



Integrating Economic and Social Aspects into Military Operations

Jonathan Brown, Joseph Ingram,
Ayse Kudat, and Michael Gillette

A financial analyst, manager, and operations advisor for the World Bank from 1973 to 2008, Jonathan Brown is currently managing director of Social and Strategic Assessment, LLC. He is a graduate of Yale and Harvard Business School.

Joseph Ingram is chairman of the advisory board of NCSG/Megro, a South African-based development consulting firm. Educated at McMaster University in Canada and Harvard Business School, he spent 30 years at the World Bank.

Ayse Kudat is president of Social and Strategic Assessment, LLC and as a consultant for the independent Resource Mechanism of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. She has a B.A. in economics from Middle East Technical University, a graduate diploma in social anthropology from Oxford, and a Ph.D. in social relations from Harvard.

Michael Gillette developed policies to promote energy conservation and the use of renewable resources in the Carter administration Energy Department. He is a West Point graduate and Rhodes Scholar, earning his M.A. from Oxford University.

PHOTO: A medic provides aid to a village elder in Rajankala, Afghanistan, 2 December 2009. (U.S. Air Force, TSGT Francisco V. Govea II)

ON 25 NOVEMBER 2008, the *Financial Times* reported that “NATO forces, the United Nations, and the Afghan government are to implement a new strategy in the coming months that targets the 30 Afghan districts thought likely to slip into Taliban hands.”¹ The strategy, dubbed the “integrated approach,” involves military support, economic aid, and a more effective way of working with local communities to help ensure their stability and effect a visible improvement of living standards.

The *Financial Times* went on to note that this “reflects a sea change in the thinking of U.S. commanders, who just last year ruled out plans to tap traditional tribal power structures to boost local security.”²

In fact, the change of thinking represents a radical change in U.S. military doctrine as we enter an era of “persistent conflict—a period of contracted confrontation among state, nonstate, and individual actors increasingly willing to use violence to achieve their political and ideological ends.”³

As U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates put it, “It is hard to conceive of any country challenging the United States directly on the ground—at least for some years to come. Indeed, history shows us that smaller, irregular forces—insurgents, guerrillas, terrorists—have for centuries found ways to harass and frustrate larger, regular armies and sow chaos. . . . We can expect that asymmetric warfare will remain the mainstay of the contemporary battlefield for some time.”⁴

In this new era, winning a war without winning the hearts, minds, and pocketbooks of the people may provide the occasional battlefield victory. However, achieving sustained success will not follow without them, an important lesson learned from the American military experience in Afghanistan and Iraq. Supporting the Afghan Social Outreach Program, which funnels money to local chiefs in Afghanistan to “revive the traditional relationship between village communities and the government,” is certainly a different approach to warfare in the 21st century.

The February 2008 edition of U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 3-0, *Operations*, “provides the intellectual underpinnings that lie at the core of how our Army will organize, train, equip, and conduct operations in this new environment. It recognizes that we will achieve victory in this changed environment of persistent conflict only by conducting military operations in concert with diplomatic, informational, and economic efforts.”⁵ It also

reflects the need to integrate counterinsurgency efforts with stability operations, an idea tried successfully by the U.S. Army in Vietnam in the 1960s. “Knowing the population and dealing with their ‘real beliefs’ and needs are fundamental to managing the security, intelligence and progress factors in successful insurgency and stability” or what the authors of this article have termed “COINSTAB,” the nexus between counterinsurgency and stability.⁶

In October 2008, FM 3-07, *Stability Operations*, followed the publication of FM 3-0, attempting to put the intent of the operations manual into an operational framework. While FM 3-0 was in many respects a revolutionary document, FM 3-07 is much more conservative and traditional. In fact, FM 3-07 suffers from a number of challenges that may undermine the implementation of FM 3-0:

- In an era when international efforts appear to be more effective than national ones, even by a country with the resources of the United States, FM 3-07 essentially focuses on the role of U.S. government agencies. Much of the operational advice to military commanders concerns how to navigate through the American bureaucracy.⁷

- Stability operations are now the transition from war to peace rather than an integral part of the conflict.

- The lessons learned about stability come from a limited number of U.S. experiences with situations of conflict and fragile states and the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

- Many of the operational techniques suggested in FM 3-07, such as the vital intelligence component of economic programs, assessing peoples’ behavior and attitudes through the Tactical Conflict Assessment and Planning Framework developed by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), appear uninformed by international good practice, including from the private sector.

