Gender Inclusivity in Security and Military Operations: The Role of Women in Civil-Military Relations

By

Plangsat Bitrus Dayil, PhD
Department of Political Science,
University of Jos.
Email: plangsat4sure@yahoo.com
Mobile: +2348035954481

Kingdom E. Orji
Department of History and Diplomatic Studies,
Ignatius Ajuru University of education,
Rumuolumeni, Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria
+2348034623541
Email: kingdom.orji@iaue.edu.ng

Introduction

The field of Civil-Military Relations (CMR) is undergoing a notable transformation, increasingly acknowledging the critical role women play in strengthening security and enhancing the effectiveness of military operations. Integrating a gender perspective into CMR not only helps us better understand the social and humanitarian dimensions of conflict, but also offers practical tools for planning and executing operations to reduce inequalities and improve outcomes (Prudhoe, Hillerby, Kyle & Nguyen, 2024). This approach stems from the recognition that instability and armed conflict impact women, men, girls, and boys differently (Kvarving, 2024). As such, addressing gender dynamics is not solely a matter of political correctness or legal obligation, it is closely aligned with the strategic objectives of modern military institutions (Prudhoe et al., 2024).

Historically, women's integration into the military and security sectors has been hindered by deep-rooted institutional and societal barriers, including systemic biases and entrenched stereotypes (DeSimone, 2023; Dayil, CLEEN Foundation &

Sjöberg, 2011). In regions such as Africa, women's representation in security institutions remains critically low, particularly in leadership and decision-making roles (Ilesanmi, 2020). Yet, recent developments point to a growing awareness of the value that gender inclusivity brings—not just from a fairness perspective, but as a strategic necessity. Including gender considerations in military operations enhances cultural awareness, fosters more accurate situational understanding, and ultimately contributes to more effective and responsive mission outcomes (Kvarving & Grimes, 2016; Editorial Team, 2024).

Fleming (2024) reinforces this view, stating that gender inclusion in CMR serves not only legal and moral purposes but also addresses the operational needs of military organizations. By incorporating gender perspectives, military forces are better positioned to manage conflicts, navigate crises, and support recovery efforts in post-conflict settings, efforts that are more sustainable and successful in the long term. This paper, therefore, examines the essential role of women in civil-military relations, exploring how their participation influences operational decisions, reshapes mission strategies, and contributes to improved security outcomes.

Historical Context of Women in Civil-Military Relations

The role of women in civil-military relations (CMR) has undergone a profound transformation, shaped by changing societal norms, evolving perceptions of gender, and a growing recognition of the strategic value of gender inclusivity in security and defense operations. For much of history, women were sidelined in military affairs, confined to auxiliary roles and excluded from decision-making structures. Yet, over the course of the 20th and 21st centuries, their presence in security institutions has gradually expanded, initially out of necessity and increasingly as part of a broader push toward gender equality.

Traditionally, military and defense institutions were seen as inherently masculine domains. Combat and command were associated with physical strength, aggression, and resilience—traits historically attributed to men. As a result, women were largely restricted to supportive functions such as nursing, logistics, or domestic support, with little acknowledgment of their contributions. Even when

they served courageously, as during the American Civil War or World War I, their roles were often undervalued or omitted from official narratives (Goldstein, 2001). This marginalization was not only cultural but codified in law and policy. Many countries enacted formal restrictions that barred women from combat roles or leadership positions, rationalizing these exclusions on the basis of presumed physical limitations, emotional vulnerability, or the desire to shield women from the brutality of warfare (Enloe, 1983). These deeply embedded attitudes persisted well into the 20th century, significantly curbing women's influence in CMR and security policy.

However, World War II marked a pivotal shift. Faced with a global conflict that demanded massive manpower, governments began recruiting women in unprecedented numbers. In the U.S., the creation of the Women's Army Corps (WAC) and WAVES opened non-combat roles for women in clerical work, communications, and intelligence (Weatherford, 1990). Similarly, the U.K. established the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS) and the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS), allowing women to actively contribute to the war effort. Though these positions were often segregated and limited in scope, they challenged entrenched gender stereotypes and proved women's capability under pressure. Still, when the war ended, many of these gains were rolled back. Women were expected to return to traditional domestic roles, and their wartime efforts were often overlooked or minimized in post-war narratives (DeGroot, 2001).

