

FRAMING THE FUTURE OF THE US MILITARY PROFESSION

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**Richard A. Lacquement Jr.
Thomas P. Galvin**

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FOREWORD

Twenty years ago, a team of scholars and practitioners came together to address a major challenge: Officers in the US Army were questioning whether the Army was a profession. The combination of a rapid post-Cold War drawdown, increased global operations, the war on terrorism, and an ongoing Army transformation contributed to uncertainty in the Army's identity. The research team addressed this challenge with two important volumes: *The Future of the Army Profession*, first and second editions, which analyzed these problems and provided tools for leader development. Since these editions were published, requirements for stewarding the profession have become embedded in professional military education.

Today, the US military profession faces new challenges, such as the renewal of great-power strategic competition, the impact of lengthy and costly operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, the changing character of war (particularly with the advent of advanced technology, such as artificial intelligence, drone, space, and cyberspace capabilities), recurrent crises of sexual harassment and assault, the aftermath of a global pandemic and associated social and political unrest that followed, and growing societal distrust toward professions in general. Although the work of the original *Future of the Army Profession* project remains relevant, these challenges represent new problems that need to be addressed and require new tools to help officers continue to serve as professional stewards.

In this monograph, Richard A. Lacquement Jr. and Thomas P. Galvin revisit the original project and call for a new research effort that will be more inclusive

of the whole defense enterprise. The authors propose questions raised previously, such as whether a Joint profession should exist, are more important now than before and argue the questions should be asked of defense agencies as well. Moreover, the earlier project focused more on defining the profession and the professional identities of its members. The authors suggest putting more emphasis on exploring the work and responsibilities of the professions and the reasons for the divisions of labor.

The times are changing. As stewards of the profession, US military stakeholders should reflect on how the profession should change in kind. This monograph is a first step in this direction.

Carol V. Evans

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SUMMARY

This monograph argues the US military profession needs to be clearer and more precise about its expertise and jurisdictions of practice on behalf of US society. “Military” is a vague term that too often is fraught with assumptions. Such assumptions, often unstated, are a frequent source of friction in civil-military relations. In the *Future of the Army Profession* project, which published a first edition in 2002 and a second edition in 2005, Don M. Snider, Gayle L. Watkins, and Lloyd J. Matthews led a large team of researchers and analysts, drawing heavily from Andrew Abbott’s classic work *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*, to develop valuable insights for the US Army.

This monograph builds on the work of Snider et al. by expanding analysis to the US military profession as a whole and addressing contemporary challenges. The monograph also considers Étienne Wenger’s work on communities of practice as a valuable complement to Abbott’s sociological foundation. Conceptually, the approach the authors lay out improves on well-known and oft-cited, yet dated, intellectual foundations, resting on the work of Samuel Huntington (1957) and Morris Janowitz (1960).

The aim is two-fold. The first aim is to represent the professional work of militaries more effectively and to investigate how militaries divide this work into different organizational structures, such as defense enterprise (that is, fourth-estate) organizations, the Joint community, services, and communities within the services. This examination produces an architecture of jurisdictional claims over how the enterprise is managed and which responsibilities

the profession decides to perform organically versus outsourcing them. The examination also allows for the analysis of duties and responsibilities among military members, civilians, and former members, such as veterans and retirees.

The second aim is to propose a research agenda that builds upon this framework and examines the impact of contemporary issues on the military profession and its responsibilities to sustain its domains of knowledge and ensure continued public trust. This concern is practical because the findings should assist civilian and military leaders in adapting to the changing character of war, emergence of new security threats, and evolution of old security threats as well as articulating the military profession's relationship with nonmilitary professions more effectively. Achieving this clarity is a shared responsibility defined through negotiation with US society and its civilian leaders.

The human competition at the heart of war and other instrumental uses of violence or coercion requires effective discretionary judgments across many domains. Clarification of military expertise and jurisdictions of practice will help to prepare US military professionals to exercise discretionary judgment more effectively.

FRAMING THE FUTURE OF THE US MILITARY PROFESSION

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The US military profession is not well understood, neither within itself nor among the society it serves. Too often the term “the military” is used as if to convey some precise meaning. But the term does no such thing. This ambiguity contributes to a host of major problems, such as misuse of the profession and its constituent elements; misallocation of national resources; unremitting civil-military tensions; recurring crises of misconduct and unprofessional behaviors; and, worst of all, lack of strategic success. The core issue is a lack of clarity about the profession’s essence or character—its expert knowledge, its human expertise, and the jurisdictions of practice it should occupy to best serve the American people. At the same time, society’s trust in the military is at risk, most notably as a result of recurrent scandals, such as sexual harassment and assault, the withdrawal from Afghanistan, and other strategic failures that have many critics raising questions about the competence and accountability of the US armed forces.¹

We believe now is a good time to build on prior research efforts to advance a new study on the US military profession. We must go beyond the analysis

1. Thomas Spoehr, “Improving America’s Long-Term Military Recruiting Outlook,” Heritage Foundation, October 5, 2021, <https://www.heritage.org/defense/report/improving-americas-long-term-military-recruiting-outlook>; and Robin Wright, “Afghanistan and the Haunting Questions of Blame,” *New Yorker*, September 30, 2021, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/afghanistan-and-the-haunting-questions-of-blame>.

of the US Army profession that Don M. Snider et al. conducted in the *Future of the Army Profession* (FAP) project and analyze the US military profession as a whole.² Snider and his colleagues conducted the FAP project at a watershed moment that was just as important as the current one. The turn of the twenty-first century and the beginnings of the war on terrorism presented several challenges to the Army's professional identity. At the time, the Army lacked a clear definition, and the FAP helped provide one. We aim to lead a project that will provide a clear definition of the US military profession today as it confronts severe and urgent difficulties of the current era.

The contemporary environment—with its external challenges such as the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic and the return of great-power competition as well as internal ones of diminishing resources and a long period of sustained, high operational tempo—has simultaneously reinforced the FAP's findings and raised new questions about what the defense enterprise does and is expected to do and how the military profession nests within it.

For this monograph and the extensive follow-on project we propose, the central question is: What should the US military profession's role on behalf of US society be in the future? The answer to this question should permit us, first, to better articulate what the military profession is and what it should do and, second, to ground the US military profession and its behavior in healthy relationships among many other

2. Don M. Snider and Gayle L. Watkins, eds., *The Future of the Army Profession* (New York: McGraw-Hill Primis Custom Publishing, 2002); and Don M. Snider and Lloyd J. Matthews, eds., *The Future of the Army Profession*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2005).

professions and nonprofessional organizations that serve US society (including, for example, nonmilitary, national-security-related diplomatic, intelligence, and economic professions).

We seek to chart a way forward for Americans—military and civilian—to understand, evaluate, and direct their armed forces to meet societal needs. Our research and analysis situate the US military within a system of professions that serve US society. Though we acknowledge unique and indispensable aspects of the military’s professional responsibilities, we also recognize the normal and generally healthy competition among the military and other professions to meet society’s goals.

At the same time, the COVID-19 pandemic, natural and man-made disasters, and domestic security events have highlighted how the military does not (and never did) act alone in meeting its professional responsibilities. The military leads national efforts in performing some professional tasks while performing other tasks in collaboration with and support of other professions’ efforts. As such, the public sector environment tempers the arena of professional competition, resulting in the competition for resources and prestige, while also cooperating and collaborating.

To better serve US society, an updated analysis of the US military as a distinct profession is needed. Such an analysis is merely part of the routine responsibility to reassess a profession’s health and relevance. But several contemporary challenges command urgency for such an analysis now, including:

- the changing character of war (including the significance of new domains, such as space and

cyberspace, that are underpinned by advanced technology);

- an expansive view of the applicability of military capabilities (which may result in overmilitarization of US foreign policy and the use of the armed forces in circumstances in which civilian expertise and capabilities might be more appropriate);
- a lack of strategic effectiveness in recent conflicts (for example, the Afghanistan War, the Iraq War, the Libya Revolt of 2011, and the Syrian Civil War), despite strong operational and tactical performance;
- pressures on the military to adapt and conform to emerging societal norms in areas such as diversity and inclusion;
- risks of politicization of the armed forces; and growing societal rejection of professionalism, which has accelerated since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic.³

3. Ronald O'Rourke, *Renewed Great Power Competition: Implications for Defense – Issues for Congress*, R43838 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, updated October 7, 2021); Robert M. Gates, "The Overmilitarization of American Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 4 (July/August 2020): 121–32; M. Chris Mason, *The Strategic Lessons Unlearned from Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College Press, 2015), 175–85; Kristy N. Kamarck, *Diversity, Inclusion, and Equal Opportunity in the Armed Services: Background and Issues for Congress*, R44321 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2017); David Barno and Nora Bensahel, "The Increasingly Dangerous Politicization of the US Military," *War on the Rocks*, June 18, 2019, <https://warontherocks.com/2019/06/the-increasingly-dangerous-politicization-of-the-u-s-military/>; Andrew Exum, "The Dangerous Politicization of the Military," *Atlantic*, July 24, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/07/the-danger-of-turning-the-us-military-into-a-political-actor/534624/>; and Michael Ollove, "The Pandemic Has Devastated the Mental Health of Public Health Workers," *Stateline* (blog), August 5, 2021, <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2021/08/05/the-pandemic-has-devastated-the-mental-health-of-public-health-workers>.

This monograph therefore sounds a clarion call for scholars and practitioners to renew examination of the military profession. We will examine the background of the original FAP project, describe contemporary challenges and associated areas of research, and develop a framework for analysis that expands on the original FAP framework.

