

The State of Civil-Military Relations Education: Falling Short?

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Abstract

This paper addresses the state of civil-military relations (CMR) education by addressing whether CMR is taught at military and civilian institutions, the gap between CMR scholarship produced and CMR materials studied, and the ability to create better CMR syllabi (by ending a practice of excluding female-authored works in CMR syllabi).

Resumen

Este artículo aborda el estado de la educación de las relaciones civiles-militares (RCM), al enfocarse en si RCM son enseñadas o no en instituciones militares y civiles, en la brecha entre los estudios académicos producidos y los materiales estudiados en los cursos de RCM, así como en la habilidad de crear mejores syllabi (finalizando con la práctica de excluir trabajos de autoría de mujeres en los syllabi de RCM).

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³ This research is a result of my experiences as a military officer and student at the Inter-American Defense College in 2010-2011. Now a retired colonel, the views and opinions expressed are my personal views and are not intended to represent in whole or in part the opinions of the US government or any of its components.

Key words: Civil-military relations, education, syllabi, civilian institutions, military institutions, female-authored

Palabras clave: *relaciones civiles-militares, educación, programa de estudios, instituciones civiles, instituciones militares, autoría femenina.*

1.0 Introduction

This paper addresses three questions regarding the state of civil-military relations education (CMR):

- (1) Is CMR taught (and to whom)?
- (2) Does a gap exist between CMR scholarship produced and CMR material taught?
- (3) How can we make CMR syllabi better?

2.0 Why care?

CMR education was an issue important enough to include in peace agreements to end two wars in Central America – El Salvador and Guatemala.⁴ As such, questions abound. Is the (lack of) implementation of the provisions of CMR education a reason for El Salvador and Guatemala to be known today as being among the most violent places on our planet? Is CMR education important for preventing and ending violence and wars in the future? Finding answers to these questions remains elusive in 2020.

As we ponder these questions, it behooves us to examine the state of CMR education today, to include whether civil-military relations is taught, what is taught as civil-military relations, and how can we make civil-military relations syllabi better.

⁴ Peace Agreement between the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional, Chapter 1, para 2 (16 January 1992). Appendix to A/46/864, S/23501, Letter dated 27 January 1992 from the Permanent Representative of El Salvador to the United Nations Addressed to the Secretary General, http://peaceaccords.nd.edu/wp-content/accords/Chapultepec_Peace_Agreement_16_January_1992.pdf; Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power and on the Role of the Armed Forces in a Democratic Society – Guatemala, para 40 (19 September 1996), https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/file/resources/collections/peace_agreements/guat_960919.pdf.

3.0 Methodology

To address the questions regarding the status of CMR education, the first step was to obtain syllabi. For this paper, CMR syllabi include any and all syllabi identified as CMR syllabi by the instructor or institution providing the syllabi.

Initially I focused on US war college syllabi. War colleges in the US are military “academic institutions [that] imbue a broad, strategic education to develop and mature the nation’s future flag officers – the generals, admirals, and senior executive service members who will lead the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and Coast Guard.”⁵ US war colleges provide graduate education not only to US officers, but also to non-US officers.⁶

To explore CMR education in US regional institutions that educate US and non-US individuals, I contacted the Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, the Marshall Center, and the Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.⁷

I then expanded my search to explore CMR education in US-based undergraduate military institutions; institutions that educate US and non-US individuals.⁸

To explore CMR education in NATO institutions, I contacted the NATO Defense College (Italy) and the NATO School at Oberammergau (Germany).⁹

I also contacted what I understood to be the highest level of military education in a number of non-US States.¹⁰

I did not limit my project to examining CMR education in military institutions. I included in my search civilian institutions that granted degrees ranging from BA to

⁵ US Army Lieutenant Colonel Kelly A. Lelito, “Gender Diversity at the U.S. Army War College,” 2018,SF 298, <https://publications.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/3603.pdf>.

⁶ The US-based war colleges I contacted included the Inter-American Defense College, the National Defense University (composed of National War College, Eisenhower School, College of International Security Affairs, and College of Information and Cyberspace), the Naval War College, the Army War College, the Air War College, the Marine Corps War College, and the Naval Postgraduate School. All of these US-based war colleges responded to my request. For some of the institutions, I have syllabi from a number of years and a number of courses; for others, I was able to access only one syllabus.

⁷ The Perry Center and the Marshall Center responded. The Perry Center provided me with syllabi from 2011, 2012, and 2013.

⁸ I contacted the US-based service academies of the US Military Academy (also known as West Point), the US Naval Academy, the US Coast Guard Academy, and the US Air Force Academy. The US Military Academy, the US Naval Academy, and the US Coast Guard Academy responded. I did not contact non-federal institutions such the Citadel and the Virginia Military Institution (VMI).

⁹ The NATO Defence College responded.

¹⁰ I received responses and/or materials from or of Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Guatemala, Germany, Honduras, New Zealand, Norway, and Sweden. I hope to obtain funding to continue this work, to include resources to access syllabi that are in languages other than those I currently can read.