The post-war period, particularly during the Cold War, brought incremental progress. As the geopolitical climate shifted and the need for specialized skills in intelligence and logistics grew, more women entered the security field. In the U.S., the Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948 allowed women to serve as regular members of the armed forces, although combat roles remained off-limits (Morden, 1990). Meanwhile, feminist movements began pushing back against institutional exclusion, advocating for gender equality as a democratic principle and emphasizing the importance of women's perspectives in shaping security policy.

International frameworks also began to support this shift. The United Nations' adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 marked a global commitment to dismantling gender-based barriers, including in military and security spheres (United Nations, 1979). These efforts laid the groundwork for more inclusive approaches to CMR.

The post-Cold War era introduced new complexities in global security, from asymmetric warfare to peacekeeping and humanitarian missions. These challenges highlighted the practical benefits of involving women in operations. Research showed that female peacekeepers could more effectively engage with local populations, improve intelligence gathering, and help prevent sexual violence (Karim & Beardsley, 2017). In response, countries began revising their military policies. Canada led the way in 1994 by opening all military roles, including combat, to women (Davis, 2013). The U.S., U.K., and other nations followed, citing not just a commitment to equality, but the need for diverse skills in increasingly multifaceted conflict zones.

Despite this progress, obstacles remain. Women in military and security institutions still face discrimination, limited career progression, and persistent cultural stereotypes. In some contexts, the integration of women into combat roles has sparked debate around physical standards, unit cohesion, and risks of sexual violence. Institutional resistance and societal attitudes continue to hinder the full inclusion of women in CMR (Bastick & de Torres, 2010). The historical trajectory of women in civil-military relations reflects both the resilience of gender norms and the growing awareness of women's contributions to security. While much progress has been made, achieving meaningful gender inclusivity in CMR remains a work in progress, requiring continued advocacy, institutional reform, and cultural change.

Theoretical Framework

Feminist Security Studies

Feminist Security Studies (FSS) provides a critical lens through which to examine the role of women in civil-military relations (CMR) and the broader implications of gender inclusion within the security sector (Cohn, 2011; Wibben, 2011; Gasztold,

2017). Grounded in feminist theory, FSS challenges the traditionally male-centric understanding of security by exposing how gendered assumptions shape conflict, militarization, and peacebuilding processes. It critiques the historical exclusion of women from security-related decision-making, emphasizing how power structures rooted in gender influence security policies and practices (Tickner, 1992).

At its foundation, FSS redefines the very concept of security. Rather than focusing solely on state sovereignty, military force, or territorial integrity, feminist scholars argue for a more inclusive understanding, one that considers the human experiences of insecurity. Women, for instance, often face specific threats during conflict, including sexual violence, displacement, and the collapse of social safety nets (Enloe, 2000). By foregrounding these experiences, FSS expands the definition of security to encompass human rights, economic equity, and social justice.

FSS also scrutinizes the militarization of society, a process that often reinforces patriarchal norms by prioritizing military solutions and glorifying male dominance while sidelining the contributions of women. This dynamic has historically manifested in women's exclusion from combat roles and leadership positions, not due to capability, but because of socially constructed notions of gender roles (Sjoberg, 2010). Feminist scholars argue that such exclusion limits not only the participation of women but also the overall effectiveness and responsiveness of security institutions.

An essential contribution of FSS is its advocacy for meaningful participation of women in peacebuilding and conflict resolution. Empirical evidence suggests that when women are included in peace negotiations, outcomes are more likely to address broader societal needs, such as gender equity, social welfare, and transitional justice (Puechguirbal, 2010). FSS supports frameworks like the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which calls for the enhanced role of women in all aspects of peace and security (United Nations, 2000).

Nevertheless, FSS warns against surface-level or symbolic gestures of inclusion. Increasing the number of women in the military or security sector without addressing deeper systemic issues does little to shift entrenched power dynamics.