BACKGROUND

The development and control of military power to serve a society's interests is a recurring challenge of human history. For the United States, the history of military subordination to society's larger goals is a success story. But the story is not simple. The story is one of idiosyncratic pluralism reflecting US affinity for divided and shared powers that underpin advantageous but often frustrating checks and balances. The story is one of US armed forces that have been largely effective in meeting both functional and societal imperatives for security—that is, attaining national security from violent external and internal adversaries (the functional imperative) without compromising US norms of democratic governance under civilian control (the societal imperative). The story is also one of enormous frictions and recurring intellectual clashes about how

to govern military responsibilities within the broader context of US politics.⁴

The structure and management of the US military has evolved in the organizational form of departments (Departments of War, Navy, Defense, the Army, and the Air Force), services (Army, US Navy, US Marine Corps, US Air Force, and US Space Force), and commands positioned across the globe (regional Combatant Commands, US Special Operations Command, field agencies, task forces, etc.). Laws, policies, doctrine, and other guidance have evolved to establish expectations for the responsibilities of military organizations. For this research project, the authors use the current Department of Defense (DoD) organizational structures

4. Important, foundational civil-military relations treatments include Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. and ed. Samuel B. Griffith (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1964); and Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. Michael Howard, Peter Paret, and Bernard Brodie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984). For US civil-military relations, critical foundations include the US Constitution and Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay's *The Federalist Papers*, which are supported by a vast literature of excellent scholarship, including Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957); Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier* (New York: Free Press, 1960); Eliot Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen and Leadership in Wartime* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012); Peter Feaver, *Armed Servants* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Mackubin T. Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations after 9/11: Renegotiating the Civil-Military Bargain* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011); and Richard H. Kohn, *Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783–1802* (New York: Free Press, 1975). More recent works worthy of consideration include Suzanne Nielsen and Don Snider, eds., *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Kori Schake and James Mattis, *Warriors and Citizens: American Views of Our Military* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2016); and Lionel Beehner, Risa Brooks, and Daniel Maurer, *Reconsidering American Civil-Military Relations: The Military, Society, Politics, and Modern War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

and guidance to illustrate how the military applies its professional knowledge to contemporary affairs while recognizing that such structures and guidance are outcomes of past civil-military negotiations that are subject to revision—indeed, in many cases, these outcomes should be revised.

The leaders of the US military profession, especially commissioned officers, must provide effective stewardship that is attentive to and consistent with the demands of US national security and the imperatives of US society, which is represented by its selected executive and legislative representatives who exercise civilian control of the military. Civilian leaders exercise control by defining or ratifying the military expertise society requires and establishing the associated jurisdictions of practice within which such expertise serves the common defense. Healthy civil-military relations flow from a robust negotiation between society's civilian leaders and its military professionals that is ultimately adjudicated by the decisions of civilian leaders.⁵ The accuracy with which the military represents society influences the trust the American people have in the military, which in turn influences civil-military relations.

Certain exceptional and noble elements of the military profession warrant society's praise and conditional deference. The ethical, disciplined use of organized violence or coercion in support of common defense is the US military profession's highest responsibility to the republic. Characteristics of healthy professions include having a unique and unifying professional identity; possessing and continuing to develop expert knowledge crucial to society's needs;

5. Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations*; and Cohen, *Supreme Command*.

building and leading organizations—including bureaucratic structures—that apply the profession’s expertise to specific problems; establishing, monitoring, and enforcing a professional ethos of selfless service and trustworthiness; providing stewardship for the development of future professionals; and responsibly employing society’s resources (including people, funding, and time). An additional characteristic of a healthy public sector profession—a class to which the military belongs—is the sustainment of the trust and confidence of both government leaders and the general population.

The placement of the military profession within a broader, competitive system of professions has external and internal components. These components are external in that the instrumental use of organized violence or coercion could be avoided by “work” that better falls within the purview of society’s nonmilitary professions or other instruments of government. These components are internal in that the military profession is comprised of constituent elements that compete with each other to serve the country’s interests in circumstances for which organized violence or coercion are needed. The military has an additional internal dimension, that of the individual professional—soldier, sailor, airman, marine, guardian, or civilian—who is a public servant upholding an oath to support and defend the Constitution through selfless service. The character of competition the military undertakes is therefore not about dominating nonmilitary or military professions; rather, it is about continuous self-improvement and transformation. As such, the profession must be postured with the right capabilities and capacity to dominate other militaries on current and future battlefields.

THE ORIGINAL PROJECT (2002 AND 2005)

The turn of the twenty-first century was an eventful time for the US military. The 1990s began with the end of the Cold War and decisive victory in the Persian Gulf War, but some harsh realities followed these triumphs. The quest for a national peace dividend and the resultant drawdown of forces, the rise of the Internet, claims of a coming revolution in military affairs, and the growing demands of Jointness under the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 were among these harsh realities.⁶ The United States conducted a range of operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Haiti, Somalia, and Kosovo that differed greatly in character from the conventional wars the military had traditionally prepared for—an experience that would recur after the 9/11 attacks and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq that followed. These strategic realities contributed to concerns about the identity of the US military profession and the risk it would devolve into an obedient bureaucracy.⁷

The original FAP project tackled this problem through numerous studies and workshops that focused on important questions: To what extent was the Army a profession, what did being an Army professional mean, and why was Army professionalism vital to the national defense?⁸ The tremendous work by the FAP scholars and the statements and actions of military leaders following the publication of the FAP have reaffirmed

6. Frederick M. Franks Jr., "Foreword," in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, xi-xiv.

7. Gayle L. Watkins and Randi C. Cohen, "In Their Own Words: Army Officers Discuss Their Profession," in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 77.

8. Franks, "Foreword."

commitments to the military's professional character. But professionalism is about more than the identity of the profession.

Professionalism also concerns what professionals do, how they do it, and why. What should the military profession do organically, and what should be outsourced or done in collaboration with others? How well is the profession performing its assigned tasks, and how does one know? To what extent does society trust the military, and to what extent does the military abide by societal norms and expectations without jeopardizing mission accomplishment?

Andrew Abbott's award-winning work *The System of Professions* presents a holistic framework for analyzing professions and provides a series of convincing case studies demonstrating professional competition in action.⁹ Using this framework, the FAP derived four broad categories of Army professional expertise: military-technical, human development, moral-ethical, and political-cultural.¹⁰ These categories translated into jurisdictions of practice that defined the Army profession's valid activities.¹¹ For the Army, such activities were many and varied and could be categorized under external jurisdictions (for example, major combat operations, cooperative security, deterrence, irregular warfare, stability operations, and homeland defense and civil support) and internal

9. Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

10. Don M. Snider, "The US Army as a Profession," in Snider and Matthews, *Future of the Army Profession*, 11-12.

11. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 20.

jurisdictions (developing expert knowledge and developing professionals with expertise).¹²

GAPS IN THE ORIGINAL PROJECT

Although FAP authors and scholars employed Abbott's constructs of professionalization and jurisdictions, they devoted less attention to Abbott's construct of professional work and competitions within professions, such as competitions among branches, communities, functional areas, or other groups of military professionals.¹³ Authors who contributed to the FAP took the view bureaucracy was necessary for the military to operate in the public sector, but bureaucracies naturally worked in tension with their corresponding professions.¹⁴ Abbott, in the first FAP edition, essentially concurred the Army faced competing pressures trying to balance being both a profession and an organization.¹⁵ The necessary aspects of bureaucracy were not explored, leaving unresolved how professional work should lead to more effective or efficient acquisition and distribution of resources for the US armed forces.

The FAP's nearly exclusive focus on the Army's professionalism constitutes another important gap. The FAP listed three "professions"—ground, aerospace, and maritime—but did not explore professionalism in the

12. Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), "Joint Concepts," JCS, n.d., <https://www.jcs.mil/Doctrine/Joint-Concepts/Joint-Concepts/>; and Snider, "US Army as a Profession," 20.

13. Thomas A. Kolditz et al., "Three Case Studies on the Army's Internal Jurisdictions," in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 459–504.

14. Snider, "US Army as a Profession," 13–14.

15. Andrew Abbott, "The Army and the Theory of Professions," in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 523–36.

other services.¹⁶ Meanwhile, the FAP did not analyze the defense enterprise—composed of the military services plus the service and defense secretariats, Joint and defense agencies, defense activities, and other defense institutions—as part of the professional ecology. Interservice relationships represent only one source of competition within the defense enterprise; others include Joint-service, defense-service, and intraservice (for example, within components, within conventional or special operations forces, or among branches or communities). Yet, the need for collaboration to perform some activities, such as defense budgeting, influences how these entities compete among themselves and against other government activities seeking federal resources.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The current urgency for a large-scale analytical effort is underscored by recent events that raise questions about the state of military professionalism and the armed forces' contract with society. The twenty-first century has been eventful. The turn of its third decade was tumultuous. With the return of great-power strategic competition came a global pandemic that disrupted communities and lives, accentuated long-standing political tensions, and strained the nation's fiscal resources. The emergence of new technologies and domains of warfare, the evolution of adversarial capabilities, and the heightened demands for ensuring the military's representation of society have placed enormous pressures on the force. The following sections discuss challenges that have

16. Don M. Snider and Gayle L. Watkins, "Introduction," in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 6.

emerged since the FAP and that the military profession now faces. A recurrent theme across all challenges is how they affect what the military is expected to do and, therefore, what expert knowledge the military requires (or, in many cases, shares with other professions) to perform these tasks.

The Changing Character of War

The return to great-power competition is described in the *Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America*, which declares, “Inter-state strategic competition, not terrorism, is now the primary concern in US national security.”¹⁷ But the character of war has shifted away from symmetric, force-on-force forms of warfare to more asymmetric varieties.¹⁸ Examples include gray-zone operations by Russia in Ukraine and efforts by China to occupy and control territory in the South China Sea with an armed reserve force.¹⁹ The advent of cell-phone technologies and the spread of social media provide unprecedented capabilities to capture and disseminate instantaneously information about ongoing military actions to a global audience. Consequently, individual tactical activities are placed under intense and immediate scrutiny,

17. James Mattis, *Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2018), 1.

18. Douglas J. Feith and Shaul Chorev, *The Evolving Nature of War*, Information Series, no. 458 (Fairfax, VA: National Institute for Public Policy, May 6, 2020).

19. Feith and Chorev, *Evolving Nature of War*.

as are their strategic leaders.²⁰ Drones and other unmanned systems are ubiquitous features of the battlefield that provide capabilities to conduct lethal strikes on adversaries from an extended distance, thus raising questions about their legality under the laws of armed conflict.²¹ Yet, these developments have been accompanied by a growing risk aversion to harming civilians. Incidents of harm have delegitimized military action in the eyes of many civilian observers, even when the scope of such action has been within the bounds of laws of armed conflict and established rules of engagement.²²

Cyberspace provides an example of how the changes in the character of warfare are affecting what militaries do and how they do it. Cyberspace as a domain of human activity is a relatively recent phenomenon, but it is now an indelible part of the strategic environment, with global, state, and nonstate actors continuously engaging in efforts to steal proprietary information, disrupt normal operations, and sow fear and distrust in democratic institutions.²³ As US society grapples with

20. Debasis Dash, "Facing a Future with Organized Weaponization of Social Media," War Room, May 31, 2019, <https://warroom.armywarcollege.edu/articles/organized-weaponization-of-social-media/>.

21. Ryan J. Vogel, "Drone Warfare and the Law of Armed Conflict," *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy* 39, no. 1 (January 2011): 101–38.

