—obedience to their husbands—and profession is a difficult challenge for Jordanian women.²⁰⁹ A team of female activists formed the Arab Women's Organization in 1970 in Jordan. Voting rights and the right to take part in elections by women were fully realized only in 1974.²¹⁰ More than 60 percent of Jordanian women are employed in professions, notably education and

²⁰⁷ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006," accessed on April 15, 2018, https://www.nato.int/ims/2006/win/pdf/jordan_brief.pdf.

²⁰⁸ "Jordan," Countries and Their Cultures, accessed on April 20, 2018, <https://www.everyculture.com/Ja-Ma/Jordan.html>

²⁰⁹ Countries and Their Cultures, "Jordan."

²¹⁰ Rana F. Sweisnov, "Women's Rights at a Standstill in Jordan," *The New York Times*, November 7, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/08/world/middleeast/womens-rights-at-a-standstill-in-jordan.html>.

the health sector.²¹¹ Despite many social constraints, Jordanian women are highly educated, but the number of unemployed university graduates is very high among women as compared to men. Of those women who are employed, most are employed in public services—around 45 percent of total jobs—accounting for merely 13 percent in private service. Therefore, a large number of highly educated women are free to be tapped by the military.²¹²

The association of women in the JAF goes back to 1950, when women started teaching in military schools;²¹³ however, women in Jordan claim to have stood against colonialism and defended their country.²¹⁴ The involvement of Jordanian women in the military becomes evident only since 1962 after the establishment of Princess Muna College of Nursing, named after Her Royal Highness Princess Muna al-Hussein.²¹⁵ Princess Muna, born to English parents, the second wife of King Hussain, and mother of present monarch, King Abdullah, is president of the Jordanian Nursing Council. Moreover, she is a patron of nursing and midwifery for the World Health Organization in the Eastern Mediterranean.²¹⁶ The Princess Muna College of Nursing was established in order to train nurses to take care of Jordanian military personnel, their dependents, and the general public.²¹⁷ In 1965, the first eight female cadets who graduated from the nursing college were commissioned as second lieutenants in the Royal Medical Corps after undertaking the necessary military training.²¹⁸

The diversification of women's roles started slowly after the early 1970s. Since 1973, women college graduates enrolled as officers for such administrative specialties as

²¹¹ Rana Hussein, "Jordan," accessed on October 10, 2018, https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/inline_images/Jordan.pdf

²¹² Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

²¹³ Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

²¹⁴ Sweisnov, "Women's Rights at a Standstill in Jordan."

²¹⁵ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

²¹⁶ Ore Portland, "Nursing Education in Jordan," OHSU, July 22, 2015, <https://www.ohsu.edu/xd/education/schools/school-of-nursing/about/news-events/nursing-ed-jordan.cfm>.

²¹⁷ "The Princess Muna College of Nursing," Mutah University, accessed on April 22, 2018, <https://www.mutah.edu.jo/en/content/princess-muna-college-nursing>.

²¹⁸ Mutah University, "The Princess Muna College of Nursing."

typists, accountants, secretaries, and computer programmers.²¹⁹ Some of these changes can be credited to the Arab Women's Organization, but this was also the time of the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 that required freeing more servicemen to fight in the front. The noteworthy move with respect to women's participation in the JAF occurred in the early 1990s, when Princess Aisha Bint Al-Hussein along with her cousin Princess Basma Bint Ali Bin Nayef appealed to the then King, Hussein, for the increased participation of women in the JAF. As a result, in 1993, under royal instructions, a research office was formed to study the feasibility and further women's enrollment in the military.²²⁰ In 1994, the Directorate of Women's Affairs, now the Directorate of Women's Military Affairs (DWMA), was set up to promote and safeguard the rights of servicewomen and broaden opportunities for servicewomen to excel in their careers.²²¹ Princess Major General Aisha Bint Al-Hussein has led the directorate since its establishment.²²²

