

WOMEN IN MILITARY STRATEGY: A REVIEW OF WOMEN EMANCIPATION AND PROTECTION

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Abstract– Whether in conflict and war or peacebuilding, women are always considered victims of human rights violation and the vulnerable. In recent decades, there has been efforts to advocate for the protection of women's rights and women empowerment in the name of emancipation. This has allowed women's presence in several key sectors, including politics and military, resulting in a new role for women as resources in military strategy. This has put the policy to protect women during war into question, especially when women have now become a combatant. This paper analyzes this issue through two concepts (women protection and military strategy to understand the military's perception toward women's position and one theory (feminism) to understand women's perception toward their roles in the military during war. Therefore, the object of this observation is the role of women in military strategy with regard to the implementation of women' rights protection and military strategy. In this observation, this paper collects secondary data through literature review. Through this observation, we can have broader understanding of the role of women in military strategy because the primary purpose of this paper is to assess the possibility for changing women protection during war policy to reflect the current condition.

Keywords: emancipation, human rights, military strategy, women protection

Introduction

In wars and armed conflicts, civilians always face fear and insecurity over the destruction of livelihoods, being displaced, loss of family, and death. Worse things were experienced by most women during World War II as they must face acts of sexual harassment and rape. This has led to the establishment of a number of policies on the protection of women by the United Nations (UN).

The idea that women are vulnerable group during war or armed conflict is still dominant up to this day. The work plan of International Committee and the Red Cross (ICRC)², an organization that actively encourages the protection of

victims of armed conflict, shows that in 2003, the ICRC's activities were focused on identifying and considering specific and general protection, health assistance and needs of women affected by war, including assistance programs for food, water, sanitation, and reunification with disappeared families. In other words, one focus of the ICRC's performance is the protection of women affected by war who are declared as victims, not perpetrators of war or combatants.

Along with the times, women get a more intensive role in encouraging efforts to handle armed conflict and maintain post-war peace. As stated by

¹ Defense Diplomacy Department of the Indonesia Defense University.

² International Committee and the Red Cross, Women and War: Special Report, (2003), p. 11.

Austrian Development Cooperation³, there are at least three roles of women in handling conflict and maintaining peace. First, women are responsible for maintaining family unity during the war. In a patriarchal culture, women who took on the role of breadwinner during the war experienced many difficulties. Second, women who participate in peacekeeping organizations have a significant role as negotiators and mediators and encourage dialogue between conflicting parties. This role was highlighted by Magda Lorena Cardenas in her article, "Women-to-women Diplomacy in Georgia: A Peacebuilding Strategy in Frozen Conflict." The article discussed the importance of women's role in implementing strategies for peacebuilding through personal relationships between women, especially in the resolution of conflicts in Georgia. Involving women is considered effective to encourage parties involved in the conflict to follow the process of peaceful conflict resolution. In other words, women can build peace by utilizing its ability to establish relationships (people-to-people contact) with women in conflict areas.⁴ Third, women with an awareness of their rights can fight for themselves and other women. This requires awareness building through training and other planned actions.

Giving this role to women is inseparable from the spread of gender equality issues that drive the demands of women's emancipation and empowerment. In this regard, women also get a new role in war, namely as perpetrators of war (combatants). This includes those who are members of the military of a country or those who join paramilitary, rebellion and terrorist organizations. This role created a debate that questioned the suitability of women to military roles and habits.⁵ Unlike its role in peacebuilding, women as combatants are trained to apply principles with military masculinity. If women's participation in conflict resolution relies on their psychological femininity, their position as combatants will require entirely different quality. This article reviews the role of women as combatants in the concept of women's emancipation and protection. In other words, this article highlights a different role from the one highlighted by Cardenaz.

However, this article also does not focus on specific issues such as combating terrorism, as written by Katie M. Martinez in her thesis that discusses the potential involvement of US women in the eradication of Boko Haram. There are at least two big questions that form the basis of this article, namely: (1) what is the role of women as combatants in

³ Austrian Development Cooperation, Focus: Women, Gender and Armed Forces, (Vienna: Austrian Development Cooperation, October 2009), pp. 2-3.