22. Alcides Eduardo dos Reis Peron and Rafael de Brito Dias, "'No Boots on the Ground': Reflections on the US Drone Campaign through Virtuous War and STS Theories," *Contexto Internacional* 40, no. 1 (January/April 2018): 53–71.

23. Mari K. Eder, "Information Apocalypse, Part III: The War on Reality," War Room, April 3, 2019, <https://warroom.armywarcollege.edu/articles/information-apocalypse-war-on-reality/>.

the relevance of cyberspace, new military commands have been created, and personnel specialties have been designated (including both uniformed and civilian billets within the DoD).²⁴ Activities in the cyberspace domain have profound implications for national security, but what makes such activities military? Does the military have a peculiar expertise in the cyberspace domain, or, as with some predominantly civilian professions (for example, medical and legal), should such expertise be integrated into the existing armed forces in a supporting role?

These questions also highlight the important roles of the defense enterprise in developing, generating, and integrating requisite military capabilities to be available for US combatant commanders while ensuring the integration of such capabilities elsewhere in the US government. The cyberspace domain challenges many traditional notions of what constitutes overmatch or sufficiency and what providing trained and ready forces means. For example, do three cyber warriors triple the capacity of a single one? (Short answer: No.) If the success of a particular military operation depends on the capabilities of the nonmilitary portion of cyber, how is the nonmilitary portion integrated into a measure of readiness? To what extent must the

24. Keith B. Alexander, "Building a New Command in Cyberspace," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 3-12; David Ruderman, "Command Establishes Enlisted Pathways to Become a Cyber Operations Specialist," US Army, June 10, 2015, https://www.army.mil/article/149776/command_establishes_enlisted_pathways_to_become_a_cyber_operations_specialist; and Jason Miller, "To Keep Cyber Workers, Army Opens Up Its Wallet," Federal News Network, January 28, 2020, <https://federalnewsnetwork.com/reporters-notebook-jason-miller/2020/01/to-keep-cyber-workers-army-opens-up-its-wallet/>.

military depend on the cyberspace profession writ large for the certification of its cyber warriors? What does rank mean in cyberspace organizations (and is it even relevant)? These questions highlight the difficulties the defense enterprise faces in resourcing (that is, providing funding, personnel, facilities and infrastructure, and time) its slice of the cyber force while appropriately, equitably, and fairly resourcing other capabilities.

More generally, the changing character of war raises important questions: What are appropriate jurisdictions for the military on future battlefields based on the emerging changes to the character of war? For the jurisdictions deemed to belong elsewhere, what is the appropriate relationship between the military and other professions?

Applying Force for Nonmilitary Purposes

Part of the impetus behind the FAP was the growing concern over the effects of military operations other than war, defined as operations below the level of interstate conflict, on the military profession. In examining operations in Somalia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Thomas L. McNaugher presented the military as being required to develop and sustain different domains of expert knowledge, skills, and competencies for peace enforcement and peacekeeping. He expressed concerns over the deleterious effects on overall readiness for conventional warfare.²⁵ As combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan evolved into stability operations, the extent to which the military should have been organized, trained, and equipped for operations across

25. Thomas L. McNaugher, "The Army in Operations Other Than War: Expanding Professional Jurisdiction," in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 155–78.

the conflict continuum received even greater attention.²⁶ But, though the debate over the extent to which the military should conduct nonconventional warfare remains intense, less controversial was the expectation the military should have been prepared for anything that arose across the conflict continuum.

This expectation may no longer apply. In addition to changes in the character of warfare, the character of national responses to emergencies has changed. With this change has come increased demands for use of the military in homeland security matters and foreign humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. Critics and military professionals have considered the appropriateness of using the military to secure the US southern border; quell civil discord (for example, in the US Capitol attack of 2021); and respond to wildfires, hurricanes, and the COVID-19 pandemic because these actions may detract from the military's preparation for conventional war.²⁷ Also, though the military has long engaged in training missions for partner militaries, the quantity and extent of such missions has increased because of the perception uniformed military are preferred over civilian contractors (for example, private security companies) procured via the Department

26. Nathan Jennings, Amos Fox, and Adam Taliaferro, "The US Army Is Wrong on Future War," Modern War Institute, December 18, 2018, <https://mwi.usma.edu/us-army-wrong-future-war/>; and JCS, *Joint Operations*, Joint Publication (JP) 3-0 (Washington, DC: JCS, updated January 17, 2017), V-4.

27. Todd South, "Wildfires, Civil Unrest, Hurricanes, a Pandemic, Combat Prep—The Army Guard Had a Busy Year," *Defense News*, October 13, 2020, <https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/ausa/2020/10/13/wildfires-civil-unrest-hurricanes-a-pandemic-combat-prep-the-army-guard-had-a-busy-year/>.

of State.²⁸ The Army therefore has dedicated force structure to these missions by creating six Security Force Assistance Brigades.²⁹

These security assistance operations are no longer seen as one-off events; rather, they are seen as a pattern of enduring changes in expectations for the US armed forces and debates surrounding such endeavors. The FAP included research on the militarization of foreign policy and the possible breakdown of the civil-military discourse following the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.³⁰ Militarization of foreign policy also emerged as a point of contention during the creation of United States Africa Command in 2007, seen by some in diplomatic circles as a power grab by the Department of Defense.³¹ This perception reflects long-standing tensions over the use of hard versus soft power, with soft power being associated with nonmilitary activities (for example, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief) that might detract from the military's readiness and its fighting spirit and raises questions for the profession, such as, What happens to the profession as the military absorbs—willingly or

28. Jefferson P. Marquis et al., *Developing an Army Strategy for Building Partner Capacity for Stability Operations* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2010), 204.

29. Headquarters, Department of the Army (HQDA), *Army Multi-Domain Transformation: Ready to Win in Competition and Conflict*, Chief of Staff Paper, no. 1 (Washington, DC: HQDA, March 16, 2021), 25.

30. Marybeth P. Ulrich, "Infusing Normative Civil-Military Relations Norms in the Officer Corps," in Snider and Matthews, *Future of the Army Profession*, 655–82.

31. Edward Marks, "Why USAFRICOM?," *Joint Force Quarterly* 52 (1st Quarter 2009): 148–51; and Mary C. Yates, "US Africa Command: Value Added," *Joint Force Quarterly* 52 (1st Quarter 2009): 152–55.

not—and normalizes these additional requirements? To what extent does the continuous negotiation among national and military leaders result in beneficial or detrimental changes to the responsibilities and jurisdictions of the military profession?

Strategic Ineffectiveness

The relationship between tactical and strategic success has always been tenuous, as the US experience in the Vietnam War demonstrated. The famous exchange between American and Vietnamese officers in Harry Summers's book, *On Strategy*, captures this well: "‘You know you never defeated us on the battlefield,’ said the American colonel. The North Vietnamese colonel pondered this remark a moment. ‘That may be so,’ he replied, ‘but it is also irrelevant.’"³²

Generally, military historians and scholars have lamented the disconnect between tactical and strategic efforts, resulting in winning battles but losing wars or winning wars yet losing the peace.³³ Critics have accused both civilian and military leaders of failing the armed forces by limiting the aims of war to minimize national commitments, refusing to provide adequate forces to meet stated objectives, and shackling

32. Harry G. Summers Jr., *On Strategy: The Vietnam War in Context* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College Press, 1981), quoted in James M. Dubik, "Winning Battles, Losing Wars," Institute for the Study of War, December 2, 2014, <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/winning-battles-losing-wars>.

33. Bing West, "How We Fight in the Twenty-First Century: Winning Battles while Losing Wars," Hoover Institution, December 10, 2015, <https://www.hoover.org/research/how-we-fight-twenty-first-century-winning-battles-while-losing-wars>.

commanders with unnecessary or counterproductive rules of engagement.³⁴

When failures such as the US withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2021 occur, assigning blame and painting current or former national and military leaders as incompetent and culpable outside the results of a credible, independent investigation is understandable. But the military has been ineffective in recent operations in which military professionals: (1) employed forces too small to accomplish the stated objectives; (2) had to exercise force surges to preclude operational or strategic failure; (3) presided over operations that failed to achieve the political objectives; or (4) failed to confront their civilian leaders when their policies and commitments of resources did not satisfy the objectives.³⁵ The last item in the list is troublesome and has a long history in the United States. In his book *Dereliction of Duty*, then-Major H. R. McMaster highlighted the failure of Vietnam-era military leaders to speak truth to power rather than carry out flawed policies.³⁶ Similar charges have been leveled against twenty-first-century military leaders who, during operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the

34. West, "How We Fight"; and Peter R. Mansoor, "Why America Can't Win Its Wars," Hoover Institution, December 10, 2015, <https://www.hoover.org/research/why-america-cant-win-its-wars>.

35. Mark Moyer, "The White House's Seven Deadly Errors," Hoover Institution, December 10, 2015, <https://www.hoover.org/research/white-houses-seven-deadly-errors>.

36. H. R. McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty: Johnson, McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies That Led to Vietnam* (Boston: HarperCollins, 1998); and Thomas J. Umberg, "We Depend on Our Military to Speak Truth to Power," Voice of OC, December 8, 2020, <https://voiceofoc.org/2017/03/umberg-we-depend-on-our-military-to-speak-truth-to-power/>.

global war on terrorism, failed to challenge policies that arguably led to unnecessary loss or misuse of blood and treasure.³⁷

Forensic analysis of the 2021 Afghanistan withdrawal or any other conflict may not produce clear answers as to the reason a given operation has succeeded or failed, but successes and failures alike require a reexamination of the definition of strategic and military effectiveness. Strategic success for the United States, as was experienced in the Persian Gulf War and the invasion of Panama, is often attributed to clear goals, domestic and international support, overwhelming force, and clear end states that preclude enduring commitments afterward.³⁸ But even if the policy is right (however it may be judged), suitable military strategy still must be developed to serve policy. The development of such strategy may include identifying and clarifying (hopefully with the support of civilian leaders) the aspects of the policy that are imperfect or the limitations of military means in contributing to desired policy outcomes. Members of the military bear responsibility for translating military capabilities and limitations for the benefit of their civilian counterparts. Effective translation requires skills and knowledge associated with strategic and operational art.³⁹

37. Paul Yingling, "A Failure in Generalship," *Armed Forces Journal* 144, no. 10 (May 2007): 16–25.

38. Alan R. Millett and Williamson Murray, "Lessons of War," *National Interest* 14 (Winter 1988–89): 83–95; and Samuel Helfont, "The Gulf War's Afterlife: Dilemmas, Missed Opportunities, and the Post-Cold War Order Undone," *Texas National Security Review* 4, no. 2 (Spring 2021): 26–47.