FSS calls for a reimagining of security that challenges patriarchal values, dismantles institutional barriers, and ensures women's voices are not only present but influential (Shepherd, 2008). In the context of CMR, this perspective offers critical insights into both the historical marginalization of women and the structural reforms necessary for genuine gender inclusivity. It demonstrates that gender equality is not merely a normative goal but a practical strategy for improving security outcomes through diversity of thought and experience.

Liberal Institutional Theory

Liberal Institutional Theory offers a complementary framework for understanding the increasing role of women in civil-military relations and the institutional pathways toward gender inclusivity in the security sector. Rooted in liberal political philosophy, this theory emphasizes the role of formal institutions in shaping behavior, fostering cooperation, and embedding shared norms (Keohane, 1984). In the context of gender and security, it underscores how both international and domestic institutions can act as catalysts for change by developing policies, standards, and incentives that promote women's participation.

Central to this theory is the idea that institutions can reduce power imbalances and foster collective progress by establishing binding rules and expectations. In the realm of global security, institutions such as the United Nations (UN) and NATO have been pivotal in advancing gender inclusion. A landmark moment came with the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000, which formally recognized the importance of women's participation in peace and security efforts (United Nations, 2000). Subsequent resolutions, such as 1820 and 2242, have further solidified international commitments to gender-sensitive security governance.

Domestically, this institutional framework has taken shape through the development of National Action Plans (NAPs), which operationalize the principles of Resolution 1325 at the national level. These plans often include specific measures such as recruitment targets, gender-responsive training, and protocols for preventing sexual harassment and discrimination (True & Mintrom, 2001). Through such mechanisms, institutions aim to create environments where gender inclusivity is not only encouraged but embedded in policy and practice.

Liberal Institutional Theory also highlights the power of incentives in shaping state and organizational behavior. Institutions can encourage gender-inclusive reforms by linking them to funding, operational effectiveness, or international reputation. NATO, for example, has integrated gender perspectives into its planning and evaluation systems, making gender inclusivity an operational benchmark (NATO, 2018). Likewise, international donors often condition financial support on a state's willingness to implement gender-sensitive reforms.

Despite these advances, Liberal Institutional Theory does not ignore the limitations of institutional change. The success of these frameworks largely depends on political will, cultural context, and the degree of institutional resistance. In some cases, formal policies may result in superficial reforms, such as token representation, without addressing underlying structural inequities (Krook & True, 2012). Therefore, while institutions are critical agents of change, genuine transformation requires sustained commitment and vigilance against symbolic compliance.

Liberal Institutional Theory helps explain how formal structures and international norms drive gender inclusion in CMR. It complements the feminist critique by demonstrating the role of policy, governance, and institutional design in reshaping security sectors. Together with FSS, it provides a robust theoretical foundation for analyzing the challenges and opportunities of integrating gender into civil-military relations.

Current State of Gender Inclusivity in the Security Sector

The security sector, comprising military, law enforcement, intelligence, and peacekeeping institutions, has long been characterised by male dominance. However, recent decades have witnessed a growing acknowledgement of the importance of gender inclusivity as a means to improve the effectiveness, accountability, and legitimacy of security institutions. While progress has been made, the implementation of gender inclusivity remains uneven and faces enduring structural and cultural challenges.

One of the most significant advancements has been the removal of formal restrictions on women's participation in combat roles. Countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom have introduced policies that allow women to serve across all branches and functions of the armed forces, including frontline and special operations roles (Carter, 2013; Duncanson, 2016). This reflects a broader shift in recognizing that gender should not determine eligibility for service or leadership.

Peacekeeping operations have also become a crucial arena for promoting gender inclusion. Evidence shows that female peacekeepers enhance mission effectiveness by improving communication with local communities, addressing gender-specific needs, and reducing instances of sexual exploitation and abuse (Karim & Beardsley, 2017). The United Nations has made active efforts to increase the number of women in peacekeeping roles and promote gender-sensitive training and practices (United Nations, 2018).

At the policy level, the adoption of the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda, anchored by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, has established a global normative framework for advancing women's participation in peace and security. Over 80 countries have developed National Action Plans (NAPs) to implement the resolution, institutionalizing efforts to integrate gender perspectives in their security and defence strategies (True & Mintrom, 2001).