⁴ Magda Lorena Cardenaz, Cardenas, Women-to-women Diplomacy in Georgia: Peacebuilding Strategy in Frozen Conflict,

(Civil Wars, Volume 21, No. 3, 2019), pp. 385-409.

⁵ Joyce P. Kaufmann dan Kristen P. Williams, Women at War, Women Building Peace: Challenging Gender Norms, (Boulder: Kumarian Press, 2013), p. 1.

military strategies? and (2) how to perceive such role from the concept of women's emancipation and protection. In other words, this article reviews the concepts of emancipation and protection of women against women's involvement as combatants in military strategies.

This study involves three variables, namely women's emancipation, military strategy, and protection of women in war situations. Until now, most studies have seen women as a group whose human rights must be protected in war. However, in recent development, women have obtained the right to get the same opportunities in the military world. Therefore, this study focuses on the role of women in war in terms of women's emancipation and protection of women in war situations.

Research Methodology

Women's involvement in war and conflict cannot be assessed quantitatively because there are various factors which cannot be quantified such as women's psychological and physical abilities. Therefore, this study is carried out with a qualitative approach.

This study analyzes secondary data obtained through literature study or literature review.

Result and Discussion

Feminism Theory and Women's Psychological Character

Feminism developed in international relations as a new theory which contained criticisms of old and basic theories, such as liberalism and realism. Feminism is classified into three groups, namely (1) empirical feminism, which focuses on gender issues as an empirical dimension of international relations; (2) analytical feminism, which uses gender as a theory that expresses gender bias in the concepts of international relations and explains the constitutive aspects of international relations; and (3) normative feminism, which reflects the process of forming theory as part of the normative agenda of social and political change.⁶

Empirical feminism reveals that the majority of development assistance allocations are provided to women in the form of agricultural technology, credit funding systems, education, and health support.⁷ In the economic sector, empirical feminism reveals that the globalization has turned women and girls into objects of transnational human trafficking and valued with low wages in developing countries. On the other hand, empirical feminism reveals that the global structural changes did not only victimize women, but also empower them. Globalization has brought changes in subjectivity and transformation in gender relations at the local to rural level.⁸

⁶ Jacqui True, *Feminism*, dalam Scott Burchill, et al. (Ed.). *Theories of International Relations Third Edition*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), hlm. 214.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 217.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 218.

Meanwhile, in the foreign policy sector, feminists revealed that policy-making is dominated by masculinity adopted by rational actors relying on abstract concepts called "national interests."⁹ In fact, in military or war, gender inequality is also getting wider. Empirical feminist researchers reveal the role of women in militarization which provides support services for military activities, whether in psychological, health or sexual form, as a form of state policy that harms women.¹⁰

Empirical feminists continue to focus on the condition of women at the local and domestic levels, including those in the network of sex workers, domestic workers, housewives and civil activists in each of their campaigns. In addition, the empirical feminist also focuses on new forms of cross-border solidarity and identity activities which signify how women in recent years have played a prominent role in the movement to ban mining, the campaign for nuclear disarmament, and the women protection movement.¹¹

Empirical feminist' idea is supported by analytical feminist that refers to differences in the social construction of gender and sex (biologically). Gender discussion is often equated with human biological identity and not the subject of social constitutions. According to analytical feminists, the main concepts in International Relations are not formed naturally and neutrally. These concepts,

such as power, sovereignty, autonomy, anarchy, security, and level of analysis, are formed by masculine hegemony that arises from men's experience and knowledge, so that International Relations becomes dominated by and exclusive for men.¹²

Analytical feminists argue that the level of analysis of International Relations cannot be established through universal abstraction. Analysis requires historical and cultural contextualization to reflect complexity and uncertainty in social structures. In addition, analytical feminists also criticize biases in the concepts of power and security. According to analytical feminists, individual power is within each autonomy. Strength cannot be shared or increased through cooperative relations in the context of interdependence or mutual interest.¹³ Meanwhile, with regard to security, especially regarding 9/11 and its impact, analytical feminists believe that gender and sex differences are the reasons behind terrorist attacks against Western countries.¹⁴ Meanwhile, normative feminists explain that women's right to speak and act becomes a problem because, socially and historically, women are given different identities from men. According to normative feminists, if given the opportunity, women's experience can support critical and universal theories in the field of international relations.¹⁵

⁹ *Ibid*, hlm 219.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 220.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² *Ibid*, pp. 221-222.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 225.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 227.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 231.