The progress of women's participation in the Jordanian military has evolved because of the personal and professional endowment of Princess Major General Aisha Bint Al-Hussein. She is a sister of King Abdullah II and a daughter of the late King Hussein and Princess Muna. In 1986, on summer break from high school in the United States, the princess became the only female in the Middle East region to receive wings for undergoing required military parachute jumps. In 1987, she successfully completed her officer's basic course from Sandhurst—the Royal Military Academy in the United Kingdom—becoming the first female from the Middle East to attend such a course. After graduation, she spent around three months on a special course arranged by the British military in which she got an opportunity to observe all female military establishments in England, which would later help her further women's integration in the Jordanian military, albeit the practices of the United Kingdom military could not be mirrored in the

²¹⁹ Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

²²⁰ Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

²²¹ "The Armed Forces," The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, accessed on April 15, 2018, <http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/government5.html>.

²²² Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

culturally different Jordan. Princess Aisha had an unparalleled passion for the military that can hardly be exaggerated. During breaks from Oxford University, Princess Aisha, then a lieutenant colonel, working with the Special Forces, helped graduate several parachute courses. In 1988, she received a medal during a fly-by at a military parade, in which she hung under a helicopter with other members of the Special Forces. In 1995, Lt. Col. Aisha underwent a security and protection course with the Royal Guard, in which she received the King Hussein Medal for Excellence by achieving a first position in M-16 marksmanship.

The DWMA, besides creating job placement programs targeting women's skills and capabilities, has also been assisting military women by reviewing training requirements and offering opportunities for advanced training and education that would ultimately help in promotion.²²³ In 2005, around 50 female university graduates attended the Field Officers Commissioning Course together with their male counterparts. In the same year, the JAF introduced a 10-year strategy in order to enhance the role of women.²²⁴ The action plan, guided by the norm of equal opportunity for women, aimed to increase women's enrollment and open new positions for women in nontraditional fields. Since 2006, JAF women began undergoing specialized training programs similar to those of their male counterparts. The following services were then available to women in the JAF:

- a. The Royal Medical Services as nurses, allied health specialists, dentists, and doctors;
- b. administrators, secretaries, and computer programmers;
- d. architects and engineers;
- e. the Directorate of Education and Military Culture and other departments as teachers and instructors;
- f. military Policewomen;

²²³ The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, "The Armed Forces."

²²⁴ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

- g. ADC and body guards at the Royal Guard Protection Unit;
- h. military Intelligence;
- i. finance;
- j. military law;
- k. flight control operations, flight control assistants.²²⁵

The total number of women in the JAF in 2006 was 4,883. Of this number, 1,203 were officers, 2,421 other ranks, and 1,259 civilians.²²⁶ By 2006, there was a woman major general in the Royal Medical Services and a woman brigadier general in the general headquarters.²²⁷

Still, while the percentage of women was high in the medical services, it was low elsewhere. In 2016, the DWMA and the JAF set a target of three percent of female officers' participation in services other than military, and the DWMA and the JAF sought to provide female members with broader career opportunities through the adoption of a three-year action plan in order to implement the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325.²²⁸

In successive years, the JAF established the first female company for special security tasks capable of undertaking various tasks.²²⁹ JAF women in this company undergo the necessary training to be able to operate in counterterrorism and crisis management tasks. They also learn necessary skills to protect such vulnerable points as airports and checkpoints. Their training includes shooting and such operations as raids and hostage rescue missions by sea, air, and land.²³⁰

²²⁵ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006," accessed on April 15, 2018, https://www.nato.int/ims/2006/win/pdf/jordan_brief.pdf.

²²⁶ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

²²⁷ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

²²⁸ Kawar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

²²⁹ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

²³⁰ Kawar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

B. METHODS OF ENTRY AND TRAINING

Entry into the JAF is on a voluntary basis for all, after male conscription was suspended in 1999. Women can voluntarily enroll in the Royal Jordanian Arab Army Women's Corps and Royal Jordanian Air Force.²³¹ Due to women's high levels of literacy and interest in serving in the armed forces, the numbers of applicants has always exceeded the need of the JAF. A 2006 NATO report revealed that there are more female applicants than the JAF can accommodate.²³² Therefore, no special quota or advertisement programs have been necessary for the recruitment of women. The recruitment process consists of a series of tests and competitive examinations, including medical and mental health, physical fitness, command and leadership tasks, and personal interviews. Women can enroll in the JAF as civilian or uniformed personnel as officers, non-commissioned officers, or private soldiers.