Despite these strides, significant barriers remain. Women remain underrepresented in senior leadership and strategic decision-making roles across military and security institutions. Globally, as of 2021, only about 12% of high-ranking military positions were held by women (NATO, 2021). Structural obstacles such as discriminatory institutional cultures, lack of mentorship, and inadequate work-life balance policies hinder women's upward mobility (Bastick & de Torres, 2010).

Furthermore, gender-based harassment, discrimination, and violence continue to plague security institutions. Reports of sexual harassment, bullying, and exclusion are widespread. A 2020 report from the U.S. Department of Defence highlighted the persistent nature of sexual harassment and assault, with women

disproportionately affected (DoD, 2020). These challenges underscore the need for more robust accountability mechanisms and inclusive institutional reforms.

Cultural norms also continue to influence public perceptions of women in security roles. In many societies, military and policing careers are still associated with masculinity, reinforcing resistance to the integration of women. Media narratives often reinforce these stereotypes, valorising male combatants while marginalizing women's contributions (Duncanson, 2016). Changing these narratives requires deliberate efforts, including public education, visibility of female role models, and institutional commitment.

International frameworks like the WPS agenda and national policies such as Sweden's feminist foreign policy and Canada's Elsie Initiative reflect how state-level commitment can drive progress in gender inclusivity. Nonetheless, implementation gaps persist due to limited political will, insufficient resources, and weak inter-agency coordination (Shepherd, 2008). Monitoring and evaluation remain key areas needing strengthening to assess policy impact and ensure accountability.

Gender Inclusivity in Security Operations

Incorporating gender perspectives into security operations is not only a moral and legal imperative but also a strategic necessity. Gender-sensitive approaches help institutions understand the diverse roles and needs within societies they engage with, leading to more effective conflict resolution and peacebuilding (Wright & Caeymaex, 2020). The United Nations Department of Safety and Security (UNDSS) has emphasised the need for gender-aware threat assessments, planning, and response mechanisms (UNDSS, 2017).

Operational effectiveness improves significantly when military and security units account for how instability and conflict affect women, men, girls, and boys differently. The NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives (2011) found that gender inclusion enhances situational awareness, improves communication with communities, and fosters greater trust. These dynamics are essential in missions that rely on community engagement and intelligence gathering.

Leaders play a central role in the successful integration of gender perspectives. As Wright and Caeymaex (2020) argue, leadership must actively address institutional resistance and prioritize gender mainstreaming as part of the operational strategy. Gender-inclusive practices are essential not only for troop safety and mission success but for achieving sustainable peace.

Case Studies: Illustrating the Impact of Gender Inclusivity

a. **NATO's Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan:** NATO deployed Female Engagement Teams (FETs) in Afghanistan to engage directly with local women, an area inaccessible to male troops due to cultural norms. These teams provided critical intelligence and improved community relations, thereby enhancing the overall effectiveness of NATO operations (NATO, 2011).

b. **UN Peacekeeping in Liberia:** In Liberia, the inclusion of female peacekeepers helped build trust with local communities, particularly among women. Their presence facilitated the exchange of vital security information and strengthened cooperation, demonstrating how gender inclusivity can improve mission outcomes (Whitman & O'Neill, 2012).

c. **Nigeria Customs Service (NCS):** In 2025, the NCS collaborated with UN Women to host a high-level forum on gender-responsive security operations. The initiative supported the implementation of Nigeria's Third National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, resulting in increased female representation in leadership and community engagement.

d. **Federal Ministry of Women Affairs, Nigeria:** Also in 2025, Nigeria's fifth annual WPS Sector Reference Group forum, co-hosted by UN Women, emphasized embedding gender in decision-making and operational planning. It prioritized women's representation in leadership and called for gender-sensitive recruitment and promotion policies.

e. **Army War College (AWC) Nigeria:** In 2021, the AWC conducted civil-military relations (CMR) training incorporating gender responsiveness. The

initiative trained security personnel to understand gender dynamics in operations, supporting inclusive leadership across Nigeria's defense institutions.

f. **Nigeria's National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325:** Since launching its first NAP in 2013, Nigeria has made notable strides, especially in involving women in traditional leadership structures. States like Plateau and Adamawa now have hundreds of women in advisory roles, reflecting grassroots progress in inclusive security governance.