Apart from the theories conveyed by the three feminist groups, gender differences are something that cannot be ignored in war and armed conflict. Analytical feminist argues that security issues, including wars, are not gender-neutral issues. However, gender neutrality can be used in the process of resolving armed conflicts.¹⁶

As stated in feminist theory, gender is not the same as sex in a biological sense. The discussion on gender equality is a political and moral issue, while the differences between women and men in psychological and physical sense are scientific.¹⁷ Women and men have different physical and psychological abilities that are fundamental and influence their character. These differences are formed from birth and continue to develop according to the condition of the body's system, environment, and habits.

In principle, women have good intuition and focus on detail, including the small changes in one's attitude.¹⁸ This is why women are always able to find small things that are often invisible to men. This difference can be seen when distinguishing between colors. Men usually use basic colors to describe things, such as red, blue, and green, while women can distinguish colors with more detailed types, such as bone white, apple green, mauve, and aqua. This difference is

caused by the fact that women have two X chromosomes.¹⁹

The advantage of women also lies in their eyes that have a wider range of views than men.²⁰ In fact, the range of views of women can be up to 180° and they can perceive every detail in it. The difference in the range of views of women and men can be seen in Figure 1.

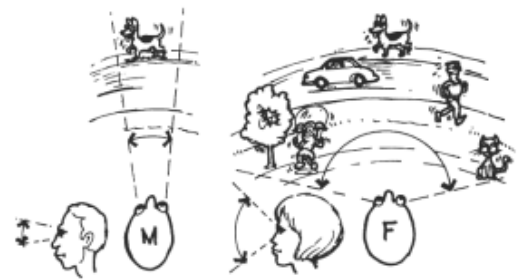


Figure 1. Reach of Eyes of Women and Men

Source: Alan and Barbara Pease, 2001, p. 38

Not only the eyes, women's hearing senses also tend to be more sensitive to very soft sounds when compared to men. In fact, women can identify a person's emotions through their voice. However, women have weaknesses in spatial ability.²¹ Women cannot determine distance and direction. Therefore, in some cases, women often listen to the sound, but do not know the direction the sound is coming from. This weakness can be minimized through a number of exercises. If women have good spatial abilities, women's performance is better than men.²²

¹⁶ Cassandra K. Shepherd, The Role of Women in International Conflict Resolution, (Journal of Public Law & Policy, Volume 36, Issue 2, Article 1, 2015), p. 57.

¹⁷ Alan dan Barbara Pease, Why Men Don't Listen & Women Can't Read Maps. (Queensland: Pease International Pty, Ltd., 2001), p. 24.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 35.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 37.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 38.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 36.

²² *Ibid*, p. 143.

In terms of professionalism, women have a different work character with men. Women are always focused on relationships and cooperation, while men are on power and status.²³ If a woman faces problems in her relationship, she cannot focus on her work, while men who face problems with her job cannot focus on her relationship.²⁴ These are the traits that gave rise to feminine values, such as interdependence, collaboration, and teamwork. These values are needed in the strategic ability of an organization.²⁵

These values are also the reasons for the successful involvement of women in handling terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq. The United States sends female troops to Iraq and Afghanistan to build relationships with the community and the local community, so that all of its troops can overcome the problem of cultural norms. The involvement of these women troops is also intended to build intelligence and information gathering.²⁶

Women can work both in an environment that upholds feminine values and one that upholds male hierarchy. If a woman works in an environment with a male hierarchy, including being a soldier, she always has two choices, which are to leave or be masculine.²⁷ Women who choose to be masculine can perform on par with or even better than men.