PhD. I contacted the top 15 political science universities in the US (as identified by the US News and World Report¹¹) to inquire whether they provided CMR courses and to request syllabi. I further contacted individuals whom I learned (as a result of informational interviews, emails, and internet searches) instructed CMR courses or who might include a section on CMR in a non-CMR course. I did not limit my search to US-based institutions.¹²

My requests were either via direct communications to the institutions or via indirect communications, such as going through defense attaches, ambassadors, and generals. I conducted my research during the build-up to and the subsequent shut-down due to COVID-19 (shut-down). Given that the shut-down included libraries and offices, I was not able to access all academic literature and syllabi I sought, even when contacting the authors and instructors directly. Instructors and authors informed me that the shut-down prevented them from being able to access their own authored scholarship or other material (to include a CMR syllabus taught by Janowitz¹³) when it was in their office or other places they could not access (due to restrictions imposed by the shut-down).

I then analyzed the syllabi to address the questions:

- (1) Is CMR taught (and to whom)?
- (2) Is there a gap between scholarship produced and materials studied in CMR courses?
- (3) How can we make CMR education better?

¹¹ US News and World Report, Best Political Science Schools, ranked in 2017, <https://www.usnews.com/best-graduate-schools/top-humanities-schools/political-science-rankings>.

¹² As of 12 July 2020, I have syllabi from the civilian institutions of Boston University, University of California Riverside, Carleton University, University of Chicago, Colgate University, Denver University, Duke, Friedrich-Alexander University, George Washington University, Harvard, Michigan State University, MIT, University of North Texas, Ohio State University, University of Pittsburg, John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), University of St Andrews, University of Torcuato Di Tella, Trinity College Dublin, and Yale. I also have CMR syllabi from the hybrid military-civilian institutions of the Swedish Defense University and Chile's National Academy of Political and Strategic Studies (ANEPE). For some of the institutions, I have syllabi from a number of years and a number of courses; from others, I was able to access only one syllabus.

¹³ Email correspondence with Roger Petersen, spring 2020.

4.0 Is CMR taught (and to whom)?

To answer the question “Is CMR taught (and to whom)?,” I did not limit my analysis to inquiring whether or not the military or civilian institutions provided CMR education. If the institution maintained that they did provide CMR education, my analysis addressed whether the CMR education was a stand-alone course or whether the CMR education was a part of a non-CMR syllabus. Further my analysis included determining whether the CMR education offered was a mandatory course or an elective. I also sought answers to whether an educational entity that did not provide CMR education had previously provided CMR education or whether it provided CMR education on an intermittent basis.

4.1 Findings on the State of CMR Education at Military Institutions

In academic year 2019-2020, none of the military institutions in the Western Hemisphere (of curricula and information obtained) made stand-alone CMR courses mandatory. This finding was in contrast to my experience as a war college student a decade earlier. In 2010, the first paper I was obliged to write as a war college student was an analysis of a published article on civil-military relations.¹⁴ Later in that year, we attended a mandatory course titled “Civil-Military Relations.”¹⁵ For that CMR course, we were tasked with writing a paper addressing “How to better prepare civilians for leadership in the management of security and defense.”¹⁶ I recall that CMR continued to remain a topic throughout the year.

In 2019-2020, the Norwegian Defense University College (NDUC) is the only institution (of syllabi received) to make a course on CMR mandatory. The NDUC provides a mandatory course on CMR at the beginning of the military students’ BA.¹⁷ I was informed that the first year in the Staff Officer Course (the MA program at the Norwegian Defense University College for majors and lieutenant colonels) also provides a CMR course.¹⁸

¹⁴ Copy in files of author.

¹⁵ From my war college academic transcript, copy in files of author.

¹⁶ From my war college paper of that title, copy in files of author.

¹⁷ Email correspondence with Torunn Laugen Haaland, spring 2020.

¹⁸ Email correspondence with Torunn Laugen Haaland, spring 2020.

Of the 2019-2020 military syllabi obtained (from undergraduate to war college), other than the Norwegian Defense University College, when a course on CMR was offered as a stand-alone course, it was only offered as an elective. The status of CMR education being offered only as an elective means that it is the rare student who receives a substantive CMR education in military institutions. In 2019-2020, the war colleges offering CMR as an elective include the Inter-American Defense College, the Eisenhower School, the Naval War College, the Army War College, the Naval Postgraduate School, the Marine Corps War College, and the US Air War College. In 2019-2020, the command and staff colleges offering CMR as an elective included the New Zealand Command and Staff College and the US Air and Command Staff College. In 2019-2020, the undergraduate military institutions offering CMR as an elective included the Swedish Defense University, the US Naval Academy, and the US Military Academy. At the US Military Academy, the elective course dedicated to CMR reaches approximately 12 students in their third year of studies.¹⁹

For students at military institutions not taking CMR as an elective in 2019-2020, I inquired whether the students received any education in CMR. I learned, depending on the institution, that some students did and some students did not receive CMR education. For example, in 2019-2020, at the Senior Course at the NATO Defence College, CMR is “covered, on and off” and the “current Senior Course 136 doesn’t cover it.”²⁰ The US Marine Corps War College maintained that education on CMR is incorporated into the curriculum through “touch points” such as role playing in mini simulations and addresses by national security speakers.²¹ Similarly, the US Military Academy maintained that education on CMR is part of its core course for sophomores, with education on CMR “find[ing] its way into many courses through instructor examples, supplemental readings, and discussion of current events.”²² Some institutions, like the US Air War College and National Defense University, do provide a dedicated session on CMR in a mandatory course. In Germany’s Führungsakademie, it appears

¹⁹ Email correspondence with LTC Heidi Demarst, spring 2020.