Benefits of Gender Inclusivity in Civil-Military Relations

1. Enhanced Operational Effectiveness: Mixed-gender teams offer diverse viewpoints and problem-solving strategies, which improve mission planning and execution. Women often facilitate communication with vulnerable groups and contribute to more nuanced intelligence gathering (Karim & Beardsley, 2017; Woolley et al., 2010).

2. Strengthened Community Engagement and Trust: Female personnel can better engage with local women and children, particularly in conflict zones where cultural norms may limit male interaction. This improves community cooperation and strengthens local partnerships (Egnell, 2013; United Nations, 2018).

3. Reduction in Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: The presence of women in security forces contributes to a more respectful and accountable culture. Research shows that missions with more women report fewer incidents of SEA (Karim & Beardsley, 2017; United Nations, 2020).

4. Broader Perspectives in Policy and Decision-Making: Women often bring attention to issues such as civilian protection, social services, and transitional justice, areas that may be underrepresented in male-dominated leadership (Puechguirbal, 2010; O'Reilly et al., 2015).

5. Increased Public Trust and Legitimacy: Gender-diverse forces are viewed as more representative of the populations they serve, enhancing legitimacy and

public support. Liberia's post-conflict reforms provide a clear example of how female inclusion can restore trust (Jennings, 2011).

6. Innovation and Adaptability: Security environments today require creative and flexible approaches. Gender-diverse teams have been shown to outperform homogenous teams in adaptability and innovation, which are critical for modern security challenges (Duncanson, 2016).

7. Advancement of Gender Equality and Social Transformation: Visible female leadership challenges societal stereotypes and catalyzes broader gender equality. Gender-inclusive institutions not only protect rights but also serve as drivers of progressive change (Shepherd, 2008; True & Mintrom, 2001).

Challenges and Barriers

Workplace Culture and Mindset: The institutional culture within many security organizations continues to reinforce gendered assumptions about roles and responsibilities. A prevalent mindset assigns women to roles perceived as "feminine," such as child protection, family issues, and administrative duties, while reserving roles in criminal investigation, combat, and intelligence for men (Jeff, 2024). For instance, within the Nigerian Police Force, the gender unit is often overwhelmingly staffed by female officers, while male officers dominate departments such as criminal investigations. This entrenched segregation perpetuates occupational stereotyping and marginalizes women's contributions, limiting their career progression and undermining their capacity to fully participate in the security sector.

Perception of the Security Sector as a Male Domain: Security remains widely perceived as a male-dominated field, a perception that persists even within legislative bodies. Gendered stereotypes influence societal beliefs regarding the suitability of women for security roles, often discouraging women from pursuing careers in the field and impacting their acceptance and progression. Moreover, information on gender mainstreaming processes in security sector reform (SSR) is often limited, closely guarded, and inaccessible to the public. Female personnel within the sector frequently remain unaware of gender-focused initiatives and

reforms within their own institutions, reflecting a critical gap in internal communication and awareness.

Limited Advancement Opportunities and Work-Life Balance: Women in security roles often encounter limited opportunities for career advancement, particularly due to the difficulty of balancing professional and familial responsibilities. The demanding and inflexible nature of security-related work, coupled with the absence of supportive policies such as flexible working arrangements and comprehensive parental leave, further hinders women's career development. These challenges are especially pronounced during key periods of women's biological productivity, resulting in stagnation or attrition from the sector.

Strategies to Promote Women in Civil-Military Relations (CMR)

Inclusive Policy Frameworks: Security institutions should adopt and rigorously implement gender-inclusive policies that promote equal opportunity and accountability. This includes safeguarding mechanisms, gender-sensitive recruitment and promotion processes, and clearly defined pathways for career advancement for women.