39. Frank G. Hoffman, "The Missing Element in Crafting National Strategy: A Theory of Success," *Joint Force Quarterly* 97 (2nd Quarter 2020): 55–64.

The preservation of expert knowledge of military strategy has been largely vested in the institutions of professional military education (PME) and institutions that develop and promulgate concepts and doctrine. These institutions, including the war colleges, have faced their own criticisms for failing to develop strategists.⁴⁰ On the PME side, concerns include the watering down of strategy education in favor of other requirements; the balance (and contributions) of military, retired military, and pure civilian faculty; and the overall rigor of PME experiences.⁴¹ The question being raised is, To what extent do the military's institutions support the appropriate development, use, and retention of the professional domain of expert knowledge vital to the profession?

Social Pressures on the Profession

Continued efforts to satisfy the societal imperative of having the armed forces sufficiently represent the society they serve have seen mixed results since the

40. Robert Scales, "Slightly 'Steamed,' Gen. Scales Explains His Criticisms of the Military's War Colleges," *Best Defense* (blog), May 11, 2012, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/05/11/slightly-steamed-gen-scales-explains-his-criticism-of-the-militarys-war-colleges/>.

41. Richard B. Andres, "The Other Side of the Air War College Story: Some Profs Avoid Researching or Teaching about Our Current Wars," *Best Defense* (blog), April 19, 2011, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/04/19/the-other-side-of-the-air-war-college-story-some-profs-avoid-researching-or-teaching-about-our-current-wars/>.

FAP:⁴² On the plus side, several important changes have been made that reflect the enduring realities of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The fading of clearly defined front lines and the subsequent diffusion of the combat environment have provided a justification for fully integrating women into the combat arms.⁴³ Systematic efforts to confront and remove unconscious bias in selections and promotions, such as the removal of official photographs, have been arguably successful in bringing about fairer results.⁴⁴ The honorable and heroic service performed by lesbian, gay, and bisexual servicemembers has helped break down the cultural barriers against their service and bring about the repeal of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell law.

Failures have occurred as well. President Barack Obama's repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell in 2011, did not initially include other sexual minorities, such as transgender people, whose inclusion or exclusion became the subject of competing policy stances by

42. Suzanne Nielsen, "American Civil-Military Relations Today: The Continuing Relevance of Samuel P. Huntington's *The Soldier and the State*," *International Affairs* 88, no. 2 (2012): 369-76.

43. Emma Moore, "Women in Combat: Five-Year Status Update," Center for a New American Security, March 31, 2020, <https://www.cnas.org/publications/commentary/women-in-combat-five-year-status-update>.

44. Jason M. Payne and Francine Chapman, "Talent Identification: Centralized Promotions in the Blind," *NCO Journal*, July 13, 2020, <https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Journals/NCO-Journal/Archives/2020/July/Talent-Identification/>.

different administrations in the late 2010s.⁴⁵ Transgender status remains controversial. The military has faced numerous sexual harassment and assault scandals, most notably in the early 2010s. More troublesome has been the unprofessional attitudes expressed by some servicemembers dismissing the impact of the scandal.⁴⁶ And despite the efforts to be more inclusive of minorities, flag or general officers and senior civilians remain overwhelmingly white and male, indicative of the often glacial pace of change in a profession.

The changing mores of US society have induced renewed dialogue about how military professionals balance societal and functional imperatives. For example, critics have charged the military is overemphasizing diversity and inclusion goals at the expense of readiness, while others counter readiness and diversity are naturally complementary, such that a more diverse force would be more trustworthy and,

45. Joe Biden, "Statement by President Joe Biden on the Tenth Anniversary of the Repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell," White House Briefing Room, September 20, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/09/20/statement-by-president-joe-biden-on-the-tenth-anniversary-of-the-repeal-of-dont-ask-dont-tell/>; and Jo Yurcaba, "Biden Recognizes the 10th Anniversary of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' Repeal," NBC News, September 20, 2021, <https://www.nbcnews.com/nbc-out/out-news/biden-recognizes-10th-anniversary-dont-ask-dont-tell-repeal-rcna2086>.

46. Don M. Snider, "The Army's Campaign against Sexual Violence: Dealing with the Careerist Bystanders," Strategic Studies Institute, July 11, 2013, <https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/2013/pubs/article/the-armys-campaign-against-sexual-violence-dealing-with-the-careerist-bystanders/>.

therefore, effective.⁴⁷ Another question is, What falls within the responsibilities of the profession, and what is best left to other professions? For example, to what extent do matters of sexual harassment and assault exceed a commander's capacity, thereby necessitating the involvement of external actors for prosecuting cases or addressing the needs of victims?⁴⁸

The general questions posed are: What is the proper division of professional responsibilities between commanders and the enterprise? What determines the shifting of responsibilities from one to the other? To what extent can the enterprise and commanders synthesize the functional and social imperatives and adequately respond when the imperatives fall out of balance?

Politicization

The 2020 presidential election and its aftermath highlighted the importance of military professionals remaining nonpartisan and outside the political process.⁴⁹ Actions by serving and former professionals have raised the specter of the military becoming politicized, which for a profession represents the

47. Leonard Wong and Stephen J. Gerras, "Protecting, Not Just Reflecting Society," *Military Review*, May 3, 2018, <https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Journals/Military-Review/Online-Exclusive/2018-OLE/Apr/Protecting/>.

48. Jim Garamone, "Leaders Discuss Initial Sex Assault Review Commission Recommendation," Department of Defense (DoD), May 7, 2021, <https://www.defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/Article/2600363/leaders-discuss-initial-sex-assault-review-commission-recommendation/>.

49. Melody Barnes, "Not a Normal Transition," *Election 2020 and Its Aftermath* (blog), November 17, 2020, <https://millercenter.org/election-2020-and-its-aftermath>.

compromising of objectivity and the use of the profession to serve political aims.⁵⁰ Both 2020 presidential campaigns claimed legitimacy on the basis of numerous open endorsements by retired flag officers, some of whom spoke at the national conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties.⁵¹ In 2021, dozens of military veterans, two reservists, one active-duty servicemember, and two National Guard members have been arrested for participating in the US Capitol attack.⁵²

Though these overt actions have been decried as damaging to the military profession, other troubling signs of a more covert nature have appeared. For example, Heidi A. Urben indicates military members are increasingly favoring public criticism of political

50. Paul R. Pillar, "The Perils of Politicization," in Loch K. Johnson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010).

51. Heidi A. Urben, "Generals Shouldn't Be Welcome at These Parties: Stopping Retired Flag Officer Endorsements," *War on the Rocks*, July 27, 2020, <https://warontherocks.com/2020/07/generals-shouldnt-be-welcome-at-these-parties-stopping-retired-flag-officer-endorsements/>.

52. Patricia Kime, "Active-Duty Troops Who Participated in the Capitol Siege Could Face These Penalties," *Military.com*, January 21, 2021, <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2021/01/21/active-duty-troops-who-participated-capitol-siege-could-face-these-penalties.html>; Claire Hymes, "What We Know about the 'Unprecedented' Capitol Riot Arrests," *CBS News*, August 11, 2021, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/us-capitol-riot-arrests-latest/>; Ben Leonard, "First Known Active-Duty Military Member Is Charged in Jan. 6 Insurrection," *Politico*, May 13, 2021, <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/05/13/marine-charged-capitol-insurrection-488113>; and Alex Horton, "Soldier with 'Hitler Mustache' Is First to Be Thrown Out of Military after Capitol Riot Charges," *Washington Post*, October 20, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2021/10/20/capitol-riot-timothy-hale-cusanelli/>.

leaders on social media.⁵³ Ronald R. Krebs and Robert Ralston found civilians are increasingly ignorant of traditional civil-military norms and their importance for a functioning democracy.⁵⁴ On the other hand, one of the traditional concerns, partisan bias in the military, appears to be fading. Marybeth P. Ulrich illustrates in the 1990s, soldiers who self-identified as conservatives vastly outnumbered self-identifying liberals 23 to one, and indications emerged the officer corps was “Republicanizing”—aligning very strongly with conservative views or openly rejecting politically liberal views.⁵⁵ But due to greater numbers of millennials in the force and the retirement of 1990s-era officers, the partisan gap has narrowed to less than two to one conservative to liberal.⁵⁶

Another concern is the civilian politicization of the military, meaning the use of the military—including its heritage, equipment, resources, or

53. Heidi A. Urben, *Like, Comment, Retweet: The State of the Military's Nonpartisan Ethic in the World of Social Media* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2017).

54. Ronald R. Krebs and Robert Ralston, “Too Many Americans Don’t Subscribe to a Basic Tenet of Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 14, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-07-14/civilian-control-military-partisan-issue>.

55. Ulrich, “Civil-Military Relations Norms,” 666–69.

56. Leo Shane III, “Trump’s Popularity Slips in Latest Military Times Poll – and More Troops Say They’ll Vote for Biden,” *Military Times*, August 31, 2020, <https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2020/08/31/as-trumps-popularity-slips-in-latest-military-times-poll-more-troops-say-theyll-vote-for-biden/>; and Tara Copp, “Can Trump Count on the Military to Vote Republican in 2020? Millennials Bring Shift,” *McClatchy DC Bureau*, October 31, 2020, <https://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/politics-government/election/article246835432.html>.

servicemembers—specifically for partisan purposes.⁵⁷ The late 2010s saw this effect put into practice, with the military being used increasingly as “backdrops for blatantly political speeches” or being assigned missions that would be more appropriate for law enforcement or state agencies.⁵⁸ Though military leaders and commentators alike have issued strict policy guidance reinforcing proper civil-military norms, officers have been generally averse to discussing partisan politics with their subordinates.⁵⁹

This guidance is clearly correct, but is it enough? The simple approach has been for military members to say or write less and less and for the military’s public affairs, legislative affairs, and other formal communication channels to exercise more caution. The better approach, however, may be for the military to encourage more open communication that is mindful of civil-military norms.⁶⁰ After all, though the military profession must eschew partisanship, the military is an inherently political entity due to both its status as a public-sector organization and its prominence as a symbol of both national strength and democratic ideals. The question that arises is how best to sustain open communication with stakeholders (including “speaking truth to power”), the public, servicemembers, civilians, military

57. Risa Brooks, “Paradoxes of Professionalism: Rethinking Civil-Military Relations in the United States,” *International Security* 44, no. 4 (2020): 7–44.