Protection of Women in War

Women are seen as 'the weak' and in need of protection, especially in war or armed conflict. This thought emerged after the end of World War II which left a record of around 200,000 women and girls abducted and forced to become sex slaves by the Japanese army. This action did not only occur in World War II, but also in armed conflicts and wars that occurred in the last few decades. For example, in 1990, 5,000 Kuwaiti women were raped by the Iraqi army during the Kuwaiti invasion. Meanwhile, the Rwandan government reported 15,700 rape cases (2000-5000 cases leading to pregnancy) that occurred during the Rwandan genocide. Whereas according to the UN Special Rapporteur, a total of all cases, including those not recorded in the report, were 250,000-500,000 cases. Similar conditions also occurred in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where around 100,000 women were victims of sexual violence during 1998-2003. Reports of sexual violence experienced by women during armed conflict also appeared in Liberia, Timor-Leste, Indonesia, Yugoslavia (now split into several countries), Sudan and Afghanistan.²⁸

The end of World War II gave birth to civil protection in the Geneva IV Convention in 1949 which contained a

²³ *Ibid*, p. 152.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 158.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 284.

²⁶ Katie M. Martinez, *Women's Work: Incorporating Females into the United States Military Strategy to Contain and Degrade Boko Haram*, (Kansas: Fort Leavenworth. 2017), p. 34-35.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 283.

²⁸ Alain-Guy Tachou-Sipowo, *The Security Council on women in the war: between peacebuilding and humanitarian protection*. (International Review of the Red Cross, Volume 92 No. 877, 2010), pp. 205-206

statement that "women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honor, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault." In addition, the UN also enacted the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict in 1974.²⁹ The existence of this declaration along with a number of world guarantees for the protection of women are not seen in war situations, as has happened in the Democratic Republic of Congo and other countries.

Both the outcome of the Geneva Convention and the declaration not only guarantee protection in war situations, but also provide a number of gender equality rights. This happens along with the development of emancipation and the high demands of women around the world to be treated equally with men. On behalf of emancipation, women have an important role to play in politics, post-war development and maintaining peace. This role also finally showed the capability of women in handling conflict and building peace, both formally and informally. One implication of the role of women in politics is shown through the Women of Liberian Mass Action for Peace. This movement was formed in response to the Liberian Civil War I and II which involved children as combatants and propelled sexual violence against women. Through this movement, women hope to encourage the peace process in Liberia.

²⁹ Fitri Bintang Timur, *The Tales of the Three Asian Countries: How Indonesia, India, and the Philippines Recruited Women for UN Peacekeeping Missions*, (Global, Volume 18 No. 1, 2016), pp. 55-56.

The movement, which began with a joint meeting and prayer between Muslim and Christian women in Monrovia, developed into a political movement, which managed to encourage women to promote peace in the region and oversee democratic and peaceful elections in 2005, and ultimately led to the first female elected president in Africa.³⁰

Women's involvement in informal processes such as that of Liberia can take many forms, ranging from small group actions to systematically organized large-scale activities. Women have been advocated outside the formal process to prevent war before it begins and improve conditions after the war ends. Such advocacy becomes an instrument of building relationships and understanding across cultures.³¹

Women's contribution in this war has been noticed by the world. This is shown by a change in attitude that leads to giving equal rights to women. This change is also affirmed in the UN Charter with a sentence that reads "in the equal rights of men and women."³² Thus, the basic foundation for implementing gender equality that is voiced in emancipation has been formed not only at the national or regional level, but also at the international level.

Seeing the potential and effectiveness of involving women in handling post-war situations, particularly in the peace process, the UN Security Council issued Resolution 1325 on 20

³⁰ Cassandra K. Shepherd, *op.cit.*, pp. 58-59.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 58.

³² Alain-Guy Tachou-Sipowo, *op.cit.*, p. 198.