Servicewomen are segregated in platoons and stay in different accommodations from the male cadets; however, they are integrated with their male counterparts in academic requirements of the course. The JAF women meet the same standards as male counterparts, except for the physical fitness requirements, in which it is slightly different owing to the biological differences.²³³

Women in the JAF are receiving increasing opportunities. The Staff College and National Defense Colleges are open to women JAF officers, for those meeting the required qualifications. Increasing numbers of female officers and non-commissioned officers attend postgraduate programs at different universities in Jordan and abroad. In the JAF, promotions, duration of military service, and pay and allowances are gender neutral. Promotions are based on seniority, merit, and professional qualification. Since 2006, in order to achieve a higher level of professionalism and distinction, career

²³¹ "Jordanian Armed Forces," *Armed Forces.eu*, accessed on September 19, 2018, <http://armedforces.eu/Jordan>.

²³² Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

²³³ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

qualifications have become mandatory for promotions. Likewise, for long-term service, foreign languages and computer skills are also beneficial for promotion.²³⁴

Jordan has established the Regional Military Women's Training Center. The initiatives to establish a Regional Military Women's Training Center began in 2006. In 2016, the JAF took further initiatives to expand and improve the training center to accommodate rising numbers of servicewomen.²³⁵ The regional military women's training center aspires to advise and encourage Arab countries in integrating women successfully in their respective armed forces. The regional center, which is still in the process of expanding and modernizing, provides specialized training to women in the armed forces. The JAF claims that, as a leader in women's integration in the region, it is an ideal link between the East and the West in training and enhancing the participation of women in the armed forces.²³⁶ Similarly, Jordan is also ahead of other countries in the region in terms of training female police officers. Recently, on July 26, an all-female class of 20 police from Iraq graduated from Princess Basma Institute, a Jordanian training center for policewomen.²³⁷

C. RETENTION

Even though the JAF is highly conservative and male-dominated, the skills training and exciting job opportunities together with the steps taken by the institution to ensure good pay and benefits and timely promotion to a deserving candidate make the JAF increasingly attractive for a younger generation of women.²³⁸ Thanks to the efforts of the DMWA, servicewomen get a three-month maternity leave. They are also entitled to two years' unpaid leave that does not negatively affect their promotion to the next

²³⁴ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

²³⁵ "Jordan Armed Forces Promote Women," *Unipath*, accessed on April 15, 2018, <http://unipath-magazine.com/jordan-armed-forces-promote-women/>.

²³⁶ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

²³⁷ "Department of State Antiterrorism Assistance Program Graduates First All-Female Iraqi Police Class," *Government Technology and Services Coalition*, July 26, 2018, <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/departement-of-state-antiterrorism-assistance-program-graduates-first-all-female-iraqi-police-class/>.

²³⁸ Kawar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

higher rank. Despite all these pluses, even today, the retention rate of military women in the JAF is very low due to family obligations and culture.²³⁹

D. INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION

The JAF and the DWMA have established relations with overseas military institutions that further help JAF servicewomen to get professional military education and training opportunities. The Jordanian military has been collaborating with NATO and other countries in order to provide servicewomen with better opportunities. Lately, in 2015, NATO's special representative for women, peace and security, Mariëtte Schuurman, visited Jordan regarding the 3.6 million euro project to be executed by the NATO Support and Procurement Agency in partnership with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces led by Norway and the Czech Republic.²⁴⁰ The project expects to highlight Jordan as an exemplary country in the region for its successful integration of women in the security sector. In 2015, the all-female special security tasks company took part in the 15th NATO Days in Ostrava, which is the biggest security demonstration in Europe.²⁴¹

Similarly, Jordan and the United States have been having special relations that have helped improve overall standards of the military, including gender integration. In 1996, the United States granted Jordan a non-NATO Ally status that enabled Jordan in receiving equipment, training, and research support.²⁴² Furthermore, in 2004 Jordan and Colorado State of the United States established a State Partnership Program (SPP) with the National Guard²⁴³ that provides opportunities for women's leadership exchanges.