58. Barno and Bensahel, “Increasingly Dangerous Politicization.”

59. Jim Golby and Mara Karlin, “The Case for Rethinking Politicization of the Military,” *Task & Purpose*, June 12, 2020, <https://taskandpurpose.com/analysis/us-military-politics-politicization/>.

60. Golby and Karlin, “Case for Rethinking.”

partners, and others with the understanding that open communication naturally carries risks.⁶¹

Growing Repudiation of Professionalism

The challenges discussed thus far represent, at least in part, self-inflicted problems brought about by the actions or inaction of military professionals. But more troubling signs professionalism in general is under increasing attack from society have appeared. Teachers and other educational professionals have long objected to patterns of mistreatment by parents, significantly reduced resources, and poor pay and benefits, leading to frustration and discord.⁶² Medical professionals and insurance companies have long clashed over treatment plans and cost controls for patients.⁶³

The COVID-19 pandemic accelerated this phenomenon of rejecting expertise. The profession of public health, part of the profession of medicine, has been weakened as segments of society have prioritized the sustainment of local economies or individual civil liberties over concerns of unchecked spreading of the virus.⁶⁴ The profession of law enforcement was also arguably weakened by several incidents of police violence in the summer of 2020 that highlighted inequitable treatment of minorities by

61. Umberg, "We Depend on Our Military."

62. Robert Bruno, "When Did the US Stop Seeing Teachers as Professionals?," *Harvard Business Review*, June 20, 2018, <https://hbr.org/2018/06/when-did-the-u-s-stop-seeing-teachers-as-professionals>.

63. Murali Poduval, "Medicine as a Corporate Enterprise: A Welcome Step?," *Mens Sana Monographs* 6, no. 1 (2008): 157-74.

64. Rene Loewenson et al., "Reclaiming Comprehensive Public Health," *British Medical Journal Global Health* 5, no. 9 (September 2020).

police.⁶⁵ Members of the medical profession have been frustrated by individuals' lack of compliance or refusal to comply with preventative measures, which arguably contributed to the spike in cases during the summer of 2021. These professions and others have seen worrying exoduses of members who have faced harassment and threats or become overly stressed and disenchanting due to the unnecessary and avoidable prolongment of the pandemic.⁶⁶

To what extent does the military face such pressures? Mark G. Kappelmann notes the growing intrusion of legislative and executive actions into military professional affairs is a sign of a profession in decline.⁶⁷ Budget constraints resulting from the Budget Control Act of 2011 and, more recently, the concerns over the costs of COVID-19 relief packages are potentially

65. Deepshikha Chatterjee and Ann Marie Ryan, "Is Policing Becoming a Tainted Profession? Media, Public Perceptions, and Implications," *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 41, no. 7 (September 2020): 606–21; Heather MacDonald, *The War on Cops: How the New Attack on Law and Order Makes Everyone Less Safe* (New York: Encounter Books, 2017); and David S. Kirk and Marti Rovira, "An Audit Experiment to Investigate the 'War on Cops': A Research Note," *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, March 18, 2021, <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s11292-021-09458-x.pdf>.

66. For example, Sasha Pezenik and Laura Romero, "Major Exodus of Public Health Professionals during Pandemic," ABC News, February 5, 2021, <https://abcnews.go.com/US/major-exodus-public-health-officials-pandemic/story?id=75679880>; Leandra Bernstein, "'Why Stay?': Law Enforcement Advocates Explain Exodus from Police Forces," ABC News4, July 7, 2021, <https://abcnews4.com/news/nation-world/why-stay-law-enforcement-advocates-explain-exodus-from-police-forces>; and University of York, "Teacher Burnout Causing Exodus from the Profession," Phys.org, July 22, 2021, <https://phys.org/news/2021-07-teacher-burnout-exodus.html>.

67. Mark G. Kappelmann, *The End of the American Military Profession* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 2017).

impacting military readiness and modernization efforts.⁶⁸ Even moral support from the public may not translate meaningfully into real support for sustaining a ready military. Signs indicate the public is detaching itself from the military profession, thanking veterans for their service but otherwise not providing active support for national preparation for war.⁶⁹ This phenomenon raises several important questions about the possible weakening of professionalism in general and how it may impact the military: To what extent and under what conditions does society respect and abide by expert knowledge, trust professions, or acknowledge professionalism?

THE NEED FOR A NEW PROJECT

Flowing from this analysis, the authors propose a larger project to map a way forward to practical outcomes. Three important outcomes stand out in particular. First and foremost is providing an accessible way for American citizens and their uniformed servants to understand the US military as an instrument for common defense—including their understanding of the changing character of war. Second is providing civilian leaders who serve in the executive and

68. Eric Edelman and Gary Roughead, *Providing for the Common Defense: The Assessment and Recommendations of the National Defense Strategy Commission* (Washington, DC: National Defense Strategy Commission, 2018), 49–50; and Diane DiEuliis and Laura Junor, “Ready or Not: Regaining Military Readiness during COVID-19,” Institute for National Security Studies, April 10, 2020, <https://inss.ndu.edu/Media/News/Article/2145282/ready-or-not-regaining-military-readiness-during-covid19/>.

69. Risa Brooks, “Beyond Huntington: US Military Professionalism Today,” *Parameters* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2021): 72.

legislative branches of the US government a useful framework for engaging, developing, and governing the US military profession. Third is improving how US military leaders serve as stewards of the military profession. The project should inform military professional development and support healthier civil-military relations. In an important way, metaphorically, the project could yield a useful “owner’s manual” of the US armed forces for the American public as well as its civilian and military leaders.

To put this discussion in perspective, for all its vaunted capabilities and acumen, the military profession addresses only a fraction of society’s needs. To be expert in the military profession’s demanding fields of knowledge and the jurisdictions within which such knowledge is applied requires an economy of effort toward, or maybe functional ignorance of, other areas that make up society’s ecology of expertise. The US military profession is a collection of subordinate professions (land, maritime, air, space, and cyber) that vie among each other and with other nonmilitary, national-security-related professions (for example, intelligence, economic, and diplomatic professions) to meet society’s needs. The provisional autonomy of the military reflects a division of expert labor that helps US society thrive. The military profession, as important as it is, is merely one among many indispensable public service professions—such as medicine, law, the judiciary, law enforcement, education, business, media, and engineering—that deserve critical analysis, assessment, negotiation, and adjudication as US society pursues “a more perfect union,” “provides[s] for the common defense,” and better “promote[s] the general

welfare.”⁷⁰ Constitutional requirements, institutional abilities, ethical factors, and practical considerations appropriately vest civilians with the ultimate authority with which to adjudicate the military’s contributions.

Importantly, this analysis does not begin with idealized constructs of military professionalism. The analysis starts with where the US military is now. We take the current or existing construct of services and organizations as the baseline provided to us by generations of US civil-military bargaining. Similarly, we accept current doctrine and policy as the results of implicit and explicit bargaining. To describe and explain the current state of the US military is not an abdication to inertia. Rather, description and explanation provide a firm foundation from which we can predict future implications of previous bargains and prescribe modifications when we discern better ways to meet society’s needs.

Context matters too. The balance between current operations and future plans is often a function of how US society perceives the urgency and acuity of the threats at a particular moment in time. Even in the most extreme emergencies, however, the imbalance of attention to immediate versus future threats rarely results in focusing on only one set of threats and not the other.

Though our focus is on the US military, we recognize other countries’ experiences and bargains can yield valuable lessons (and our analysis may yield valuable lessons for our counterparts in other countries). Nevertheless, we bound our present analysis to focus on the US civil-military bargain, especially because many developing countries, since the end of the

70. Preamble to the United States Constitution.

Cold War, have followed Western models of military organization and civil-military relations and adapted them to suit their national security interests and available resources.⁷¹ For example, whereas most countries have an army, fewer have separate air forces, marine forces, or navies, and many navies serve only the role of coastal defense.⁷² Separate space and cyber forces are emerging and growing in numbers.⁷³

Drawing on the second edition of the FAP, we propose the core expertise of American military officers is as follows: “The peculiar skill of the [American] military officer is the development, operation, and leadership of a human organization—a profession—whose primary expertise is the application of coercive force on behalf of the American people.”⁷⁴ Our effort in this monograph and in the follow-on project we propose is to refine this general definition of US military expertise and apply it to the US military profession.

71. Thomas S. Szayna, *East European Military Reform after the Cold War: Implications for the United States* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1995), 17.

72. Jonathan Masters, “Sea Power: The US Navy and Foreign Policy,” Council on Foreign Relations, August 19, 2019, <https://www.cfr.org/background/sea-power-us-navy-and-foreign-policy>.

73. Matthew Donovan, “Unleashing the Power of Space: The Case for a Separate Space Force,” War on the Rocks, August 1, 2019, <https://warontherocks.com/2019/08/unleashing-the-power-of-space-the-case-for-a-separate-u-s-space-force/>; and Jason Blessing, “The Global Spread of Cyber Forces, 2000–2018,” in Taťána Jančárková et al., eds., *Going Viral: 13th International Conference on Cyber Conflict* (Tallinn, EE: NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence, 2021), 233–55.

74. Richard Lacquement, “Mapping Army Professional Expertise and Clarifying Jurisdictions of Practice,” in Snider and Matthews, *Future of the Army Profession*, 215.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The intended result of the authors' analysis is a map of the US military profession defined by its expertise and jurisdictions of practice. Developing an understanding of the military profession entails several complex elements. The elements of complexity include grappling with the following central research question: What should the US military profession's role on behalf of US society be in the future?

Pursuing the answers to this question should inform research efforts oriented on contemporary and future challenges. These answers should also guide systemic changes to the ways leaders exercise stewardship over the military profession. The US military profession is embedded within a vast organizational structure that includes a significant bureaucracy. A major tension for professions is to ensure bureaucratic structures and processes serve society and not the other way around. The professionalism and important role of reserve components (National Guard and federal reserve forces) add complications.