²⁰ Email correspondence with NATO Defence College, spring 2020.

²¹ Email correspondence with Prof Tammy Schultz, spring 2020.

²² Email correspondence with LTC Heidi Demarst, spring 2020.

that CMR may be included in “modules” such as "Bundeswehr und Gesellschaft im Wandel" (“Changes in German Armed Forces and Civil Society”).²³

My findings to date of institutions in three States in South America indicate a variance in education on CMR. In Brazil, the Command and General Staff Course (CCEM) for majors and lieutenant colonels and the Army Politics, Strategy and High Administration Course (CPEAEx) for colonels finds a course (“Politica”) with a section on civil-military relations. (CPEAEx, a one-year course, was designed to “enabl[e] non-staff-officers to hold positions and functions of Major General and Brigadier General.”²⁴) Further, the CPEAEx course on “Defense” (“Defesa”) addresses the interaction between society and defense. In Argentina and Chile, it appears that Argentina’s Army War College (Escuela Superior de Guerra) and Chile’s General Staff Officer Course (a full-time six semester course for officers in the rank of mayor and lieutenant colonel) devote no courses to CMR.²⁵ (However, it appears that Argentina’s “Geopolitics and National Defense” course might include materials on CMR.²⁶) Chile’s hybrid civilian-military institute, ANEPE (National Academy of Political and Strategic Studies), has no course devoted to CMR.²⁷ However, ANEPE contends: “[T]hese topics are included in almost all our courses.”²⁸ Whether this absence of dedicated courses on CMR is due to “unhealed wounds,” as I have seen asserted, is beyond the scope of this paper.

My findings to date of two States in Central America indicate an absence of courses with CMR in their title, but possibly not in their content. In Honduras, the Universidad de Defensa de Honduras provides a 45-week long Defense and National Security program for military (and civilians) at the rank or equivalent of colonel.²⁹ Its program contains no course with CMR in its title. In Guatemala, the superior military institution, the General Directorate of Defense Policy of the Guatemalan Ministry of Defense provides a one-year annual program in Security and Defense for civilians and

²³ Email correspondence with Major Daniel Ehlers of Germany, spring 2020.

²⁴ Email correspondence with Lt Col Fabio Souza of Brazil, spring 2020.

²⁵ Email correspondence with Lt Col Manuel Purvis of Chile and Lt Col (ret) Daniel Martella of Argentina, spring 2020.

²⁶ Email correspondence with Martella, spring 2020.

²⁷ Email correspondence with BGen Cristian Château Magalhães, spring 2020.

²⁸ Email correspondence with BGen Cristian Château Magalhães, spring 2020.

²⁹ Universidad de Defensa de Honduras Plan de Estudios de la Carrera de Defensa y Seguridad Nacional en el Grado Academico de Especialidad, 2019, at 26, copy in author’s files.

military.³⁰ The “Introduction to National Security and National Defense” course (Introducción a la Seguridad Nacional y Defensa Nacional) contains no academic writings; instead it concentrates on the Constitution and other legal and policy instruments (Constitución Política de la República de Guatemala; Decreto No. 114-97 del Congreso de la República de Guatemala, Ley del Organismo ^[1] _{SEP} Ejecutivo; Decreto No. 7 Ley del Orden Público; Decreto No. 18-2008 Ley Marco del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad; Libro de la Defensa Nacional “Evolución”; Política Nacional de Seguridad; Política de Defensa de la Nación; Política de Seguridad Marítima; Plan Estratégico de Seguridad de la Nación; and Dirección Estratégica del Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional).³¹ ^[1] _{SEP}

As such, it arguably complies with the requirements imposed by the 1996 peace agreement. The 19 September 1996 Guatemalan “Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power and on the Role of the Armed Forces in a Democratic Society” (Civilian Power and Armed Forces Agreement), one of a series of agreements that ended almost four decades of war in Guatemala, mandates:

The necessary amendments shall continue to be made to the corresponding regulations so that the military education system is consistent, in its philosophical framework, with respect for the Guatemalan Constitution and other laws, with a culture of peace and democratic coexistence, with the doctrine defined in this Agreement, and with national values, the integral development of the individual, knowledge of our national history, respect for human rights and the identity and rights of the indigenous peoples, and the primacy of the individual.³²

The lead signer of the peace agreement for the Government of Guatemala was a military general, a graduate of the Inter-American Defense College, and a (then future) president of Guatemala.³³

In examining CMR education at regional military educational institutions, I learned that the Perry Center has not offered a CMR course since 2013. Why? A “50%

³⁰ Email with Ambassador (and retired General) Erick Escobedo, spring 2020.

³¹ Ministerio De La Defensa Nacional Dirección General De Política De Defensa Departamento De Estudios, “Introducción A La Seguridad Nacional Y Defensa Nacional,” Programa Virtual, June - July 2020, copy in author’s files.

³² Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power and on the Role of the Armed Forces in a Democratic Society of 19 September 1996, para 40, https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/file/resources/collections/peace_agreements/guat_960919.pdf.

³³ Otto Pérez Molina, Hall of Honor, Inter-American Defense College, <http://iadc.edu/hoh-recipient/otto-perez-molina/>.

budget cut” was the answer I received.³⁴ I learned that the Marshall Center does not offer a specific course on CMR (with “aspects” of CMR “covered in portions of various other courses”).³⁵

Military Institutions	CMR as an Elective Course	CMR as a Mandatory Course
	<i>Undergraduate</i>	
Swedish Defense University	X	-
US Naval Academy	X	-
US Military Academy	X	-
	<i>Graduate</i>	
Eisenhower School, US	X	-
US Naval War College	X	-
US Army War College	X	-
US Naval Postgraduate School	X	-
US Marine Corps War College	X	-
US Air and Command Staff College	X	-
New Zealand Command and Staff College	X	-
Norwegian Defense University College	-	X
Inter-American Defense College	X	-
US Air War College	X	-
Total	12	1

Table 1. CMR Education Provided by Military Institutions, 2019-2020. Source: Elaborated by the author from various sources

I do not know whether the norm in 2010-2011 was mandatory CMR education for all US-based war colleges. That is a question I leave for others to investigate. What I have been made aware of is that, in the mid-1990s, 825 curricula were created with US International Military Education and Training (IMET) funds on international security and civil-military relations.³⁶ This finding raises more questions. If the norm a decade ago was mandatory CMR education for all US-based war colleges, why did mandatory CMR education disappear? If mandatory CMR education existed only in my war college a decade ago, why does it not exist today in my war college (the Inter-American Defense College)?

³⁴ Email correspondence with the Perry Center, spring 2020.

³⁵ Email correspondence with the Marshall Center, spring 2020.

³⁶ Email correspondence with Thomas Bruneau, spring 2020.

4. 2 Findings on the State of CMR Education in Civilian Institutions

Of syllabi obtained, only four civilian institutions of higher education in North America provided stand-alone CMR courses in academic year 2019-2020: Carleton, Duke (with Duke providing two courses), MIT, and George Washington University.

Civilian Institutions	Stand-Alone CMR Courses in 2019-2020	Stand-Alone CMR Courses Prior to 2019-2020
<i>North America</i>		
Carleton, Canada	X	X
Duke University, US	X	X
MIT, US	X	X
Ohio State University, US	-	X
Boston University, US	-	X
Denver University, US	-	X
Harvard University, US	-	X
Michigan State University, US	-	X
University of Pittsburgh, US	-	X
University of North Texas, US	-	X
George Washington University, US	X	X
University of California Riverside, US	-	X
Yale, US	-	X
<i>Non-North America</i>		
Friedrich-Alexander University		X
Trinity College, Ireland	X	X
Swedish Defense University	X	X
University of St Andrews, Scotland	-	X
Total	6	17

Table 2. CMR Education Provided by Civilian Institutions. *Source:* Elaborated by the author from various sources

Outside of North America, Trinity College at Dublin provided a stand-alone CMR course in 2019-2020. Further, the hybrid military-civilian Swedish Defense University has an MA program, primarily for civilian students that provided a stand-alone CMR course in 2019-2020.

Of syllabi obtained, institutions that provided stand-alone CMR courses prior to 2020 included the above as well as Boston University, University of California Riverside, Denver University, Friedrich-Alexander University, Harvard, Michigan State University, University of North Texas, Ohio State University, Pittsburgh, the University of St Andrews, and Yale. Not all of these courses took place more than one time.

5.0 The Gap Between Scholarship Produced and Scholarship Studied

5.1 Subjects

To analyze whether a gap existed between scholarship produced and material studied in CMR courses, I used three published reviews of the field of CMR scholarship to establish a baseline of scholarship produced: David Pion-Berlin and Danijela Dudley (2020 review),³⁷ Risa Brooks (2019 review)³⁸ and Peter Feaver (2011 review).³⁹

Pion-Berlin's and Dudley's review addressed "four essential elements": "military coups"; "civil-military relations and democratic transitions"; "civilian control" ("beliefs," "context," "institutions," and "agency"); and "military-society relations."⁴⁰ Brooks' review of the field of CMR discussed four "themes" in CMR scholarship: "military coups"; "military defection"; "civilian control of the military"; and "societal-military (dis)integration."⁴¹ Feaver's review identified five "dependent variables": "coups"; "military influence"; "civil military friction"; "military compliance"; and "delegation and monitoring."⁴²

I then examined whether CMR syllabi reflected these essential elements/ themes/ dependent variables. To examine whether syllabi reflect these issues, I choose the subject which Pion-Berlin and Dudley, Brooks, and Feaver all raised: "coups."