The purpose of this article, written from an economic and social point of view by four former

managers of the World Bank with experience in fragile states and conflict and post-conflict situations, is to—

- Establish what is new about FM 3-0.
- Assess the key elements of the “economic development dimension” in the new Army doctrine.
- Identify some successes from economic reconstruction that might be appropriate in implementing FM 3-0 and revising FM 3-07 as well as lessons of failure to be avoided.
- Note important Army traditions that need to be maintained as the Army considers the balance between “warfare” and “peacefare” and what role the military might have in the latter.
- Suggest learning and capacity-building activities to facilitate the implementation of FM 3-0.

We have learned much about economic and social development over the years, especially since the end of the World War II, and we must incorporate what we have learned into American national security doctrine.

What is New?

In an era of persistent conflict—often involving periods of protracted confrontation among states, nonstates, and individual actors—battlefield success is not enough in many, although not all, situations. It is not always correct that “You cannot win militarily. You have to win totally, or you are not winning at all.” But this statement appears valid in many circumstances around the world. Traditionally, the military has interpreted this to mean that the U.S. military will carry out the warfare part of the mission, leaving the “peacefare” to others. Today, however, maintaining peace is an integral part of military operations, and, in too many instances, the peace part fails. This is often because nonmilitary actors cannot conduct stability operations in a conflict environment, or because stability and reconstruction programs lack the resources, intelligence, determination, focus, and professionalism of a military force.

Field Manual 3-0 asserts, “Army doctrine now equally weighs tasks dealing with the population—stability or civil support—with those related to offensive and defensive operations.”⁸ Indeed, “stability operations are a core U.S. military mission that the Department of Defense shall be prepared to conduct and support. They shall be given priority comparable to combat operations and be explicitly

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addressed and integrated across all DOD activities, including doctrine, organizations, leadership, personnel, facilities, and planning.”⁹

While stability operations require a certain measure of physical security, the traditional realm of the military, they can also enhance such security, as the Afghan Social Outreach Program in Afghanistan intends. In addition, stability operations require the military to engage in a different kind of intelligence gathering, mainly social and economic, and to develop systems of improving living conditions, which are as important as military strategy, tactics, and weapons systems.

The innovation of FM 3-0 is the introduction of the concept of “full spectrum operations,” which involves conducting *military* operations in concert with *diplomatic*, *informational*, and *economic* development efforts. While diplomatic and informational programs have long been associated with warfare, economic programs have usually waited until the cessation of hostilities with the military providing very limited “civil support tasks.” This is no longer the case. “Full spectrum operations involve continuous interaction between friendly forces and multiple groups in the operational area. In addition to enemy forces and the local populace, Soldiers deal with multinational partners, adversaries, civil authorities, business leaders, and other civil agencies. This interaction is simple in concept but complex in application.”¹⁰ The emphasis on different elements of full spectrum operations will change with the specific context, time, and location—requiring commanders to have a very different attitude toward defining and meeting challenges in developing strategy, tactics, and training. Knowing the attitudes and behaviors of the civilian population may be as important as assessing the military capacity of those engaged in armed struggle. Knowing the systems to influence behav-

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ior and attitudes may be as important as deciding what military tactic or weapons system to use.

It may be equally important to define what FM 3-0 is not. FM 3-0 does not—

- De-emphasize military skills.
- Relax professional and personal standards of Soldiers and officers.
- Turn the Army into the Peace Corps or the United States Agency for International Development.
- Represent merely an extension of the important role the military often plays during humanitarian disasters.

The Economic/Social Dimensions of Full Spectrum Operations

Economic variables of full spectrum operations encompass individual and group behaviors related to producing, distributing, and consuming resources.¹¹ Social variables describe society within an operational environment, especially with regard to attitudes and behavior, including economic behavior. Economic and social dimensions are most important to FM 3-0 in stability and civil support activities, although they are not unimportant in offensive and defensive operations and for counterinsurgency.

While FM 3-0 leaves the task of defining how to implement full spectrum operations in the economic and social arenas to other documents, including FM 3-07, the authors believe FM 3-0 should provide more operational guidance and training in five areas:

- Intelligence.
- Planning.
- Resource allocation.
- Implementation.
- Monitoring and evaluation.