Also important is the extent to which new professions are emerging or should emerge. For example, cyberspace is one of the newest warfighting domains and one that does not readily fit within the existing professions of ground, maritime, and aerospace.⁷⁵ The authors' analysis should help to clarify what constitutes distinctly military expertise in the cyberspace domain;

75. Michael P. Kreuzer, "Cyberspace Is an Analogy, Not a Domain: Rethinking Domains and Layers of Warfare for the Information Age," *Strategy Bridge*, July 8, 2021, <https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2021/7/8/cyberspace-is-an-analogy-not-a-domain-rethinking-domains-and-layers-of-warfare-for-the-information-age>.

the nature of and responsibility for the professional development of individuals with the appropriate expertise; and the areas of work (jurisdictions) subject to full, shared, subordinate, or some other jurisdictional claim. Our approach could include insights into whether the cyber domain warrants the creation of a separate military service, as is currently the case for the other four domains—that is, whether the potential for offensive and defensive operations in cyberspace warrants the designation of cyber as a warfighting domain. Given the unique aspects of cyberspace (a wholly human-created domain, unlike the other four physical domains) and its potential capacity to compel others to do our will (a quintessential characteristic of war), a specialized organization or military service governed by distinct professional expertise might be warranted.

The following supporting questions constitute potential updates to the original FAP findings.

- What is the military profession?
- What is the profession's expertise?
- What are the profession's jurisdictions of practice?
- How should the military profession's leaders provide appropriate stewardship in negotiation (or in conjunction) with its civilian masters?
- How should civilian and military leaders employ the profession and its capabilities (organizations, people, equipment, etc.)?
- How should civilian and military leaders sustain, grow, and adapt the profession for the future?

A PROPOSED REVISED FRAMEWORK

The remainder of this monograph initiates the conversation by presenting proposals for revisions to three frameworks presented in the FAP. The first is a proposed expansion of the sociological framework used in the FAP based on Abbott's *The System of Professions*. This expansion includes the addition of Abbott's construct of professional work, which will help with modeling what military professionals are expected to do and what barriers will get in the way. The expansion also adds Étienne Wenger's construct of communities of practice, which enhances Abbott's framework by including considerations for when and why professions collaborate as well as compete. This enhanced framework will support research efforts toward a stronger understanding of which components of the defense enterprise are professionalized or should be professionalized and which may not need to be. The enhanced framework will also enhance deliberations about how to prepare military and civilian leaders to steward the profession.

The next section will present a framework for modeling the various challenges, contemporary and enduring, the military profession faces. This framework will support greater understanding of how, when, and why the military profession may fail or how military professionalism may be eroded. This greater understanding will in turn help leaders differentiate the unhelpful, rhetorical use of the term "failure" from the objective analysis and identification of the improper or incomplete application of military capabilities toward national security problems.

Finally, the authors will examine contemporary areas of expertise and jurisdictional claims for

negotiation with civilian leaders. The scope of this examination, which has been greatly expanded from that of the FAP, will involve the full defense enterprise and the ground, maritime, and aerospace components within it. In addition, the authors will examine one of the most important facets of their analysis: the relationship between bureaucracy and profession across the US military, from the defense enterprise level down to the major communities of practice that provide administration and support vital to the services' mission accomplishment.

PROPOSED EXPANDED SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The FAP's primary emphasis was on affirming the identities of the military profession and its professionals: servicemembers and defense civilians. For this reason, the FAP used as its primary sociological framework Abbott's *The System of Professions*. Researchers who participated in the FAP drew several constructs from Abbott to explain the challenges and opportunities of the military profession at the turn of the twenty-first century. In reviewing the history of professions and the professions literature, Abbott argued professionalization—how professions form and uniquely establish their places in society—is a function of the work to be performed others are unfit or unable to do.⁷⁶ Leonard Wong and Douglas V. Johnson II's telling of the Army profession's history aligns with this model, but not necessarily in a positive way. These authors summarized the early Army's responsibilities as merely doing what no other civilian institution could or

76. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 3–25.

would.⁷⁷ The professionalization of the Army emerged from this vague demand, such that the Army postured itself to perform whatever task required trained personnel ready to perform under austere conditions.⁷⁸

The Army profession would subsequently transform as a result of significant changes to its tasks, such as the evolution from performing constabulary duties before the world wars to governing Germany and Japan between World War II and the Korean War.⁷⁹ Just as Abbott theorized, other trappings of professionalism emerged as needed or desired, rather than through a central, discernable plan, including professional education institutions (for example, the United States Military Academy at West Point), journals (for example, *ARMOR* magazine, which began as *The Cavalry Journal* in 1888), and associations (for example, the West Point Association of Graduates, formed in 1869).⁸⁰

Perhaps the most useful of Abbott's constructs were jurisdictions and jurisdictional claims, which made their way into several chapters of both FAP editions. In the first edition, jurisdictions were described in James Burk's chapter as the domains of expert knowledge

77. Leonard Wong and Douglas V. Johnson II, "Serving the American People: A Historical View of the Army Profession," in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 59–76.

78. Wong and Johnson, "Serving the American People," 62.

79. Wong and Johnson, "Serving the American People," 66.

80. "The Cavalry & Armor Journal," *The Cavalry and Armor Journal*, n.d., <https://cavalryandarmor.com/journal/>; and "West Point AOG," West Point Association of Graduates, n.d., <https://www.westpointaog.org/history-of-west-point-aog>.

employed.⁸¹ By the second edition, multiple authors settled on four such jurisdictions applying across the entire Army—military-technical, human development, political-cultural, and moral-ethical.⁸² Jurisdictional claims, according to Abbott, amounted to efforts to compete for, secure, and dominate particular domains of expert knowledge, and such claims were dynamic.⁸³ Thus, FAP authors examined new or emerging jurisdictions the military could or should claim or current jurisdictions the military could possibly forfeit.⁸⁴

Interprofessional competition, as found in *The System of Professions*, was Abbott's other construct used in the FAP. Snider discussed how, during the post-Cold War era, the Army found itself defending its jurisdictional claims against the other services, private contractors, and other governmental and nongovernmental actors.⁸⁵ Snider and Jeffrey Peterson also examined the slow adaptation of Jointness

81. James Burk, "Expertise, Jurisdiction, and Legitimacy of the Military Profession," in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 23; and James Burk, "Expertise, Jurisdiction, and Legitimacy of the Military Profession," in Snider and Matthews, *Future of the Army Profession*, 39–60.

82. Snider, "US Army as a Profession"; and Lacquement, "Army Professional Expertise."

83. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 42.

84. Nadia Schadlow, Charles Barry, and Richard Lacquement, "A Return to the Army's Roots: Governance, Stabilization, and Reconstruction," in Snider and Matthews, *Future of the Army Profession*, 251–70; Deborah Avant, "Losing Control of the Profession through Outsourcing?," in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 271–90; and Elizabeth Stanley and G. F. Deimel, "The Digital Battlefield: Transformation Efforts and the Army's Future Professional Jurisdictions," in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 293–324.

85. Snider, "US Army as a Profession," 3.

mandated under the Goldwater-Nichols Act and proposed a new Joint profession.⁸⁶

But these constructs were not the only ones Abbott developed. Overlooked were his examinations of what professionals do, how they do it, and why through his construct of professional work.⁸⁷ Also overlooked were internal competitions within professions, such as between branches, communities, functional areas, or other groups of military professionals. By introducing these constructs, we will advance an understanding of professionalism through its application of expert knowledge and how it sustains that knowledge. The result is a framework for more accurately capturing the complicated nature of the hundreds of formal and informal subgroups within the military profession—what Wenger refers to as “communities of practice.”⁸⁸ Wenger’s communities of practice explain the interrelationships of the various subgroups (for example, active and reserve components) and cohorts (for example, officers, enlisted personnel, and civilians) in the profession better than the construct used in the current professionalism literature.

Professional Work

Abbott presents the construct of jurisdictional claims as the way professions stake out their exclusive right to perform certain high-skilled or highly intellectual

86. Don M. Snider and Jeffrey Peterson, “Opportunity for the Army: Defense Transformation and a New Joint Military Profession,” in Snider and Matthews, *Future of the Army Profession*, 237–50.

87. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 35–58.

88. Étienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

tasks.⁸⁹ Competition among professions involves efforts to manifest their claims in two ways. One is by securing access to particular clients—what Abbott calls “client differentiation.”⁹⁰ The other is by distinguishing and controlling tasks only the given profession performs. Abbott identifies five ways professions distinguish and control tasks; we will refer to them collectively as “task differentiation.”⁹¹ The military profession differentiates in both ways via dual monopoly because it only has one client—the nation—and it performs a task no other entity within the nation performs—it conducts war.⁹² Of course, war is a broad and vague term and requires elaboration. Richard Lacquement explains the Army’s jurisdictional claims over major combat and other military operations.⁹³ But these top-level claims break down into smaller claims that represent specific expert knowledge, such as maneuver, fires, communications, logistics, engineering, military police and rear operations, and many others. Each of these domains represents discrete yet interdependent areas of expert knowledge that also constitute distinct groups of experts (for example, career fields or military occupational specialties) within a military. These groups are rarely interchangeable; one would not ordinarily substitute logistics experts with signal experts or light infantry experts with armor experts. These groups effectively compete with each other and stake their own

89. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 59–68.

90. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 77.

91. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 69–76.

92. Thomas P. Galvin, “What Is the Defense Enterprise?” in *Defense Management: Primer for Senior Leaders*, ed. Thomas P. Galvin (Carlisle, PA: School of Strategic Landpower, US Army War College Press, 2018), 24.

93. Lacquement, “Army Professional Expertise.”

jurisdictional claims. In essence, these groups act like professions within a profession.

According to Abbott, professional work is what professionals do that distinguishes them from other types of workers and other professionals.⁹⁴ The components of professional work define the profession and posture it for success in competition with other professions. Professional work comprises five elements: (1) performing the required tasks; (2) defining problems through diagnosis; (3) correcting the problems via treatment; (4) connecting diagnosis and treatment through inference; and (5) developing and sustaining abstract knowledge to be shared within the community.⁹⁵ Applying these elements to the whole profession, as the FAP does, is straightforward. But, as will be shown, these elements also explain intraprofessional claims of jurisdiction promoted by subgroups. Some subgroups represent vertical divisions in the structure, such as the Army's branches and functional areas. Others represent lateral networks that extend across the enterprise, such as the G-1 (personnel and talent management) and G-8 (resource management and comptroller) communities.

Tasks

What a profession does can be fluid. Consider the evolution of cavalry. Cavalry began as soldiers fighting on horseback and evolved as medieval knights began wearing armor; however, they eventually became vulnerable to gunpowder weapons. Armored vehicles eventually replaced horses. Though the essential tasks of cavalry remained conceptually unchanged—scouting, reconnaissance, screening, and exercising

94. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 35.

95. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 35–58.

great mobility—the work of the cavalry and its relationship with the infantry changed throughout its history, especially as a result of the introduction of new technologies. Thus, expectations for cavalry have evolved significantly.