A disconnect may exist between CMR scholarship produced and CMR materials taught. Of the civilian institutions in my CMR syllabi dataset, more than 30% did not include one or more mandatory readings on coups in their CMR syllabi (when examining the most recent syllabus of each civilian institution from which I have one or more syllabi). No military institution in my CMR syllabi dataset, outside of the US, addressed coups. As for US-based military institutions, not all addressed coups. The reason that not all US-based military institutions address coups may be due to a belief

³⁷ David Pion-Berlin and Danijela Dudley, "Civil-Military Relations: What is the State of the Field," in Anders Sookermany (ed) *Handbook of Military Sciences* (Springer, Cham: 2020).

³⁸ Risa Brooks, "Integrating the Civil-Military Relations Subfield," *Annual Review of Political Science* (2019): 379-398.

³⁹ Peter Feaver, "Civil-Military Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* (1999): 2:211-41.

⁴⁰ Pion-Berlin and Danijela Dudley.

⁴¹ Risa Brooks

⁴² Peter Feaver

that the “American civil-military relationship has been characterized by a notable absence of coups and overt uses of military power domestically.”⁴³

5.2 Materials Studied

Pion-Berlin and Dudley,⁴⁴ Brooks⁴⁵ and Feaver⁴⁶ limited their analysis to academic literature, in the form of scholastic articles, books, and chapters. This limitation highlights a gap between CMR scholarship produced and CMR materials taught. In reviewing CMR syllabi, I found that, in addition to academic literature, CMR syllabi go beyond academic literature and include newspaper articles, blogs, movies, and podcasts. Sources of materials studied extended included think tanks like the Heritage Center. Further, at least one civilian institution engages in “wargaming” CMR.⁴⁷

6.0 Creating Better CMR Syllabi

To address the question “How to create better CMR syllabi?” I was intrigued by a finding of Jeff Colgan. Colgan maintains that revising syllabi with “gender in mind” makes syllabi “better.”⁴⁸ Colgan writes about feedback received after blogging about preliminary findings of a study on the exclusion of female-authored works in IR (International Relations) syllabi. The feedback: revising syllabi with “gender in mind” was “not only feasible but made [syllabi] better.”⁴⁹

If not excluding female-authored works results in better syllabi (and if creators of syllabi indeed are dedicated to create better syllabi), it appeared that an examination of syllabi was needed to determine whether female-authored works were excluded. I therefore analyzed my CMR syllabi database (which as of 12 July 2020 consisted of over 60 syllabi, from US and non-US military and civilian institutions of higher

⁴³ US Air War College CMR syllabus, 2020, copy in files of author.

⁴⁴ Pion-Berlin and Dudley.

⁴⁵ Brooks.

⁴⁶ Peter Feaver.

⁴⁷ Marc DeVore and Kristen Harkness, “Teaching the Military and Revolutions: Simulating Civil-Military Relations during Mass Uprisings,” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Forthcoming.

⁴⁸ Jeff Colgan, “Gender bias in IR Graduate Education: New Evidence from Syllabi,” <http://www.saramitchell.org/colgan.pdf>. See also Jeff Colgan, “Gender bias in IR Graduate Education: New Evidence from Syllabi,” *Political Science and Politics* 50:2 (April 2017): 456-460.

⁴⁹ Jeff Colgan, 13 of 18.

education, with over 1,000 mandatory readings) to determine whether female-authored works were excluded from CMR syllabi.

I omitted from my analysis works without identified authors. Works without identified authors included works produced by the GAO (US Government Accountability Office) and the Pew Research Foundation. I also omitted from my analysis legal documents such as statutes and military regulations, the US Articles of Confederation, and the US Constitution. In my analysis, I did not address readings in syllabi that were not mandatory (knowing that if readings not mandatory, they most likely will not be read). My definition of mandatory readings included all readings described as “assigned” or “required.”

I then compared my findings with those of Phull et al,⁵⁰ Colgan,⁵¹ and Smith et al.⁵² Phull et al (who examined the IR curriculum at one of the UK’s leading institutions, by exporting Moodle data containing syllabi) had data from 43 courses and 12,358 “non-unique textual sources.”⁵³ Colgan (who examined IR proseminars, with syllabi obtained via internet searches and emails to three colleagues) created two data samples: (1) 42 syllabi with 3343 readings and (2) 73 syllabi with 4148 readings.⁵⁴ Smith et al compiled a database (GRADs - Graduate Assignments Dataset) of 840 syllabi from 94 PhD programs consisting of materials contributed, as well as materials obtained via on-line searches.⁵⁵ I have not received any indication from the creators of these databases that they included military institutions.⁵⁶ The GRADs database, while it

⁵⁰ Kiran Phull, Gokhan Cifliki and Gustav Meibauer (2018) Insights from syllabi: LSE International Relations Gender Project. In: LSE Research Festival 2018, 2018-02-19 - 2018-02-24, London School of Economics.

⁵¹ Jeff Colgan.

⁵² Amy Erica Smith, Heidi Hardt, Philippe Meister, Hannah June Kim, “Gender, Race, Age, and National Origin Predict Whether Faculty Assign Female-Authored Readings in Graduate Syllabi,” *Political Science & Politics*, Vol 53, Issue 1 (January 2020): 100-106.

⁵³ Kiran Phull et al.

⁵⁴ Jeff Colgan, at 2-3 of 18.