In some of these areas, the military, using its traditional approaches, may enhance nonmilitary approaches (in discipline and resource allocation, for example) while in others the Army may benefit from major adjustments (gathering and using intelligence and planning with multiple stakeholders). In addition, over the last 20 years, there have been a number of useful examples of integrating economic and social dimensions into stability and civilian support programs.

During the conflict in East Timor, Australia provided military stability and the UN, Asian Development Bank, and World Bank provided economic

and social support. In the Kosovo and Bosnia crisis, NATO provided military stability and the European Union and World Bank provided economic and social programs.

There are also examples in the recent past in which stability and civilian support operations have failed because they were under-resourced either militarily, economically, or both, as in Darfur in Sudan and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. No one should underestimate the challenge of implementing the new strategy, especially the burden on implementing agencies and the patience and resources needed to allow the strategy to work.

The Intelligence Dimension

Box 1

Good Intentions/Bad Results

A military unit, living in an outpost in a remote village with a broken well, was tasked with either repairing the existing traditional open-pit well or building a new mechanical well. With the best of intentions, the unit constructed a new well over the open-pit, installed a pump, and celebrated the improvement in water service. Some months after the unit moved on, the mechanical well broke. As there was no provision to repair or replace parts, and the open pit was not accessible, the village had no water. Had the military unit had a better understanding of the local environment and repaired the open-pit well originally, the villagers could have been able to maintain and repair it themselves, and the local residents would have appreciated the unit more.

There are two major sources of intelligence on social and economic dimensions: existing information that is often publicly available and information generated specifically for a stability and civilian support operation.

Often, we underutilize or even ignore substantial existing social and economic information because it is in another language, in another country, in another institution, or because it contains elements that do not correspond to our preconceived ideas. This was certainly the case in Iraq in 2003.

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On the other hand, many stability- and civilian-support situations require sociocultural information that is not available. We must be able to generate it and regenerate it over time. Development institutions and the private sector produce this information as a matter of course through quantitative and qualitative methods, surveys that range from the individual or household to the national level. The information then establishes baselines and indicators on which to measure progress. The experience of the World Bank in the 1990s in doing social assessments in the former Soviet Union, particularly in Russia, Azerbaijan, and Central Asia, suggests the enormous potential for using this instrument and using local social scientists in difficult environments and for difficult issues such as priorities in post-conflict situations and user fees for services.¹²

Priorities in post-conflict reconstruction. Social and economic assessments of population opinions and behaviors in Azerbaijan¹³ and Tajikistan¹⁴ resulted in stability and civilian support programs far different from those originally proposed by “outside experts.”

Participation in decision making. Social and economic assessments among a variety of stakeholder groups in Russia’s coal sector influenced the design of successful mechanisms for distributing large amounts of money to cushion the impact of sector restructuring.¹⁵

User fees. No conflict or post-conflict country wants to deal with user fees, particularly for basic services, which are essential for financial sustainability. A social and economic assessment of the water supply in Azerbaijan showed that the poor welcomed fees if it meant better service.¹⁶

Fact and fiction. Many situations are simply not well understood, but once they are, improvement is possible as the assessment of the urban transport situation in Turkmenistan illustrates.¹⁷

Box 2

Gathering Intelligence: Social Assessment of Technical and Institutional Issues in the Uzbekistan Water Supply Project

Among the five distinct social assessments done in the preparation of this project were ones for technical standards, water consumption/user-fee levels, and project design standards, illustrating the variety of issues with which social assessments can deal.

Technical standards. Water salinity was a controversial issue in project design. To maintain either the government's national standard of a maximum of 1,000 milligrams of salt per liter or the World Health Organization's standard of 1,500 milligrams would have required very expensive technical solutions for investment in water supply. The assessment showed that people would accept salinity up to 2,000 milligrams of salt per liter, which resulted in far lower investment costs, and thereby lower user fees.

Water consumption levels. The social assessments and the local consultation process showed that people would be happy with 150 liters of water per day rather than the existing norm of 350 liters if this meant lower user fees. This change might well have been rejected as "socially unconscionable" had the information supplied by the assessment process not been available.