October 2000. In fact, the Former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, stated that women's participation in maintaining and building peace is urgently needed because "women know the price of peace well, and are therefore better equipped to prevent and resolve conflicts."³³ Resolution 1325 contains five key objectives, namely (1) increasing the participation and representation of women at every level of decision making; (2) paying attention to the special needs of girls and women in conflict; (3) applying a gender perspective in post-war or conflict processes; (4) applying a gender perspective in UN planning, reporting and mission; and (5) applying a gender perspective and training in efforts to support UN peace operations. Efforts to achieve the five goals are based on the application of four pillars, namely participation, prevention, protection and relief, as well as recovery. Meanwhile, the actors involved in implementing this resolution are the Security Council, member states and UN entities, as well as those who are at war or in conflict.³⁴

Unfortunately, women's participation and representation is still very low, including in peace negotiations. Although there are a number of formal legal instruments underlying it, there is no significant increase in women's participation in handling conflict or war.³⁵ Not only in handling conflict or war, the number of women who play an active role in the field of defense and security at the

national level is also very limited. One explanation is the prevailing perspective that war, military and defense are fields that can only be handled by men. Meanwhile, women are 'weak people' who must be protected.³⁶ However, most women who are considered 'weak' have taken on the role of combatants in conflict or war, whether through state military institutions or rebel organizations or other actors. Unfortunately, until now, there has not been a specific legal umbrella to discuss the protection or enforcement of female combatants. In other words, women as combatants have not received special attention from the international world.

Women in Military strategy

The discussion of strategy always covers three things, namely resources (means), ways (ways), and goals (ends). Neither in the discussion of military strategy. One military strategy that is often used as a reference in defense and security studies is the Sun Tzu military strategy or "The Art of War."

The Art of War describes five factors that must be considered to determine conditions on the ground, namely (1) moral law, which compels every soldier to follow their leader and become fearless of any danger; (2) heaven, which refers to conditions of day and night, heat and cold, as well as weather and climate; (3) earth, which refers to distance, danger or safety, open areas or narrow lanes, and

³³ *Ibid*, p. 65.

³⁴ Security Council Resolution 1325, <https://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-1325>, accessed on May 10, 2020.

³⁵ Cassandra K. Shepherd, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

³⁶ Fitri Bintang Timur, *op.cit.*, pp. 55-56.

the chance of life or death; (4) commanders with the character of wisdom, virtue, courage, and accuracy; and (5) methods and discipline related to the accuracy of leaders and members in each division, logistics management, to military budget oversight. Knowledge of these five factors is the basis for determining the tactics used in warfare. This means that these five factors are part of preparing means and determining ways. Those with access to more detailed information, both about the enemy and the allies, will have greater chance at winning the war.

In any military strategy, especially the Sun Tzu military strategy, there has never been any mention about women's position in warfare. In principle, war has no gender. In other words, both men and women can take the role of troops or combatants in war. But actually, the role of women in war is always secondary and intended to support the performance of troops which generally were men. Women's expertise in warfare, especially as combatants, as demonstrated by Lyudmila Pavlichenko who served as Soviet Union sniper during World War II, is rarely highlighted in a variety of literature.

Women and the Military

Lara Obravodovic found the fact that women's involvement in the military was more common in communist countries than in liberal countries. In 2009, 22% of

North Korean military was filled by women who served actively in the field, including controlling artillery units. Meanwhile, only 5.4% of Japan's total Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and 4% of the total South Korean armed forces are women.³⁷ In fact, the South Korean government prefers men to become members of the armed forces by considering the masculinity of military life.³⁸

In addition, Obravodovic also found the fact that a country with a high level of women's participation in the military has a low rate of economic growth. In 2014, China and North Korea, which had a high level of women's participation in the military, had a GDP per capita of USD 10,756 and USD 1,800, while Japan and South Korea had USD 34,883 and USD 27,168. However, for the unemployment rate, the four countries have similar percentage, namely China 4.7%, Japan 4.1%, North Korea 4.6%, and South Korea 3.3%.³⁹

The involvement of women in the military is predicted to increase due to the limited availability of male workers of productive age. Moreover, the number of female workers in these countries is greater than the male counterpart (China by 64%, North Korea by 72%, South Korea by 50% and Japan by 49%). In terms of women's participation at the professional and technical level, China ranks first in the world, while Japan and South Korea rank 78th and 98th.⁴⁰

³⁷ Lara Obravodovic, "Comparative Analysis of Women's Military Participation in East Asia", (Res Militaris, Ergomas, Part One, September 2015), p. 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4-5.