⁵⁵ Amy Erica Smith, Heidi Hardt, Philippe Meister, Hannah June Kim, “Gender, Race, Age, and National Origin Predict Whether Faculty Assign Female-Authored Readings in Graduate Syllabi,” *Political Science & Politics*, Vol 53, Issue 1 (January 2020): 100-106, 100. In email correspondence with Heidi Hardt, Hardt stated: “We collected data from syllabi from top 50 Ph.D. programs in the US according to the US News and World reports annual rankings. We didn't discriminate between civilian and military institutions, however, after a quick scan, almost all - if not all - are civilian institutions. With respect to your second question, all institutions were based in the US.” Email correspondence, spring 2020.

⁵⁶ Email to authors of the three databases, spring 2020.

has fields for a number of “sub-fields,” does not contain a “sub-field” for civil-military relations.⁵⁷

6.1 Findings on Exclusion and Inclusion

In academic year 2019-2020, CMR syllabi exist that contain only male-authored works; that is, in 2019-2020 CMR syllabi exist that exclude any and all female-authored works.

Given my experiences as the sole female military officer in my war college class in 2010-2011, the finding that syllabi existed that excluded any and all female-authored works did not surprise me. Indeed, in May 2011, my experiences led me to ask the drafters of the first US Women Peace and Security National Action Plan (NAP) to include a requirement for gender analysis in war college education. The NAP, when published in December 2011, expanded on my request and addressed professional military education.⁵⁸ What did surprise me was, in February 2020, to see a CMR panel composed of four females and one male (the first panel at the “Reflections on Civil-Military Relations: Crisis, Comparisons, and Paradoxes” 2020 Conference on Civil-Military Relations at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington DC). Before February 2020, when I asked why no female-authored works were on a CMR syllabus, the response I received left me with the impression was that female-authored works on CMR did not exist (with rare exception).

In this paper, I define “female-authored” to include works that range from a sole authored work to multiple-authored works on which at least one female author is listed as an author (even if all of the other authors on a multiple-authored work are male). I found:

- The percentage of mandatory readings in CMR stand-alone (elective) course syllabi at US-based war colleges in 2019/2020 ranged from 0% female-authored works (Inter-American Defense College) to 30.61% female-authored works (US Naval War College).
- The percentage of mandatory readings in CMR stand-alone course syllabi at non-US military institutions ranged from 0% female-authored works (Norwegian Defense University College) to 37.50% female-authored works (Swedish Defense University).

⁵⁷ GRADs Dataset, <https://gradtraining.socsci.uci.edu/dataset/>.

⁵⁸ United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, December 2011, at 13, http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/us_nationalactionplan_2011.pdf.

- The percentage of mandatory readings at US-based war colleges in 2019-2020, in mandatory courses that included one section on CMR, ranged from 0% female-authored works (National Defense University, Marine Corps War College) to 75% female authored-works (US Naval War College).
- The percentage of mandatory readings in CMR course syllabi of US undergraduate military academies ranged from 11.11% female-authored works (US Military Academy) to 15.78% female-authored works (US Naval Academy).

Military Institutions Inclusion of Female-Authored Works	Low	High
US-based war colleges CMR courses	0%	30.61%
Non-US military institutions CMR courses	0%	37.50%
US-based war colleges non-stand-alone CMR courses	0%	75%
US military academies	11.11%	15.78%

Table 3. Female-authored works in CMR course syllabi at military institutions. *Source:* Elaborated by the author from various sources

In examining civilian institutions, using the same definition of “female-authored,” I found:

- The percentage of mandatory readings in stand-alone CMR course syllabi at North American civilian institutions in 2019-2020 ranged from 13% female-authored works (Duke) to 46.29% female-authored works (Carleton). (In 2017, mandatory readings at Carlton consisted of 47.36% female-authored works.)
- The percentage of mandatory readings in stand-alone CMR course syllabi at non-North American civilian institutions ranged from 25.80% female-authored works (civilian MA program at the hybrid military-civilian Swedish Defense University, Sweden) to 46.66% female-authored works (Trinity College Dublin, Ireland).
- The percentage of mandatory readings in syllabi with a section on CMR, at North American civilian institutions in 2019-2020, ranged from 0% female-authored works (University of Chicago) to 66% female-authored works (Colgate), with 56% female-authored works at SAIS.
- The percentage of mandatory readings in syllabi with a section on CMR, at non-North American civilian institutions, included 37.50% female-authored works (Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Argentina).

Civilian Institutions: Inclusion of Female-Authored Works	Low	High
North American Stand-Alone CMR	13%	47.36%
Non-North American Stand-	25.80%	46.66%

Alone CMR		
North American Non-Stand- Alone CMR	0%	66%

Table 4. Female-authored works in CMR course syllabi at civilian institutions.

Source: Elaborated by the author from various sources

It is unknown at this time of this writing whether Phull et al and Colgan also found IR syllabi that 100% excluded female-authored works. Phull et al found that 78% of all assigned readings in their database were male-authored only (with 14% by female authors, and 19% coed authors).⁵⁹ Colgan found that 82% of all assigned readings in his IR proseminars database were by all-male authors and 18% were by female authors or coed teams.⁶⁰

6.2 Findings on Instructors

If excluding female-authored works from CMR syllabi denigrates the quality of CMR education, the question arises as to whether an answer to better syllabi is to hire exclusively female instructors to create syllabi; that is, does whether the instructor is female or male make a difference in the inclusion or exclusion of female-authored works?