Project design standards. The social assessments showed that people's highest priority was access to income-generating activities, which led to piloting labor-intensive approaches to water supply investments to maximize local employment opportunities, hardly the usual approach taken by external donors.

Technical and institutional issues. As Box 2 illustrates, social and economic assessments can be useful even in solving complex technical and institutional issues.

Intelligence in stability and civilian support situations can reveal the actual behavior and real attitudes of key stakeholders and involve them in participatory decision making, a process that may reduce conflict between external and internal forces and increase the relevance of stability and civilian support activities in conflict situations.

The Planning Dimension

History shows examples of both good and bad planning for stability and civilian support operations. The most successful examples have been the most extensively planned—post-World War II Germany and Japan—which also included considerable adaptation during implementation. The least successful example is all-too-recent-Iraq, in which the main agency in charge, the Department of Defense, preferred a more ad hoc approach, ignoring the substantial planning by the Department of State.

The difference between good and bad stability and civilian support planning is often, but not always, the difference between good and bad military planning in—

- Devoting sufficient time and human and financial resources to the planning process.
- Providing a high level of professionalism and expertise among the planners.
- Ensuring the reliability, relevance, and use of information and experience from a wide variety of sources, including the participation of involved stakeholders.
- Being open to a broad range of opinions.
- Establishing a priority-setting mechanism.

However, as Box 3 illustrates, planning for stability and civilian support operations will also be very different.

Box 3

Planning for Peacefare

"Future operational environments will be complex. While this does not necessarily equal a more dangerous environment, Soldiers can expect to deal with more complicated situations than ever before. The nature of land operations has expanded from a nearly exclusive focus on lethal combat with other armies to a more complicated mixture of lethal and nonlethal actions directed at enemies, adversaries and the local population, itself often a complicated mix." (FM 3-0-1.18)

"Peace operations are often conducted in complex, ambiguous and uncertain environments.... They are often conducted under international supervision. U.S. forces may conduct peace operations under the sponsorship of the United Nations, another intergovernmental organization, as part of a coalition, or unilaterally." (FM 3-0-2.41/42)



U.S. Air Force, TSGT Francisco V. Govea II

A Soldier searches people before allowing them to enter the joint district community center in Arghandab, Afghanistan, 1 December 2009.

The major differences in planning for stability and civilian support operations are—

- **Dimensions.** As the Afghan Social Outreach Program in Afghanistan illustrates, even during conflict, stability, and civilian support operations, many infrastructure challenges often require more than the Army's traditional engineering skills.

- **Stakeholders.** Recognizing stakeholders is a central part of stability and civilian support planning that requires extensive intelligence on multiple groups' behaviors, attitudes, and identities.

- **Incentives.** Planning should allow for a variety of incentives, both financial and nonfinancial, to ensure participation and loyalty that goes far beyond the traditional planning for military operations. While development agencies have considerable experience with incentives, including "conditional cash transfer" programs that provide money in exchange for new types of behavior, this is not part of current military planning.

- **Simultaneous use of different kinds of weapons.** Commanders may use lethal and nonlethal weapons simultaneously—a gun in one hand, a "conditional cash transfer" in the other.

- **Longer time frame.** The emphasis on winning

a specific battle often implies a shorter time frame than stability and civilian support operations. During the latter, the battle extends over a much longer period, often years rather than days or months.

- **More uncertainty.** Planning for many sectors, multiple stakeholders, a system of incentives, and for a longer period requires a substantial ability to monitor and understand operations and the flexibility and confidence for constant adaptation and learning. A planning team that has established internal cohesion and interpersonal skills that remain intact during implementation can enhance flexibility.

- **External coordination.** Planning stability and civilian support operations, even for those within the command structure of the U.S. Army, may well involve coordinating with other agencies, especially outside the U.S. military and the U.S. government. The involvement of other countries, international organizations, civil society, and the private sector can succeed or fail depending on how they fit into the planning process. Non-U.S. agencies have coordinated with others for stability and civilian support operations extensively and successfully in recent years in Bosnia, East Timor, and Kosovo. The U.S. may benefit from such planning.