Gender-Sensitive Training: Regular, mandatory training programs should be instituted to raise awareness of gender dynamics, unconscious bias, and inclusive leadership. These trainings should be extended to all levels of staff and integrated into broader institutional development efforts.

Specialized Mentorship and Networking Programs: Mentorship programs tailored to the needs of women in the security sector can provide guidance, psychosocial support, and access to professional networks. These initiatives should connect junior female personnel with senior role models and allies who can advocate for their advancement.

Institutional Culture Change: Transforming entrenched masculine institutional cultures requires committed leadership and deliberate change management strategies. Promoting diversity, addressing discriminatory practices, and fostering

an inclusive organizational environment are critical to ensuring the full participation of women in security institutions.

Flexible Work Arrangements: Security institutions should implement family-friendly policies such as flexible work schedules, parental leave, and childcare support to accommodate the needs of all personnel. Such measures enhance the retention and productivity of women and create a more equitable workplace.

Periodic Gender and Security Needs Assessments: Security agencies should conduct regular gender needs assessments to evaluate the effectiveness of existing policies and identify emerging challenges. These assessments must be data-driven, inclusive, and responsive to the lived experiences of personnel, ensuring that policy reforms remain relevant and impactful.

Policy Recommendations and Strategic Framework for Women in Civil-Military Relations (CMR)

To promote the meaningful participation of women in military and security institutions, enhance gender equality, and improve the effectiveness of security operations, the following seven policy recommendations provide a strategic framework for institutional reform:

1. Develop and Enforce Gender-Inclusive Recruitment and Retention Policies: Security institutions should adopt and implement policies that actively recruit and retain women across all roles, including combat and leadership positions. This includes setting gender-specific recruitment targets, offering incentives for female enlistment, and addressing structural barriers such as physical fitness requirements and caregiving responsibilities. A noteworthy example is Canada's *Operation HONOUR*, which aims to eliminate harmful and inappropriate sexual behavior in the Canadian Armed Forces while advancing the recruitment and retention of women through systemic reforms (Government of Canada, 2019).

2. Integrate Gender Perspectives into Military and Security Training: Gender awareness must be embedded in all levels of training pre-deployment, operational, and leadership programs. Core training topics should include gender equality,

human rights, and the prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA). For instance, NATO's Gender Advisor Course equips personnel with the knowledge and skills to incorporate gender perspectives into planning and operational decision-making (NATO, 2021).

3. Establish Clear Pathways to Leadership for Women: Creating a conducive environment for women to ascend to leadership roles involves the establishment of mentorship schemes, leadership development initiatives, and institutional policies to counteract implicit and explicit gender biases in promotion processes. The U.S. Army's *Women's Initiatives Team* exemplifies this by identifying barriers to women's leadership advancement and implementing targeted strategies to overcome them (U.S. Army, 2020).

4. Implement and Enforce Zero-Tolerance Policies on Gender-Based Violence and Discrimination: Security institutions must adopt and rigorously enforce zero-tolerance policies regarding gender-based violence, harassment, and discrimination. These policies should be complemented by effective reporting mechanisms, protection for whistleblowers, and accessible support services for survivors. The United Nations' strategy to combat SEA in peacekeeping missions includes mandatory training, strict accountability protocols, and victim support systems (United Nations, 2020).

5. Mainstream Gender in Security Policy, Planning, and Operations: Gender considerations should be systematically integrated into all dimensions of security policy and practice. This includes the use of gender analysis, meaningful engagement with women's groups, and the development of responses that address the distinct needs of women and girls in conflict and post-conflict settings. Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy, launched in 2014, exemplifies such an approach by embedding gender perspectives across its diplomatic and security agendas (Government of Sweden, 2014).

6. Foster Institutional Culture Change: Institutional culture must evolve to support inclusivity and respect for gender diversity. This can be achieved through leadership commitment, continuous staff education, accountability mechanisms,

and a visible commitment to equality at all organisational levels. Regular internal reviews and culture audits may also support this transformation.

7. Strengthen Multi-Stakeholder Collaboration and Partnerships: Governments and security institutions should collaborate with civil society organisations, international institutions, academic bodies, and advocacy networks to promote gender inclusivity in CMR. These partnerships can facilitate knowledge exchange, coordinate reform efforts, and help scale successful practices through shared expertise and pooled resources.