My findings in the field of CMR suggest that it is perhaps whether (and the extent to which) the instructor has “gender in mind” when compiling and revising syllabi, rather than whether the instructor is female or male, that results in a better syllabus. (I am not suggesting that instructors with zero or few female-authored works on their syllabi are not staunch supporters of women in the military or are not mentors of women in academia or are not “woke.”⁶¹) The evidence shows that male instructors

⁵⁹ Kiran Phull et al, at 2.

⁶⁰ Jeff Colgan, 4 of 18.

⁶¹ From a blog by Steve Saideman of Carleton (Canada): “Striking moments of the day . . . when one of the most senior and conservative defence scholars seemed pretty woke by suggesting that the challenge of recruitment and retention of women in the CAF is mostly misogyny followed up by a defence attache from a senior Westminster country said that a Canadian military exercise was too focused on gender by including a realistic peacekeeping scenario where the abuse of women might trigger mission failure. Some people are not quite so woke, I guess. Given events in Bosnia (where a major contractor was a participant in the trafficking of women) and more than one UN effort where the peacekeepers were raping women AND in Baltics where the Russian propaganda machine is making myths about NATO troops raping women, maybe this guy is clueless about the realities of 21st century war.” Stephen Saideman, “Canadian Defence Review: A Year Later” *Saideman’s Semi-Spew* (June 8, 2018) <https://saideman.blogspot.com/2018/06/canadian-defence-review-year-later.html>.

exist who are capable of compiling CMR syllabi that do not exclude female-authored works to a greater degree than do female instructors.

- A male instructor teaches the civilian CMR course with the highest percentage of female-authored works in North America (Carleton).
- A male instructor teaches the civilian CMR course with the highest percentage of female-authored works outside of North America (Trinity College Dublin).
- A coed team (a female instructor and a male instructor) teaches a course with female-authored work consisting of over 50% of the materials in the CMR component of the syllabus (SAIS).

While this paper does not lump all male instructors together, finding that such lumping blurs and obscures the reality that some male instructors are leaders in creating better CMR syllabi and that male instructors are capable of creating better CMR syllabi, the IR syllabi findings by Smith et al and Colgan may be of interest to readers. Smith et al and Colgan suggest that whether an instructor is female or male does make a difference. Smith et al found, using a fractional logistic regression model, that 35% of works assigned by female instructors were female-authored as opposed to 21.8% of works assigned by male instructors that were female-authored.⁶² In one data sample, Colgan found 78% all-male authors on the syllabi of female instructors as opposed to 84% all-male authors on the syllabi of male instructors.⁶³ (Colgan did not examine courses and classes co-taught by a coed team, a female-female team or a male-male team. His rationale: “[T]o avoid the heterogeneity introduced by co-taught teams.⁶⁴) In a “second stage analysis,” Colgan found 71.5% all-male authors on the syllabi of female instructors as opposed to 79.1% all-male authors on the syllabi of male instructors.⁶⁵

7.0 Rebutting the Non-existence Argument

One explanation I had heard regarding the predominance of male-authored material on CMR syllabi is that female-authored works do not exist. This explanation is factually incorrect. A review of two CMR bibliographies (the 1999 Army War College Civil-Military Bibliography⁶⁶ and the 2011 Army War College Civil-Military

⁶² Amy Erica Smith et al, at 102.

⁶³ Jeff Colgan, 4 of 18.

⁶⁴ Email correspondence with Kiran Colgan, spring 2020.

⁶⁵ Kiran Colgan, 5-6 of 18.

⁶⁶ Virginia C. Shope, *Civil-Military Relations: A Selected Bibliography* (US Army War College, 1999).

Bibliography⁶⁷), as well as CMR syllabi received to date, demonstrates that female-authored works not only exist, but that they exist in abundance.

For creators of CMR syllabi, I provide the following (an incomplete list of female authors that appear on CMR syllabi and bibliographies) to assist them to end the exclusion of female-authored works from CMR syllabi (with the added benefit of creating better syllabi). This incomplete list includes:

Amanda Dugan,	Abby McLeod,	Agnieszka Nowak,
Aminta Arrington,	Agnieszka Gogolewska,	Alicia Shepard,
Angela Burger,	Alexandra Gheciu,	Allison Stanger,
Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen,	Amy Mitchell,	Amy Schafer,
Ann Aldis,	Andrea Goldstein,	Amy Zegart,
Anu Bhagwati,	Anna Leander,	Audrey Van Ouytsel,
Audrey Kurth Cronin,	Aylin Guney,	Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha,
Ayse Gul Atinay,	Barbara Geddes,	Bettina Renz,
Carol Atkinson,	Carol Lancaster,	Caitlin Talmadge,
Cathy Downes,	Carolyn Halladay,	Carolina Pallin,
Christine Fair,	Carrie Lee,	Chiara Ruffa,
Cori Dauber,	Chia Lehnardt,	Cindy Williams,
Cynthia Enloe,	Danielle Lupton,	Condoleezza Rice,
Dara Cohen,	Deborah Kidwell,	Corri Zoli.
Deborah Avant,	Dilshika Jayamaha,	Deborah Norden,
Elke Krahman,	Elin Gustavsen,	Dipali Mukhopadhyay,
Erica DeBruin,	Elizabeth Hanson,	Dorothy Ohl,
Erica Frantz,	Elizabeth Kier,	E. Margaret Phillips,
Eva Bellin,	Emma Moore,	Elizabeth Radziszewski,
Eva Etzioni-Halevy,	Florence Gaub,	Elizabeth Trobaugh,
Francine Jacome,	Florina Cristiana Matei,	Erica Cristina Winand,
Jacqueline Chura-Beaver,	Hanna Herzog,	Erika Seeler,
Janine Davidson,	Heather Hurlbert,	Gayle Watkins,
Jessica Blankshain,	Heidi Hardt,	Heather Streets,
Julia Evetts,	Helen McCartney,	Heidi Urben,
Karin DeAngelis,	Janne Haaland Matlary,	Helena Wockelberg,
Kimberly Field,	Jeanne Kinney Giraldo,	Jacquelyn Schneider,
Kirstin Brathwaite,	Jennifer Brauner,	Juana Summers,
Laura Cleary,	Jennifer Gandhi,	Judith Stiehm,
Linda Demaine,	Jennifer Mathers,	Justine Sharrock,

⁶⁷ Greta Andrusyszyn, *Civil-Military Relations: A Selected Bibliography* (US Army War College, May 2011).

Lindsay Cohn,	Karen Guttieri,	Karen Reemer,
Lori Lyn Bogle,	Kate Germano,	Kate Shellnut,
Maggie Dwyer,	Katherine McCoy,	Katherine Worboys,
Maiah Jaskoski,	Kathleen Mahoney-Norris,	Kathleen Powers,
Maria Celina D'Araujo,	Kimberly Marten (Zisk),	Katie Bo Williams,
Maria Eugenia Cardinale,	Kristen Gunness,	Kori Schake,
Marina Caparini,	Kristin Harkness,	Krista Wiegand,
Mary Borissova,	Kristina Mani,	Laura Nieto,
Miranda Carlton-Crew,	Kristine Falster Holm,	Laura Tedesco,
Mirjam Edel,	Laura Miller,	Loren DeJonge Schulmann,
Nadja Douglas,	Lisa Misol,	Louise Stanton,
Nancy Gentile Ford,	Mara Karlin,	Marcela Ramirez,
Nora Bensahel,	Maria Josua,	Mariana Walter,
Polina Beliakova,	Megan Mackenzie,	Marie-Sophie Reck,
Rachel Epstein,	Meredith Kleykamp,	Mary Speck,
Rebecca Cann,	Miranda Summers Lowe,	Marybeth Ulrich,
Risa Brooks,	Nina Leonhard,	Melinda Moore,
Rosa Brooks,	Petra Goedde,	Monica Serrano,
Rut Diamint,	Petra McGregor,	Nadia Schadlow,
Sabine Carey,	Rosalie Arcala Hall,	Nancy Roberts,
Sarah Chayes,	Rosemary Mariner	Natalie Mychajlyszyn,
Seden Akcinaroglu,	Sabrina Karim,	Nina Wilén,
Tara Copp,	Sara Khorshad,	Ornela Garelli Rios,
Tiffany Davenport,	Sarah Hayden,	Patricia Shields,
Stefanie von Hlatky,	Sarah Jane Meharg,	R. Claire Snyder,
Takako Hikotani,	Sarah Kreps,	Rachel Sigman,
Terry Lynn Karl,	Seung Min Kim,	Rebecca Schiel,
Torunn Laugen Haaland,	Shannon Megan,	Rebecca Schiff,
Wendy Hunter,	Sheena Chestnut Greitens	Renee de Nevers,
Suzanne Nielsen,	Sofia Ledberg,	Rosemary O'Kane,
Theresa Schroeder,	Simone Williams,	Shirin Ahlbäck Öberg,
Yolanda Troyano-Rodriguez,		

Table 5. Female Authors. *Source:* Elaborated by the author from various sources

Names for future inclusion on bibliography and syllabi include, but are not limited to, Rebecca Burgess, Alice Hunt Friend, Renanah Miles Joyce, Pauline Shanks Kaurin, Arita Holmberg, and Sofia Levy-Nilsson.

8.0 Conclusion

My findings include:

- (1) CMR education – in both military and civilian institutions - is paltry and may be decreasing.

(2) The foci of academic scholarship produced might not be the foci of what is studied as CMR in military and civilian institutions.

(3) Discrimination against women in the military and academia arguably extends to excluding female-authored works in CMR syllabi of military and civilian institutions. Such discrimination impoverishes CMR syllabi and students.

The approach of this paper can be used as a template for examining all fields outside of CMR. This paper makes a number of unique contributions, not least of which is making visible the reality in 2019-2020 of syllabi with 100% exclusion of female-authored works. It is my hope to secure grants to prepare future papers to address whether institutions and instructors availed themselves of the sight and insight provided by this paper, as well as to expand the CMR database.

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