Japan is currently promoting gender equality in recruiting military personnel. Based on the decision of the Japanese Ministry of Defense in 2008, women are principally allowed to occupy various positions. However, in spite of this progress, the Japanese government also limits the role of women in specific formation, specialization, and fields, such as infantry, technicians, intelligence, anti-tank helicopters, chemical protection units, submarines, guided missile patrol boats, aircraft pilot's reconnaissance and combat, special escort units, and armor.⁴¹

Although gender equality in the military has been promoted, some developing countries still restrict women from occupying high positions or ranks. One of the most common ways to do this is by limiting women's access to defense academies. For example, Pakistan began accepting female cadets in 2003, Serbia in 2007, Colombia in 2009, India in 2010, Nigeria in 2011, and Indonesia in 2013. Meanwhile, Thailand still provide no opportunities for women to enter military academy to this day.⁴²

While the governments of East Asian countries and a number of other developing countries are pushing for gender equality in the military field in accordance with the demands of world development, Uganda faces a different problem. In the conflict in northern Uganda, girls were recruited and kidnapped to become child soldiers. They account for 20-30% of the total child soldiers involved in the conflict in northern Uganda. According to Human

Rights Watch, all children who successfully escape from the conflict contracted a sexually transmitted disease.⁴³

With the current situation, women's involvement in military, conflict and war cannot be ignored. Both adult women and young girls have equally large potential to get involved in conflict as combatant. Despite all the limitations, women are still considered to be part of the defense forces.

Women in Military strategy: A Review of Women Emancipation and Protection

The emergence of gender issues that produce emancipation cannot be separated from changes in economic, defense and security, international politics, and socio-culture situations and conditions. As seen in Figure 2, all elements in the life of the nation and state are interrelated with one another, including issues that develop both at national and international levels.

Gender issues are an element that is closely related to international social and political stability. However, the impact of its emergence also affects elements of defense forces and economic stability. This is a result of the dependency between international economic, social, defense and political elements that cannot be avoided.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 12.

⁴² Fitri Bintang Timur, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

⁴³ Alain-Guy Tachou-Sipowo, *op.cit.*, p. 205-206.

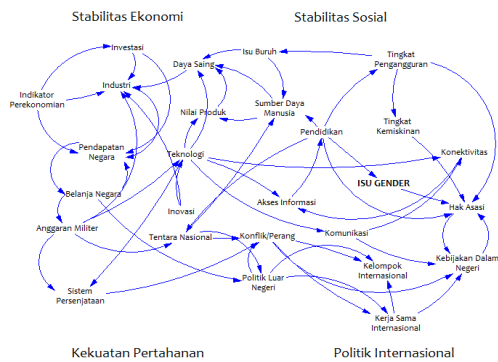


Figure 2. Dependencies of Economic, Social, Defense and International Political Elements

Source: Author, 2020

The emergence of the feminism theory and the struggle of feminists to gain recognition not only in their countries, but also at the international level, has turned gender issue into one of the most important issues today. Gender equality has been promoted in various fields. In fact, the results have been felt by most women around the world, such as the right to education; the right to occupy important positions, both in private and government agencies, including in international organizations; the right to get a job with salary equivalent to man's; the right to speak and express opinions, and so on. In fact, women can become president or prime minister. However, why have feminists not stopped advocating gender equality?

Women have obtained several rights that help their development socially, culturally, and economically. However, there are restrictions that occur consciously or not applied at not only the local or domestic level, but also internationally. One form of limitation is quota. Each position in an agency establishes a quota for women's membership, including in parliamentary

seats. However, this quota has reduced gender equality into merely numbers representing the participation of women in each period.

Moreover, the two elements directly related to gender issues continue to grow, namely education and human rights. The higher the education of a woman, the more she realizes her potential to be independent. Education is increasingly growing by increasing the ability to master technology that causes greater access to information and encourages increased connectivity. This has an impact on the rapid spread of a particular understanding or thought in the community, including thoughts about gender equality. As long as feminists continue to feel that their rights have not been fulfilled, their technology and innovation will allow them to speak even louder.