References

African Union. (2009). *African Union Gender Policy Framework*. Addis Ababa: African Union.

Agbaje, Samuel. *Gender Parity in Africa's Security Forces: Challenges and Opportunities*. Ibadan University Press, 2020.

Ajayi, Funke. Addressing Sexual Harassment in Nigeria's Armed Forces. *Journal of African Security Studies*, vol. 12, no. 3, 2020, pp. 55-67.

Bastick, M., & de Torres, A. (2010). *Implementing the Women, Peace, and Security Resolutions in Security Sector Reform*. Geneva: DCAF.

Carter, A. (2013). *Statement on Women in Service*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense.

Chindea, I.A., Fleming, J., Davila, S. P. & Thompson, N. (2024). Applying Women, Peace, and Security Considerations to a Cross-Border Disaster Response: A Mexico Case Study. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

Cohn, C. (2011). Feminist Security Studies: Toward a Reflexive Practice. *Politics & Gender. 7 (4):* 581–586. doi:10.1017/S1743923X11000389.

Cohn, C. (2013). *Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Davis, K. (2013). *Canada's Integration of Women into Combat Roles: A Case Study*. Ottawa: Canadian Military Journal.

Dayil, CLEEN Foundation & Sjöberg (2011). Nigeria. In Miranda Gaanderse and Kristin Valasek (Eds). The Security Sector and Gender in West Africa: A Survey of Police, Defence, Justice and Penal Services in ECOWAS States. Geneva: DCAF.

DCAF. (2024). *Changing Mindsets for Gender Equal Security Institutions: The Journey of the Georgian Ministry of Defence and Georgian Defence Forces*. Geneva*: DCAF.*

DeGroot, G. (2001). *A Soldier and a Woman: Sexual Integration in the Military*. London: Longman.

DeSimone, D. (2023). Over 200 Years of Service: The History of Women in the U.S. Military. United Service Organizations. p. 5.

Dharmapuri, S. (2011). *Just Add Women and Stir*. Parameters Vol.41(1). doi:10.55540/. 0031-1723.2566.

Duncanson, C. (2016). *Gender and the Military*. London: Routledge.

Eboh, Emmanuel. *Women and Peacebuilding in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Routledge, 2018.

Editorial Team. (2024). Gender Integration in the Military: Progress and Challenges Ahead. Total Military Insight. p. 12, 14.

Egnell, R. (2013). *Gender Perspectives in Military Operations: The Swedish Experience in Afghanistan*. Stockholm: Swedish Defence University.

Enloe, C. (1983). *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives*. London: Pluto Press.

Enloe, C. (2000). *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gasztold, A. (2017). A feminist approach to security studies. *Przegląd Politologiczny (3)*: 179–190. doi: https://doi.org/10.14746/pp.2017.22.3.13

Global Affairs Canada. (2019). *The Elsie Initiative on Women in Peace Operations*. Ottawa: Government of Canada.

Goldstein, J. (2001). *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Government of Canada. (2019). *Operation HONOUR: Addressing Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces*. Ottawa: Department of National Defence.

Government of Sweden. (2014). *Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy*. Stockholm: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Ibe, N. (2024). Women in International Security Advancing Women's Role in the Security Sector in Nigeria. Women in International Security (WIIS). https://wiisglobal.org/advancing-womens-role-in-the-security-sector-in-nigeria/.

Ilesanmi, O. A. (2020). Women in/and the Security Sector in Africa. In: Yacob-Haliso, O., Falola, T. (eds) The Palgrave Handbook of African Women's Studies. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77030-7_76-1

Jeff, K. (2024). Breaking Barriers: The Need for More Women in Security. *Blog Post.* https://www.securityguardsonly.com/blog/the-need-for-more-women-in-security/

Jennings, K. M. (2011). *Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations: Agents of Change or Stranded Symbols?*. Oslo: Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre.