²³⁹ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

²⁴⁰ Unipath, "Jordan Armed Forces Promote Women."

²⁴¹ Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

²⁴² Michael Deegan and Joseph V. Moreno, "A Military Practitioner's Guide to Jordan," *Small Wars Journal*, accessed on September 15, 2018, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/a-military-practitioner%E2%80%99s-guide-to-jordan>

²⁴³ Elena O'Bryan, "Partners Colorado and Jordan Explore Military Women's Evolving Leadership Roles, U.S. Army, February 2, 2017, https://www.army.mil/article/181756/partners_colorado_and_jordan_explore_military_womens_evolutionary_roles

Additionally, Jordanian servicewomen have been receiving pilot training to fly Black Hawks in the United States under the Partnership Counter-Terrorism Fund. In a similar way, Jordan and Norway share commitments to increased participation of females in the armed forces. Likewise, women from the Canadian military will arrive shortly in Jordan to help train a team of female soldiers of the JAF Quick Reaction Force Female Engagement Team. The training would include area and personal search and situational training exercises responding to incidents at refugee camps and borders.²⁴⁴

Women in JAF have been taking part in various UN Peacekeeping missions and NATO operations. For example, women in the JAF have participated as medics in Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Likewise, in Afghanistan, Jordanian female soldiers took part in various task forces and missions carried out by the International Security Assistance Force under NATO.²⁴⁵ The participation of servicewomen of the JAF has been very important in understanding the cultural and religious perspectives prevalent in the region.

E. CONCLUSION

The state religion of Jordan is Islam; hence, many laws and practices are based on the Koran. Consequently, there is limited interaction between the sexes and the lives of most women are controlled by their male relatives. All-female military units existing in Jordan are a reflection of the society, which is segregated based on gender in public places. The military, which provides equal pay and benefits, has been able to some extent to tap the educated women of Jordan, offering them professional opportunities. The Directorate of Military Women's Affairs has been instrumental in protecting and promoting the rights of women in the JAF. The different policy decisions and practices

²⁴⁴ Amanda Connolly, "A Few Good Women: Female Canadian Soldiers to Train 1st All-female Platoon in Jordanian Army" *Global News*, July 4, 2018, <https://globalnews.ca/news/4310223/canada-female-engagement-team-jordan-armed-forces/>

²⁴⁵ Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

carried out by the JAF over a period has helped achieve success in the integration of women in the armed forces. The policies, on one hand, have helped to empower women by training them to gain the required qualifications and, on the other hand, have reduced discriminatory practices so that women can pursue higher professional military education courses in order to get promoted into higher ranks. This in turn has made the JAF more attractive to women. Moreover, the regional training center and other international interactions carried out by the JAF are expected to influence other nations in the region regarding women's participation in the military.

V. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

The cases of Jordan and Canada bring forth lots of similarities yet with lots of differences. The models practiced by these two countries reflect the social reality prevalent in each country, and the models are favorable in their respective political and cultural environment. The understanding of similarities and differences between the efforts to integrate women in the militaries of these two countries will help further to illuminate different issues regarding the integration of women in military.