Abbott notes how such tasks can emerge and disappear through objective and subjective factors in the problem space.⁹⁶ Objective factors stem from tangible sources. First, new technologies beget requirements for new expert knowledge. Like the advent of the tank, the Army's Big Five weapon systems ushered in active defense and, later, the AirLand Battle doctrine used in the Persian Gulf War.⁹⁷ Another example is military medicine, which has embraced the development of advanced prosthetics that replace lost limbs and restore the quality of life for patients.⁹⁸ Also, new organizational and societal constructs may create or resolve novel problem areas in ways that elude experts. For example, in the case of the US Space Force, the growing importance of the space domain led to the creation of a whole military organization structure to harness the military's space-related expert knowledge. Though the tasks of space-lift operations and ballistic missile monitoring were not new, the task of "[m]

96. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 37–42.

97. David C. Trybula, *"Big Five" Lessons for Today and Tomorrow* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 2012); and John L. Romjue, *From Active Defense to AirLand Battle: The Development of Army Doctrine, 1973–1982* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Army Training and Doctrine Command, 1984).

98. Wendie A. Howland, ed., "Advances in Amputation," special issue, *Journal of Nurse Life Care Planning* 20, no. 2 (Spring 2020).

maintain[ing] space superiority” emerged as other global powers expanded their space capabilities.⁹⁹

Subjective factors derive from societal and organizational culture and can enable or constrain the tasks a profession performs. These factors are prevalent within militaries because they prefer to avoid gaps or overlaps when dividing their labor internally to minimize confusion and reduce risk to mission. One subjective factor in militaries is task differentiation by levels of war: strategic, operational, and tactical.

The traditional strategic focus of the professionalism discourse puts civil-military relations at the center, but it also includes the defense enterprise context and how a service translates requirements and resources into capabilities to support the warfighter with assistance from the defense industrial base.

Tasks at this level include communication with civilian stakeholders (for example, military advice), service-level strategies and plans, and the strategic conduct of war. Tasks at the operational and tactical levels of war are different; however, the expert knowledge used to perform them overlaps to a degree with that of strategic tasks. Operational tasks include the development of courses of action to achieve military objectives and the dissemination of plans as orders to units.

Tactical tasks include those that translate the orders into action in a complex, dynamic battlefield. The expert

99. DoD, *Defense Space Strategy Summary* (Washington, DC: DoD, 2020).

knowledge required to perform strategic tasks builds on operational and tactical experience.¹⁰⁰

Military concepts and doctrine are mechanisms used to help frame professional tasks. For example, Joint concepts are examinations of the ever-changing national security environment to diagnose and infer potential military roles and requirements.¹⁰¹ Joint Publication 1 establishes an architecture of treatments, identifying six broad classifications of military activities to exercise everything from major combat to security cooperation and deterrence, which, in turn, drives capability development.¹⁰² Therefore, military professionals have the responsibility to develop and sustain these capabilities and determine which are most appropriate for a given emerging challenge.

A second subjective factor is rank and status, which differentiate officers, civilians, and enlisted personnel and influence the professional tasks they perform. Rank and status correlate with the level of war among tasks performed in many combat and combat support specialties (for example, lower rank as tactical and higher rank as strategic).¹⁰³ Rank also correlates with the echelon of the organization performing or managing the work (for example, lower-level units perform more tactical work and higher-level commands and

100. HQDA, *Army Leadership and the Profession*, Army Doctrinal Publication 6-22 (Washington, DC: HQDA, 2019), 4-1-4-5.

101. James L. Cook, "The Importance of Joint Concepts for the Planner," *Joint Force Quarterly* 99 (4th Quarter 2020): 95-100.

102. JCS, *Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States*, JP 1 (Washington, DC: JCS, July 12, 2017), I-10-I-12.

103. Troy V. Mumford, Michael A. Campion, and Frederick P. Morgeson, "The Leadership Skills Strataplex: Leadership Skill Requirements across Organizational Levels," *Leadership Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (2007): 154-66.

staffs perform operational and strategic work). Status differences between military personnel and civilians have closed for professional work, particularly in technical specialties in which the duties of military members and civilians are more interchangeable. Examples of duties becoming more interchangeable abound in acquisition, planning, training, and other enterprise tasks.¹⁰⁴

Diagnosis, Treatment, and Inference

Diagnosis and treatment are the visible manifestations of professional work. According to Abbott, diagnosis is a mediating act that injects “information into the professional knowledge system and treatment brings instructions back out from it.”¹⁰⁵ Though this is a medical metaphor, it applies to all professions. Lawyers diagnose a client’s needs and render legal advice. Educators diagnose the needs of the students in comparison to the curriculum and implement classroom (or remote) activities to address the needs. Militaries diagnose the security needs of their nations and develop strategies, plans, and programs to meet them.

The hidden core of professional work is the required inference, in which expert knowledge is used to frame the problem such that proposed treatments become available or clear.¹⁰⁶ Professionals want diagnosis and treatment to be easier to perform; as a result, they filter out irrelevant information, especially if the problem

104. Congressional Budget Office, *Replacing Military Personnel in Support Positions with Civilian Employees*, Pub. no. 51012 (Washington, DC: Congressional Budget Office, 2015).

105. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 40.

106. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 41.

is better served by another profession or vocation.¹⁰⁷ Militaries are no exception; they prefer to frame national security problems in ways suitable for military solutions (for example, conventional combat forces) and defer other problems (for example, “nation building”) to other governmental or nongovernmental entities.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, one indicator of the health of a profession depends upon its ability to use inference to properly diagnose and treat professional problems.

Signs of an obviously unhealthy profession include: (1) misdiagnosing problems; (2) prescribing the wrong treatments; and (3) failing to develop and sustain its expert knowledge. These failures can harm society’s confidence in the profession and invite competition from other professions over claims of jurisdiction. A profession can also be weakened through diversion, such as when a military is asked to perform tasks that fall outside its jurisdiction—for example, to cover gaps or shortages of other agencies or actors. Conducting border security, domestic operations, and other noncombat activities consumes time, energy, and readiness the military might prefer devoting to combat training, for example.

Professions are also weakened when inference becomes routine. Abbott likens professional thinking to chess: “The opening diagnosis is often clear, perhaps formulaic, as is the endgame of treatment. The middle

107. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 41–42; Carl H. Builder, *Rethinking National Security and the Role of the Military* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1995); and Corri Zoli and Nicholas J. Armstrong, “Post-9/11 Stability Operations: How US Army Doctrine Is Shaping National Security Strategy,” *PRISM* 2, no. 1 (2010): 101–20.

108. Dominic Tierney, “The Backlash against Nation Building,” *PRISM* 5, no. 3 (2015): 13–27.

game, however, relates professional knowledge, client characteristics, and chance in ways that are often obscure."¹⁰⁹ If the connections between diagnosis and treatment are straightforward and simple to derive, professional inference is likely not necessary, and the process can be automated, rendering professionals obsolete. These nonroutine instances in which inference is critical are key.¹¹⁰

Abbott also explains the strength of a profession hinges on the limited number of opportunities for successful treatment. A doctor can be forgiven for a couple trial-and-error diagnoses if the patient's condition is ambiguous, but if the patient is dying or under severe duress, the doctor only gets one chance to diagnose and treat.¹¹¹ The analogy to the military is obvious: Nations only realistically get one chance to begin a war. If the nation fails in beginning the war, it must deal with the consequences.

Abstract Knowledge

Inference is made possible by the collection, formalization, and dissemination of abstract knowledge. This concept is the most important in Abbott's construct of professional work. Abbott argues abstract knowledge is not organized for practical use, with the implication that conflating abstract with practical knowledge can be dangerous. Rather, practitioners can only develop better diagnostic, treatment, and inferential methods through a deeply logical and rationally consistent body of abstract knowledge, and they must discredit and remove

109. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 48.

110. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 50.

111. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 51–52.

the methods that are less effective, ineffective, or counterproductive.¹¹²

So, what is a military's body of abstract knowledge? In the FAP's first edition, James Blackwell argued in favor of doctrine, explaining how a force fights and structures knowledge so it is reusable.¹¹³ Doctrine helps determine future requirements of a military force based on emerging threats and other changes in the security environment. Some doctrine presents enduring principles, and other aspects are temporary or fleeting based on the best available or known tactics and technologies of the time. But doctrine is the outcome of a vetting process that filters out redundancies, addresses gaps, and resolves contradictions so knowledge can be transferred and readily reused.

This argument is counter to Abbott's definition, which includes the retention of all knowledge, including the esoteric and contradictory.¹¹⁴ Abbott argues abstract knowledge is disaggregated and collected through the study of single, discrete problems. Abstract knowledge emerges through rigorous experiments and the continual experiences of practitioners conducting professional work day to day. Aggregation—especially in the form of doctrine as validated texts—produces practical knowledge. But none of the knowledge is purely abstract; rather, it is a “perfected abstract knowledge system,” according to Abbott—one designed to efficiently capture and transfer knowledge across a

112. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 52–54.

113. James A. Blackwell, “Professionalism and Army Doctrine: A Losing Battle?” in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 103–26.

114. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 55.

profession to be shared and incorporated as appropriate in practical settings.¹¹⁵

Abbott's conception of abstract knowledge has two implications for the military profession. First, all military professionals have the personal responsibility to contribute to the profession's body of knowledge, whether from practical experience or through the conduct of studies, experiments, and research supporting abstract knowledge. Similarly, all professionals have the obligation to apply and share this knowledge. Thus, failure to meet these obligations is also a signal of a weak profession.¹¹⁶ Such signals include when members are overwhelmed with administrative (bureaucratic) or other nonprofessional requirements and when members face external or internal barriers to sharing and learning. One example is suppressing information that contradicts an official service position on a professional matter.¹¹⁷ Another example is excessive monitoring and reporting of requirements or other activities necessary for the enterprise to satisfy its stakeholders because it diverts organizational energy.¹¹⁸ In addition, anti-intellectualism views dim the value and effort of generating and sharing professional knowledge.¹¹⁹

115. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 56.

116. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 57.

117. For example, Mike Fowler, "The Rise of the Present Unconventional Character of War," Strategy Bridge, November 4, 2019, <https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2019/11/4/the-rise-of-the-present-unconventional-character-of-warfare>.

118. Leonard Wong and Stephen J. Gerras, *Lying to Ourselves: Dishonesty in the Army Profession* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College Press, 2015).