Box 4

Coordination and Other Lessons from the Balkans

Success to date in rebuilding the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been largely due to the presence of a set of factors—all common in different combinations with other post-war state building contexts recently documented. They include—

- Broad acceptance of a strategic long-term end state for the country with the end state's regional implications carefully considered by the international community (especially the EU in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina).
- Recognition by both the state and its “donors” that security needs to be viewed as both military/police security protecting the political and civil rights of people, and development security seeking to provide people with basic economic and social services.
- Formulating a national development/poverty reduction plan based on broad consultation with civil society and led by local experts and officials.
- Creating a unified “command structure” for the international community, both military and economic, which meets regularly, speaks with one voice publicly, and works towards a common set of goals based on the host government's national development plan.
- Appointing leadership from the international community of individuals with previous leadership success and strong convening power, who appreciate both military and development imperatives, and who are not perceived as representing the narrow interests of only one or two “donor” governments, but rather of the international community more broadly.
- Acceptance that an international presence would be robust in terms of personnel and financial resources (Bosnia in its first two years received \$679 per capita in funding, Kosovo \$526, and Afghanistan only \$57), and that it would be for the long term, possibly until a new post-war generation of leaders emerge.

The Resource Dimension

“Generating and sustaining combat power is fundamental to ... warfare.”¹⁸

This fundamental tenet emphasizes the need to provide and sustain sufficient resources to accomplish the mission. Stability and civil support activities, in contrast, traditionally carried out by governments, civil society, and international organizations involve gathering resources and then initiating and sustaining activities on a “best efforts basis.” The insufficient financial and human resources and the lack of a rigorous chain of command and mandatory coordination mechanisms leads to failure.

Stability and civilian support operations can benefit from the military tradition of estimating resource levels and developing the logistical framework for delivering and sustaining these resources. Among civilian agencies, perhaps only the International Monetary Fund hesitates to move forward with a partially funded program. For the rest, it is common to act in a framework of uncertain and often-insufficient resources to try to accomplish the mission. Even partially insufficient resources in stability and

civilian support operations will produce the same consequences as insufficient ammunition in battle.

The most common stability and civilian support resource issues are—

- **Lack of flexibility and fungibility.** Resources intended for one purpose, such as the purchase of equipment, cannot be shifted to other purposes, such as spare parts and salaries of key people. Resources for one stakeholder group or investment sector cannot be used for another group or sector. Resources should be used within a larger “results framework” to secure objectives (outcomes and impact) rather than to provide inputs only.

- **Lack of sustainability.** Resources should be available for the duration of the effort rather than for some arbitrary budget cycle.

- **Lack of comprehensiveness.** The tendency of many donors to resource what they consider commercially, politically, or morally appropriate often leads to too much funding in one area and not enough in another, although comprehensive program funding is essential to overall success.

...it is common to act in a framework of uncertain and often-insufficient resources to try to accomplish the mission.

While the experience of international development agencies has many lessons for stability and civilian support operations, two resource allocation instruments stand out:

- **Program funding.** This involves moving from funding individual projects with separate donor rules and regulations to comprehensive program funding, including “pooling” donor funds in one instrument, using one framework of (i) financial management, (ii) procurement of goods and services, and (iii) reporting. Program funding improves if it occurs within an overall national plan, which the Marshall Plan required for European countries after World War II and which

the International Monetary Fund and World Bank today encourage.

- **Conditional cash transfers.** Many countries have used this recent but well-established method to provide resources to people and communities upon documented proof of changes in behavior, for example, when community members improve water management in El Salvador, or village families in Turkey send their daughters to school.

The Implementation Dimension

International development programs, similar to stability and civil support operations, have had both their successes and their failures. There are a number of pitfalls the military can avoid as economic and social programs become part of full spectrum operations:

- **Disunity of command.** With the exception of “pooling of funds” at the sector level and unified trust funds for special operations (such as the trust fund for the West Bank and Gaza), stability and civilian support operations rarely achieve the unity

Box 5

The Lessons of Vietnam

During the period 1965 to 1968, U.S. armed forces took over the war against the Vietcong insurgency and the invading regular forces from North Vietnam. Against all historical wisdom and with a determined enemy state just to the north and west uninvaded, the U.S. set out to engage the enemy armed forces in South Vietnam through clearing operations in disputed territory and to embed its advisors into the local administration and regional and national armed units. At its peak at the end of 1967, the U.S. presence in South Vietnam numbered over 450,000 Americans, including military officers advising Vietnamese authorities at every level of military unit down to companies and at every level of civil government down to districts and villages. There were tens of thousands of such advisors and they were backed up by agents of USAID, the U.S. Information Agency and other elements of the U.S. Government. The U.S. was so confident in the combination of aggressive military clearing operations and “pacification” programs of the parallel advisory structure that the U.S. commander was brought back to Washington to explain to Congress that the war was “essentially over.” All of that embedded structure did not alert either the Government of Vietnam or the U.S. military of the massive national uprising of insurgents in January 1968—the “Tet Offensive.”