A. SIMILARITIES

Jordanian and Canadian militaries have a long history with respect to women's participation in the armed forces. By 1950, women were recruited as educators in military schools in Jordan,²⁴⁶ and the establishment of Princess Muna College of Nursing in 1962 paved a way for their entry into the military.²⁴⁷ The history of Canadian servicewomen goes even further whereby Canadian women have been serving in the armed forces in both civilian and military capacities for over 200 years. In 1885, in the Northwest Rebellion, women served as nurses in the Canadian military, albeit with civilian status; similarly, from 1898 to 1902, in support of the Yukon forces, Canadian women served as nurses.²⁴⁸ In World War I, around 3,000 "Nursing Sisters," served in the Canadian Army Medical Corps; the nursing sisters numbered 4,500 in World War II, with an overall number around 50,000.²⁴⁹

Both countries formed commissions to further the integration of women in their respective military. Though the Jordanian military did not face the same level of social pressure to accept women into their ranks as the Canadian military, nevertheless, like its

²⁴⁶ Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

²⁴⁷ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

²⁴⁸ National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, "Historical Milestones of Women in the Canadian Armed Forces."

²⁴⁹ Veterans Affairs Canada, "Canada Remembers Women in the Canadian Military."

Canadian counterpart the JAF has also responded to commissions that have been instrumental in both the countries to further the integration of women in the military. In 1970, in order to empower women in all sectors of society, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women came up with various recommendations, six of which were concerned with the Canadian military. The six recommendations sought standardization of military recruitment criteria; equal pension benefits irrespective of gender; allowing servicewomen to attend Canadian military colleges; allowing women to enroll in all military trades; and the removal of regulations that prohibited the enrollment of married women and automatically discharged mother-soldiers.²⁵⁰ Similarly, in Jordan, in 1993, a research office was formed to study the feasibility and furtherance of women's enrollment in the military. Consequently, in 1994, the Directorate of Women's Affairs was established to empower women and advance their integration in the JAF.²⁵¹

The integration of women in the military has not affected the effectiveness of the military in either country. In a book published by the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute examining the experience of women serving in the Canadian military, the consensus is that women's integration in the military does not negatively affect the effectiveness of the armed forces.²⁵² In contrast, women's participation is said to bring a positive difference through diversity in communication, analytical skill, and increased interaction with local people. Canadian women have already served in core combat zones, even in leadership capabilities. Jordanian women report being undeterred by the acts of ISIS and are determined to fight against them.²⁵³ Further, Jordanian women units have been able to perform what male-only units are not able to achieve in peacekeeping and stability operations.

²⁵⁰ National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, "Historical Milestones of Women in the Canadian Armed Forces."

²⁵¹ The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, "The Armed Forces."

²⁵² Fitriani, Cooper, and Matthews, "Women in Ground Close Combat," 19.

²⁵³ "Jordanian Military Writes Messages to ISIS on Bombs," *Wall Street Journal*, February 5, 2015, <https://www.wsj.com/video/jordanian-military-writes-messages-to-isis-on-bombs/0D5AB236-3024-4EA6-8C9A-B2CED74C59BA.html>

In both countries the recruitment of women in military is voluntary, and both militaries have set targets for recruiting women. In 2016, the Canadian military adopted a plan to increase its number of servicewomen by one percent each year to attain an enrollment of 25 percent by 2026.²⁵⁴ To attain that goal, the Canadian military, besides other outreach programs, since 2017, started the WFP.²⁵⁵ Similarly, in 2016, the JAF set a target to reach three percent representation of female officers in non-medical services as a part of the three-year action plan to implement UNSCR 1325.²⁵⁶ Both countries have made provisions whereby the recruitment criteria favors enrollment of women; however, both countries are simultaneously battling to retain women in the military.

Furthermore, both countries are committed to helping other countries in integrating women in their respective armed forces. The Canadian military is doing a lot in enhancing female soldiers' capability around the world. Women from the Canadian military are departing Canada soon to help train a new team of female soldiers of the JAF Quick Reaction Force Female Engagement Team.²⁵⁷ Canada is a resource country in discussing women's integration in the military in NATO and UN forums. Similarly, the Jordanian military, through its Regional Military Women's Training Center, aspires to advise and encourage regional countries in integrating women successfully in their respective armed forces. The JAF claims to be a link between the East and the West to train and enhance the roles of women in the armed forces.²⁵⁸ Even so, compared to Canada, Jordan is more on the receiving end. The Jordanian military has received considerable help with respect to women's integration from NATO and the United States. This is a clear indication that once the country moves ahead with integrating women in its military there would be helping hands to further the cause.