Karim, S., & Beardsley, K. (2017). *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping: Women, Peace, and Security in Post-Conflict States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keohane, R. (1984). *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Krook, M. L., & True, J. (2012). Rethinking the Life Cycles of International Norms: The United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality. *European Journal of International Relations, 18*(1), 103-127.

Lena, P. Kvarving, L. P & Grimes, R. (2016). Why and how gender is vital to military operations in PfPC SSRWG and EDWG. Geneva: DCAF and PfPC.

Matei, C. F., Halladay, C. & Bruneau, C. T. (eds) (2022). The Routledge Handbook of Civil-Military Relations. New York: Routledge.

Morden, B. (1990). *The Women's Army Corps, 1945-1978*. Washington, DC: Center of Military History.

NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives, (2011). Attention to Gender Increases Security in Operations: Examples from the Field. Washington DC: The Institute for Inclusive Security.

NATO. (2018). *NATO/EAPC Policy on Women, Peace, and Security*. Brussels: NATO.

NATO. (2021). *Women, Peace, and Security: NATO's Commitment to Gender Equality*. Brussels: NATO.

Nwosu, Ikechukwu. Human Rights Compliance in Nigeria's Counter-Terrorism Operations. *International Journal of Military Ethics*, vol. 15, no. 4, 2021, pp. 75-92.

O'Reilly, M., Ó Súilleabháin, A., & Paffenholz, T. (2015). *Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes*. New York: International Peace Institute.

Odozor, Chinwe, and Adebayo, Sola. Gender Perspectives in Nigeria's Security Sector." *African Security Review*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2019, pp. 35-50.

Plamen Pantev, Valeri Ratchev, Todor Tagarev, and Viara Zaprianova, Civil-Military Relations and Democratic Control of the Security Sector. A Handbook, ed. Plamen Pantev (Sofia: Procon, 2005).

Prudhoe, Hillerby, Kyle & Patricia Nguyen (2024). Military Voices on the Gender Perspective: A NATO Anthology. https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/2024/6/pdf/20240614_NU_GENAD_Military-Voices-Anthol.pdf&ved=2ahUKEwjknbuPooOMAxU2WEEAHXChKFUQFnoECBoQAQ&usg=AOvVaw0LMW20C0qTWkG7kE8FiEO8.

Puechguirbal, N. (2010). Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy, and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents. *International Peacekeeping, 17*(2), 172-187.

Puechguirbal, N. (2010). Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy, and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents. *International Peacekeeping, 17*(2), 172-187.

Shepherd, L. J. (2008). *Gender, Violence, and Security: Discourse as Practice*. London: Zed Books.

Sjoberg, L. (2010). *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Tickner, J. A. (1992). *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. New York: Columbia University Press.

True, J., & Mintrom, M. (2001). Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming. *International Studies Quarterly, 45*(1), 27-57.

U.S. Army. (2020). *Women's Initiatives Team: Advancing Gender Equality in the U.S. Army*. Washington, DC: Department of the Army.

United Nations Department of Safety and Security (UNDSS), (2017). Policy on Gender Considerations in Security Management. UN Security Management System. Security Policy Manual.

United Nations. (1979). *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (2000). *Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (2008). *Security Council Resolution 1820 on Sexual Violence in Conflict*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (2009). *Security Council Resolution 1888 on Women, Peace, and Security*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (2015). *Security Council Resolution 2242 on Women, Peace, and Security*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (2018). *Women in Peacekeeping: Key to Peace*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (2020). *Preventing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping Operations*. New York: United Nations.

Weatherford, D. (1990). *American Women and World War II*. New York: Facts on File.

Whitman, T., & O'Neill, J. (2012). *Attention to Gender Increases Security in Operations: Examples from NATO*. Washington DC: The Institute for Inclusive Security.

Wibben, A. T. R. (2011). Feminist security studies: a narrative approach. London: Routledge.

Woolley, A. W., Chabris, C. F., Pentland, A., Hashmi, N., & Malone, T. W. (2010). Evidence for a Collective Intelligence Factor in the Performance of Human Groups. *Science, 330*(6004), 686-688.

Wright, K. A. M., & Caeymaex, O. (2020). Gender and Inclusivity in Peace and Security. Quaker Council for European Affairs.