A more successful strategy against the insurgency was then initiated to provide security and effective government services. With village security perceived to be the operational imperative, intelligence about residual Vietcong activities was increasingly provided by the protected population. Economic development, especially in the agricultural sector, improved, and Vietnam began to export rice. The success of the Abrams strategy influenced North Vietnam to increase its external military presence in the South, a situation that in the end wore down the patience of the United States.

One important lesson is that protecting the population and providing a framework for economic progress works, assuming the resources in people, money, and patience are available as long as needed.

of command prevalent in most military operations.¹⁹ The goal of “coordination” and “harmonization” in the international development community based on the Paris Declaration remains largely a vision.²⁰

- **“Best efforts.”** Achieving partial success—“we did our best”—is often acceptable performance. Even though making some progress is sometimes better than no progress, this undercuts success in military operations.

- **“Implement the plan. Don’t deviate.”** Having spent considerable effort planning, “stick to the plan” becomes the mantra, using monitoring and evaluation to improve the plan’s effectiveness and efficiency during implementation.

- **Not integrating information.** Military commanders spend great effort telling each other what is happening and what they have learned from what just happened. Civilian managers in international development often live within “silos,” communicating up and down, but not across boundaries. In stability and civilian support operations, few “spotter planes” gather intelligence for more than one unit.

The Monitoring and Evaluation Dimension

Establishing baselines, performance indicators, monitoring systems, data collection, evaluation instruments, and feedback loops to integrate information into future operations are areas in which military and private sector agencies excel while

public sector and civil society managers often fail. The fault is not in the design of performance indicators and systems, but in their implementation. We must establish simple, relevant indicators, create simple and sustainable monitoring systems, merge duplicate systems, and actually use information to revise operations and improve performance.

Conclusion

Field Manual 3-0 represents a new way for the U.S. Army to operate in meeting the challenges of the 21st century, but implementation of its doctrinal principles requires substantial changes in how the military operates, how it organizes and trains its current and future Soldiers and officers, and how it reaches out to other agencies, especially outside the United States. Field Manual 3-07 may provide a partial guide for maneuvering within the U.S. bureaucracy, but it needs to take account of international experience. The U.S. Army needs a new approach to designing and implementing full spectrum operations that will capture the lessons of the past and the lessons learned by nonmilitary and non-U.S. actors, inform the design of current operations, and become a more important part of the Army’s learning processes. Designing new strategies and weapons systems in the military is not easy, but it can be done. The same is true for the economic development tools of full spectrum operations if we approach the problem with determination, professionalism, and resources. **MR**

NOTES

1. *Financial Times*, 25 November 2008, 7.

2. *Ibid.*

3. U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 3-0, *Operations* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO], 27 February 2008), foreword.

4. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, 10 October 2007. In fact, one could argue, that this new era began in the 20th century when, with the notable exceptions of the two world wars, many of the armed conflicts consisted of underground movements, uprisings, opposition groups, citizen movements, and dissidents.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are mentioned only four times in the 208-page document. The United Nations Development Program and the High Commission for Refugees, two other agencies involved in conflict situations, are mentioned even less frequently.

8. FM 3-0.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, para. 3-7.

11. FM 3-0 defines economic and social variables separately. Economic variables may include, for example, industrial organizations, trade, development assistance, finance, monetary policy and conditions, institutional capabilities, geography, legal constraints and the many aspects of the overall “incentive” system. Social variables may include individual, family and group social structures, beliefs, values, customs, behaviors, and demographics, religion, ethnicity, migration, urbanization, standards of living, literacy and the nature of education. In this sense, one might better define this element of full spectrum operations as economic/social to emphasize the attitudinal/behavioral aspects that may be economic or non-economic but are certainly central to what the FM intends.

12. While all the examples are derived from countries around the world, in the private sector an advanced form of SA is the foundation for Internet tracking of customer preferences. More complete information on the social assessments described here is at <www.socialassessment.com>.