Terrorist attacks and deployment in a post-attack environment has increased the participation of women in both the militaries. Post 9/11, there has been an increase in the

²⁵⁴ Chenier, "Canadian Women and War."

²⁵⁵ "A New Program Well-suited for Women Considering Joining the Forces," *The Maple Leaf*.

²⁵⁶ Kavar, "Jordanian Women's Evolving Role in the Armed Forces."

²⁵⁷ Connolly, "A Few Good Women."

²⁵⁸ NATO, "National Report Jordan Armed Forces 2006."

participation of women in militaries in the West. The percentage of women in Canadian military alone increased from a meagre number to 17 percent between 2001 and 2009.²⁵⁹ Similarly in Jordan, after the terrorist attack of 2005, where female suicide bombers were used, the enrollment of women increased. Jordanian women, like women in the Canadian military, have taken part in UN peacekeeping missions and NATO stabilization missions.

B. DIFFERENCES

Jordan and Canada practice different forms of integration in their militaries. Jordan has all-female units in contrast to the mixed units in Canada. This difference in the form of integration of women in the Jordanian and Canadian armies is due to the difference in culture between the two countries. Privacy of women is important among Muslims and any plan to integrate women in the military needs to embrace this reality.²⁶⁰ The Jordanian military seems to embrace this fact in forming all-female units. Moreover, Jordan has a separate military training center for training women, which is also the case for police.

The retention of servicewomen has been a problem in both countries; however, unlike in Canada, which has seen a decline in women's participation at certain times, the JAF has not witnessed the drop in number, and Jordan never had a ceiling for servicewomen in its military. The number of women in the Canadian military dropped because of technological developments that reduced the burden on personnel, and up to the mid-1960s, the CAF exercised the limit of 1,500 female personnel, which was around one and half percent of its total military strength.²⁶¹ Unlike Canada, Jordan has not conducted such advertising campaigns as the "Women in Force Program" to increase the pool of candidates as Jordan has not fallen short of aspirant candidates.

Compared to the Jordanian military, the Canadian military has received more pressure from society to integrate women in the military. The Canadian government has

²⁵⁹ Fitriani, Cooper, and Matthews, "Women in Ground Close Combat," 17.

²⁶⁰ Dave Overson, "Afghan Women May Shape Future," U.S. Army, December 21, 2012, <https://www.army.mil/article/93423>.

²⁶¹ National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, "Historical Milestones of Women in the Canadian Armed Forces."

been mandating its armed forces to mirror the diversity in Canadian society.²⁶² Moreover, in 1989, the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal ruled against discrimination against women in the CAF.²⁶³ As a result, by 2001, Canada opened all combat roles in its military to women. Though there has not been pressure from Jordanian society, the liberal values inherent in the royal family of Jordan and the exposure of Jordanian monarchs to foreign military has helped integrate women in its military. Princess Muna was born and raised in the United Kingdom. The current monarch and two earlier monarchs graduated from the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. Similarly, Princess Aisha, her son, and at least five other members of the royal family also graduated from Sandhurst.²⁶⁴ Initially Princess Muna, after whom the college of nursing was named, and later the efforts of Princess Aisha have been instrumental in furthering the cause of women's integration in the military.

Since the Jordanian society is more closed than Canadian society, the cases of sexual exploitation and abuse in the Jordanian military are not that frequently heard; moreover, segregation of women in the Jordanian military reduces the frequency of such incidents. The CAF has been marred by cases of sexual exploitation, but the military has taken initiatives to curb such ill practices. In 2014, Marie Deschamps, former justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, examined the situation of sexual abuse and exploitation in the CAF; on March 27, 2015, her study revealed that "there is an undeniable problem of sexual harassment and sexual assault in the CAF, which requires direct and sustained action."²⁶⁵ The inquiry demonstrated a hostile environment prevalent in the CAF, where power was abused by various personnel for sexual favors. Similarly, in November 2016, Statistics Canada published its report of sexual abuse in the Canadian military, in which more than one fourth of women in the regular force claimed to have undergone the

²⁶² "Women in the Military," *Historica Canada*, accessed on July 21, 2018, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/women-in-the-military/>

²⁶³ Fitriani, Cooper, and Matthews, "Women in Ground Close Combat," 19.