When viewed from the level of education, in addition to data on the quantity of educated women, women have comparable knowledge to men. In other words, the ability to think and the level of knowledge of women and men are equal. However, psychologically and physically, women and men are in different and complementary positions.

Women can take a role in masculine or male-dominated fields, such as military and foreign policy. Women who work in these fields have two choices, namely being masculine or leaving their jobs. Being masculine entails adapting one's physical and psychological capacity to fit the job, not necessarily changing one's appearance. This has been exemplified by Margaret Thatcher with her iron fist in

policymaking that represent not of her feminine psyche or Lyudmila Pavlichenko who equipped herself with sharpshooting abilities. Women who join the military can be trained to have male abilities, including spatial abilities. The ability resulting from such exercise shall not replace women's natural trait but instead complement it.

In the Sun Tzu military strategy, there are five elements that a war commander must consider. Of the five elements, women have the sensitivity to identify heaven and earth. Women's overall views, sharp hearing and smell, and focus on details allowed women to have better abilities than men in terms of getting clear picture of heaven and earth. In addition, with a preference for relationships or cooperation, women are needed to build moral law in an army.

If you look at the three elements of strategy, namely means, ways, and ends. Women are in the means and ways. Women are also a resource for maintaining the sovereignty of the country. To echo the principle of gender equality, women and men have the same rights and obligations towards their country.

Women are also in the elements of ways. In the process of going to ends, women who join the military always have two choices, namely forming cooperation or continuing war. The choice of forming cooperation will not be found in a man because the focus of men is power. Women can also be placed in the army without regardless of the field, but they must be equipped with proper training.

As stated in the previous subsection, women's involvement in war creates a dilemma between emancipation and protection of women's rights in conflict and war. The essence of protecting women in war or conflict is carried out to protect their rights and prevent acts of harassment and violence. As combatants, violence is unavoidable, but protection from acts of harassment and other violations still apply. A woman who works in a war zone, even as a member of the military, still deserves protection. Women who are involved in conflict and war must always have their rights protected. Meanwhile, joining the war is also women right granted in the name of emancipation. In other words, there are two different standards in determining the role of women in warfare.

This however does not apply to young girls. There are two laws which prohibit young girls' involvement in the military, namely the law governing underage workers and the protection of children, with the second law being subject to another movement led by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

According to some people and groups, the protection for women policy is an opportunity to win war or conflict. Moreover, many parties involved in conflict or war consider that law enforcement at the international level does not have significant authority in implementing women's protection policies. Therefore, female combatants continue to emerge in conflict/war zones, including girls.

An international organization can directly reprimand its member countries which are proven to have violated the policy of protecting women. However, this is not the case with extremist groups and terrorists who use women and girls as troops and martyrs.

Conclusions, Recommendations, and Limitations

Based on the above explanations, women have the capacity and capabilities that can be used as resources in war and conflict. Women's empowerment in war and conflict is an implementation of the values of emancipation or gender equality that have been advocated by feminists for a long time. Meanwhile, women's protection does not address women's position as combatants. However, if reviewed thoroughly, women as combatants or troops in war can be justified on the basis of emancipation, while the protection of women's rights must still be carried out in order to prevent acts of harassment or other violations of rights.

Women are often used as martyrs or weapons in military strategy. However, most people are not aware that in a military strategy, women occupy two positions, namely means and ways. With its position and abilities, women are one of the keys that can be used to win the war.

One of the recommendations of this article is to conduct more in-depth research to determine the effectiveness of women's involvement as combatants in war and conflict, women's level of awareness of their role in war and

conflict, and other matters that are still related to the themes raised in this article. In addition, there are three recommendations that can be considered by each country in empowering women in their military forces, namely: (1) women recruitment in the military is in dire need of special training to sharpen specific skills; (2) women troops should receive field training to acquire abilities that are equal to men; and (3) there needs to be a special policy governing the handling of girls in conflict/war zones to avoid involvement as combatants.

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