13. At the end of the military phase of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the mid-1990s, a number of donors and providers of technical support (European Union, United Nations Development Program, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and the World Bank) indicated their readiness to provide resettlement and reconstruction support to those affected in Azerbaijan. Traditionally, the donors would have sent out a team of experts, usually producing a reconstruction program mirroring the technical expertise of the experts rather than the views of the affected people. In this case, before the experts went out, a social assessment of peoples’ views was conducted which resulted in the following priorities: (i) physical security, including demining; (ii) provision of housing, especially repair materials; (iii) temporary food supplies; (iv) income-generating possibilities; and (v) access to a minimum level of physical and social infrastructure across a broad range of subsectors. These priorities were significantly different from what the government thought people wanted and what would have been the basis for the traditional “reconstruction” program of support.

14. At the end of civil conflict in 1994 in Tajikistan, it was clear that there would be few external resources available for reconstruction. Social assessments revealed what people felt were the highest priorities and, more importantly, that reconstruction services should be delivered through efficient existing channels such as local and international nongovernment organizations rather than through an already overburdened public service. A traditional approach at that time would have been to rely heavily on the public sector.

15. In 1996, the World Bank approved a \$500 million loan to Russia to restructure

the coal sector, in particular to reduce government subsidies that amounted to a massive 1 percent of gross domestic product. Social assessments oriented much of the funding to those most affected by restructuring the coal communities rather than to coal companies and their employees. Management of the funds was an especially controversial subject until a survey revealed a solution—a new institution representing a broad range of stakeholders rather than an existing government or mine company solution.

16. During the preparation of the Baku (Azerbaijan) Water Supply Rehabilitation Project in 1994, water company officials and the World Bank team concluded that higher tariffs were essential to provide the financial resources necessary to put the Baku water company on a sound financial footing. However, discussions with the government over raising tariffs quickly became emotional. Government officials raised the specter of public riots, while the water company and World Bank team offered the gloomy vision of corporate bankruptcy. Although the public water supply service was inadequate throughout Baku, the low-income segment of the city's population suffered the most from the water situation. On average, households spent about 17 times more on alternative water supplies than on their monthly water bills. The poor spent 7 percent of their income on coping strategies while wealthier citizens spent only about 2 percent. A social assessment also showed that households would be willing to pay substantially more than their current monthly water charge for better public water service. The poorest elements of the population were prepared to pay 6 percent of their income, a slight decrease from their current payments for coping mechanisms. The social assessment process was used by government to justify its decision to raise water tariffs overall by 4 percent, a lower level than the 7 percent the poor were currently paying for coping mechanisms.

17. The social assessment of attitudes and behaviors of users of public buses in

the capital city of Turkmenistan revealed that the poorest 25 percent of the households were compelled to spend 13 percent of their income on various alternatives to public transport or on making "extra" payments for using public transport when it was available since tariffs were so low that no coin was small enough to purchase a single-ticket fare. The social assessment showed that 94 percent of public transport users would accept a 2,000 percent increase in tariffs if there were a real improvement in service. Tariff increases immediately went into operation. The quick improvement in public transport service resulted in the poorest households paying higher fares but incurring lower real costs for transport when compared to the cost of their previous expenditures on coping mechanisms.

18. FM 3-0, para 8-14.

19. Field Manual 3-07 suggests as the example of unity of effort, the Provincial Reconstruction Team, which has as its aim "to develop the infrastructure necessary for the local populace to succeed in a post-conflict environment. A PRT is an integral part of the long-term strategy to transition the functions of security, governance, and economics to the host-nation." (FM 3-07 Annex 4, para. 4). A more appropriate use of the PRT in warfare would be "the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (known as CORDS), the efforts of the Departments of State and Defense were integrated under a "single manager concept" that effectively achieved the civil-military unity of effort vital to success (FM 3-07, para. 1.2).

20. Field Manual 3-07 deals with this aspect specifically. "Where military operations typically demand unity of command, the challenge for military and civilian leaders is to forge unity of effort among the diverse array of actors involved in a stability operation. This is the essence of *unified action*: the synchronization, coordination, and/or integration of the activities of governmental and nongovernmental entities with military operations to achieve unity of effort." FM 3-07, para. 1.14.


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