²⁶⁴ Jess Rulz, "Princess Aisha's Son Graduates from Sandhurst," *The Royal Forums*, April 17, 2017, <http://www.theroyalforums.com/63402-princess-aishas-son-graduates-sandhurst/>

²⁶⁵ *Historica Canada*, "Women in the Military."

bitter experience of sexual assault during their career.²⁶⁶ As per the recommendation of Marie Deschamps, the Canadian military, in August 2015, acknowledging the problem, launched Operation “Honour,” in order to eliminate sexual misconduct.²⁶⁷

C. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the literature on women’s integration into the military and case studies of Canada and Jordan reveal that the masculinization of the armed forces cannot continue for various legal and social reasons. Therefore, the armed forces are not the domain of only men but of all genders. Currently, women occupy high positions in the armed forces of many countries. The United Nations Security Council resolution, UNSCR 1325, and subsequent regional resolutions, emphasize the benefits of integrating women in the military. Nonetheless, the integration process is still a contested issue in the military, even in countries that welcome women in all the areas of the military.²⁶⁸ Despite the expansion of opportunities and growth of representation of women in the military, women are underrepresented in the armed forces as a whole, and particularly in such areas as Special Forces. Restrictions hindering the full integration of women in the military are of three categories: the laws created by the respective country; the regulations within the armed services; and the socio-psychological factors that affect the attitudes of people.²⁶⁹

The suitability of women in combat specifically will remain a debated issue for the foreseeable future. Yet, despite the comparative weakness of an average woman in terms of speed, strength, and stamina to that of the average man, women exhibit such other qualities as skills and “smarts” required in today’s military—as well as men, if not better, which makes women suitable for positions in military. Women’s participation in the service gains increased legitimacy for the armed forces in society at home, furthers

²⁶⁶ Chenier, “Canadian Women and War.”

²⁶⁷ Chenier, “Canadian Women and War.”

²⁶⁸ Carreiras, “Gender and Civil-Military Relations in Advanced Democracies.”

²⁶⁹ Tamplin, “Women in the Military: A Question of Utilization,” 81.

the civil-military relations, increases access to local people in operations, facilitates intelligence collection, and supports force protection. Moreover, women's participation in the military inspires other women and increases the pool of suitable candidates, which could be particularly important when there are only few suitable candidates for recruitment.

The opinion that women in the military reduces overall readiness of the armed forces will also continue to be debated in future. Nevertheless, the integration of women in the armed forces does not affect readiness when troops are adequately trained and well led. It is not gender that binds the force members in performing the mission but the competence of each member. The mixed-gender workforce has proved to be suitable in business and civil administration and it could be equally effective in the military. Moreover, public opinion has changed, and the population sees women as important components of the military forces.

The CAF is one of the world leaders in terms of integrating women in the military; therefore, their model is an ideal one. In the CAF, women serve in large numbers in a variety of roles. Furthermore, the CAF Employment Equity Plan has an ambitious goal with respect to integration of women. Thus, the CAF is becoming more innovative every day when it comes to the integration of women in the military, rather than granting special privileges to women. The CAF, through the elimination of discriminatory practices, creates a level field where women can excel in their military careers. The practices of the CAF are based on the Western ideals, through which women are well integrated with their male counterparts.

The Jordanian model, on the other hand, can be considered a bridge between East and West. The JAF has integrated women in the military but in the form of all-female units. Although the all-female unit model may satisfy the customs of Jordan and can prove to be beneficial when an all-male unit may not be effective, mixed units have proven to perform better than all-female units. Nevertheless, the Jordanian model seems rational looking at the cultural context of Jordan.

The differences in culture, the different levels of technological development in each country's military, and the difference in roles and missions for different militaries necessitates different forms of integration processes for women in the military. Therefore, a one-model-fits-all does not seem feasible. Therefore, there cannot be a prescribed answer for the question: what constitutes a "successful" integration process for women in the armed forces? Democratic countries around the world are practicing integration in varied forms. Nevertheless, there are many lessons that democratic countries can learn from other countries. Based on lessons from the cases examined here, the study makes following recommendations.

D. RECOMMENDATIONS

The research makes the following recommendations.

1. The integration of women increases the pool of capable candidates. Moreover, in such areas as technical skills, women are better suited than men and, in other areas, women's presence increases the overall performance of the team. Therefore, this aspect should be exploited.
2. Sexual exploitation and abuse represent a major problem in integrating women in the military. This issue, on one hand, affects the operational effectiveness of the unit and, on the other hand, it discourages women from joining the military. It also affects the credibility of the military. Therefore, there should be zero tolerance of sexual harassment and abuse. Cases of sexual harassment and abuse should be thoroughly examined. Furthermore, situations in which male personnel try to avoid women for the fear of being accused of such actions should be discouraged.
3. Respective militaries should look at their physical standards. The physical standards should match the mission essential tasks, geographical terrain, technology, and equipment in use. The unnecessary physical standards should be revised. Such skills as physical flexibility, which women possess more than men and which could be crucial to military

performance, should be included in the recruitment requirement. Of course, the military should be able to operate in all contingency situations including situations with minimal technological assistance.

4. Opening up positions to women alone cannot achieve the success of integrating women in the military. The military must make all positions for which women can apply visible to likely contestants. They should also be made aware about job specifications, job requirements, and the nature of the work environment. The Women in Force program launched by the CAF could be practiced by other militaries to attract more female candidates in their armed forces. In the meantime, there should be enough training in required skills during the service so that women excel in their career.
5. If women are to be integrated in the military, the uniforms should be made comfortable, taking into consideration the gender of the service member who will be wearing them. The hyper-masculine culture in the military reflected in manly slogans, mottos, and practices should be reformed to match the diversity. The natural capability to bear children should be taken as the strength of women and enough considerations should be made regarding the same.
6. There should be no compromise in necessary standards required in the military just for the sake of integration. The defending of a nation cannot be compromised in the effort to provide rights to women; however, all deserving candidates should have the right to serve in positions of their choice and capability. In the meantime, the institution should not be perceived as practicing double standards so that male soldiers do not feel that they are unfairly treated. The military doctrine, which takes account of the soldiers' physical abilities, helps toward successful integration of females in combat professions.

7. The leadership and training are very important in military. Good training can curb unnecessary complication that arises because of the integration of women in the service. It is necessary to realize that each individual, regardless of gender, has crucial skills from which the military can benefit.
8. The empowerment of women in society helps in the integration of women in the military. Similarly, the integration of women in military will also support empowering women in society; the two processes complement each other. Therefore, there is no need to wait for every society to press for the integration of women in the military. Military leadership in most countries have intensively traveled and seen many practices that they can implement in their military. The society too can be educated in issues of gender integration.
9. The countries that have aspired to integrate women in the military could look into such service support roles as medical and technical roles to start with the task of integration. Similarly, to start with all-female units could be a necessary milestone in the process of integrating women in the armed forces.
10. The legal barriers that bar the integration of women should be removed and the constitution should make provisions for integration of women in the military.
11. Military services should be encouraged, and at times compelled, to remove restrictive provisions that limit women's integration.
12. The armed forces should conduct basic diversity training in order to educate their personnel to respect and admire the opposite gender.

In sum, integrating women in the armed forces have several advantages, especially in the changed context of technology and nature of warfare. The research, through two models of integration, demonstrates that women can be integrated in the

military in various ways. Integrating women in the military and their diversification invite challenges but they can be overcome by educating military personnel, society, and the decision makers.

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