119. Lloyd J. Matthews, "Anti-Intellectualism and the Army Profession," in Snider and Matthews, *Future of the Army Profession*, 61-92.

The second implication is not all tasks military members perceive as bureaucratic are necessarily so. The act of preserving expert knowledge, including the diagnosis of gaps in the knowledge and the development of treatments that include rigorous study, dialogue, experimentation, and practical resolution, is itself professional work.¹²⁰ Anti-intellectualism contributes to the conflation of these professional tasks with administration because they likely do not involve tangible action or are perceived as belonging to a separate part of the organization, such as an “experimental” brigade (for example, the Army’s experimental Multi-Domain Task Forces) or organizations like the US Army Futures Command.

Internal Divisions of Professional Work

Another implication is the division of labor within a profession is itself significant. Just as the military enterprise subdivides into separate “professions” of ground combat, maritime, and aerospace—each with its own unique domain of expert knowledge—the enterprise further subdivides its work among groups of experts in more specific domains of knowledge, such as infantry, maritime surface warfare, aviation, armor, signal, intelligence, submarines, logistics, and others. These groups claim specific jurisdictions, perform professional work, and maintain their expertise. Are these groups therefore professions unto themselves or something else?

We argue the latter for two reasons. One, intergroup dynamics within a service include both Abbott’s sense of interprofessional competition and systems of collaboration fostered by unique service identities.

120. Wong and Johnson, “Serving the American People,” 60.

These subgroups may come about through formal subdivisions within a service, such as the branches, specialties, and functional areas within the military. The subgroups can also be informal networks of professionals who share tasks or expert knowledge but whose specified duties may differ by organization—such as networks of trainers, planners, human resources experts, and resource managers or comptrollers.

The second reason is membership in these subgroups is more fluid than Abbott's construct of profession allows. One may be an operations officer in one organization and a supply officer in another. Members may have to break and forge networks as they move and progress, whereas Abbott assumes membership in a profession is more stable.¹²¹

Wenger's Communities of Practice

At the same time Abbott was developing his system of professions, other scholars, including Wenger, were developing the construct of communities of practice, defined as groups of individuals who sustain the pursuit of a shared enterprise. Communities of practice are bound together by social and situated learning through four components.¹²²

- Meaning. Learning as experience that manifests through the ways in which individuals communicate their newfound capabilities.
- Practice. Learning as doing that manifests through the communication of shared perspectives, leading to cooperation and mutual action.

121. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 79–82.

122. Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, 5.

- Community. Learning as belonging that manifests in the validation and sustainment of structures and norms that support cooperation and mutual action.
- Identity. Learning as becoming that manifests in the ways in which learning changes the individual over time.

The construct of communities of practice enhances the professional discourse because it adds boundary spanning as an essential element of how communities both cooperate and compete as part of a larger, shared enterprise.¹²³ For example, service component commands must satisfy both the needs of the Combatant Commands above them and the services from which they gain resources.

The relationship between Abbott's and Wenger's constructs is that the former is a subset of the latter: Professions are types of communities of practice, but not all communities of practice are professions.¹²⁴ In the case of militaries, adding Wenger's communities helps one investigate several questions about the internal workings of military professions Abbott alone does not adequately address. These questions are the following.

- To what extent do the organization's boundaries matter?
- To what extent does stratification of professional work within the military help or hinder mission accomplishment?
- How should one address the cohorts of former members, such as veterans and retirees?

123. Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, 103.

124. Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, 103.

A theme underpinning all three questions is the important role professionals play in contributing to, employing, and sustaining the profession's domain of expert knowledge. We will now show how Wenger's construct provides an approach for analyzing the construct of the defense enterprise. For example, one might ask whether the enterprise layer is an independent profession or merely a community of practice binding together the three professions of ground, maritime, and aerospace.

The Organization and the Profession

In Abbott's first-edition FAP chapter, he sought to reconcile his construct of a profession with the military's conflation of organizational strength with professional strength.¹²⁵ The duality of the Army as profession and bureaucracy influenced other FAP authors as well. For example, Deborah Avant lamented the supposed weakening of Army professionalism due to the outsourcing of the training function and the presence of private-security personnel in overseas theaters whose functions were "hard to distinguish from defensive ground warfare."¹²⁶ She used Abbott's interprofessional competition and its "contested jurisdictions" to suggest privatization causes the military and defense firms to be in competition with each other, which is problematic because, at least at the time, firms paid better, provided more benefits, and offered greater freedom to their workers than soldiers received.¹²⁷

Abbott's view was rooted in the idea the construct of a profession was not naturally tied to organizational

125. Abbott, "Army and the Theory of Professions," 523-36.

126. Avant, "Losing Control," 284.

127. Avant, "Losing Control," 284-85.

boundaries, and he challenged FAP members' underlying assertions about why the Army was both an organization and a profession at once.¹²⁸ In Abbott's construct of professions, if a task supporting the Army's mission constitutes professional work, then where it is performed matters less than how well it is performed. Competitions among professions and organizations are separate phenomena.¹²⁹

Wenger's boundary spanning adds an organizational context that establishes boundaries between insourced and outsourced activities. In some cases, the boundary is porous, such that who performs the task matters less. Logistics is an example of a function that is heavily outsourced at acceptable risk to the military mission. On the other hand, the boundary can be very firm and, thus, outsourcing the task is risky. Outsourced trainers are less likely to sustain currency in the military context and are therefore potentially less successful as trainers.¹³⁰ Predicting the activities that will be most affected by outsourcing is difficult, however. One could use service-level jurisdictional claims and suggest the activities be identified fully within the military context, such as claiming activities that are inherently governmental should be insourced, but this perspective may only apply to communities of practice related to combat arms. Support activities may differ.¹³¹

128. Abbott, "Army and the Theory of Professions," 534.

129. Abbott, "Army and the Theory of Professions," 535.

130. Lindy Heineken, "Outsourcing Public Security: The Unforeseen Consequences for the Military Profession," *Armed Forces & Society* 40, no. 4 (2014): 625–46.

131. [Redacted], *Definitions of "Inherently Governmental Function" in Federal Procurement Law and Guidance*, R42325 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2014), 2–5.

The outsourcing question also applies to functions the military is being asked to perform that may rightfully belong to another activity or organization. For example, militaries perform law enforcement and security tasks, humanitarian assistance (for medical civic action programs and the like), disaster relief, and institution building. Whether these tasks are performed as a result of the law, a prior agreement, or necessity in times of crisis, professional militaries can find themselves pressed into service because they are known generally to be effective, dedicated, and versatile. Militaries may also have immediately available capacity. Being outsourced also carries risk due to the diversion of assets and energies away from core mission requirements, although this would not necessarily affect all communities of practice equally. The military medical and engineering communities gain training and currency benefits from participating in civil-action programs.¹³² Yet, questions have been raised about whether such activities provide adequate training benefit to the military.¹³³

In sum, the extent to which organizational boundaries and associated contextual differences in professional work exist influences communities of practice and is therefore an important area of research. For example, how should the US military best incorporate cyber expertise? Are cyber experts a new military profession within a distinct domain that would lend itself to the creation of a separate service that

132. Michael W. Wissemann, "Great (Soft) Power Competition: US and Chinese Efforts in Global Health Engagement," *Parameters* 51, no. 3 (2021): 65–77.

133. Jeff Drifmeyer and Craig Llewellyn, "Military Training and Humanitarian and Civic Assistance," *Military Medicine* 169 (January 2004): 23–29.

would lead professional work, much like the existing services lead professional work in the land, maritime, and aerospace domains? Or do cyber experts represent a community of practice (like communications or intelligence) that cuts across the other domains and their services?

Intraprofessional Stratification

In his case studies, Abbott examines how professions using the same or related domains of expert knowledge stratify themselves according to the character of their work, their clients, and their use of increasing or decreasing levels of abstract knowledge. Higher-status clients and greater use of abstract knowledge convey higher status to a profession. In Abbott's framework, high- and low-status professions do not readily associate and potentially view each other with contempt.¹³⁴ A notable example is the separation of high-profile psychotherapists and low-profile social workers, both active in the "personal problems" domain. The clientele of these professionals is differentiated economically, such that the former avoids taking on poorer clients and defers them to social workers. Also, the way these professionals apply expert knowledge differs, with the former having greater control over its environments and therefore having greater opportunities to expand its abstract knowledge. In comparison, the latter is overloaded with patients and, as a result, it exercises practical knowledge almost exclusively.¹³⁵

The military profession exercises stratification as well, but, again, collaboration among and across

134. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 122.

135. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 295.

communities of practice far outweighs internal, competitive forces. A broad example is the familiar distinction between “officer’s business” and “sergeant’s business” that separates the higher-profile (higher-ranked) tasks of planning and collective action from the lower-profile (yet vital) tasks of individual training and readiness.¹³⁶ Stratification also occurs among officers because company grades perform different tasks than field grades and flag officers. Though Abbott’s construct would emphasize competition among these strata, Wenger’s construct allows for viewing them as both multiple rank-based communities and a single community of practice that represents the whole branch. Thus, the divisions of labor by rank and the impacts on the quality and responsiveness of professional work can be examined. Studies could examine the extent to which tasks are properly aligned at echelon, from enlisted personnel to senior officers, or the impacts challenges experienced in transitioning from one stratum to another have on the profession.¹³⁷

Wenger’s construct also allows for a different way to think about the civilian cohort, which the original FAP consolidated into a single category of professionals called “the Army Civilian Corps.”¹³⁸ The tasks of most civilian specialties overlap with tasks assigned to the military branches, again with little impact on the

136. Donn A. Starry, “Sergeants’ Business,” in Lewis Sorley, ed., *Press On! Selected Works of General Donn A. Starry* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2009), 486–95.

137. Thomas P. Galvin, “A Phenomenological Study of Identity Construction among Military Officers Promoted from the Middle Ranks to the Roles of Senior Leaders” (PhD diss., The George Washington University, 2015).

138. Center for the Army Profession and Leadership, *Army Profession Pamphlet* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Center for the Army Profession and Leadership, 2018), 11.

professional character of the work performed. Most of the enterprise's technical experts—human resources, cyber, medicine, intelligence, finance, logistics, civil engineering, and many others—include both military personnel and civilians.¹³⁹ Thus, considering civilians as part of the communities of practice aligned with their work, rather than identifying the whole of the civilian workforce as a single, unified cohort, is more appropriate. Research can then examine the extent to which assigning tasks to military personnel or to civilians affects the performance of professional work, just as it investigates the effects of insourcing and outsourcing.

Retirees and Veterans

The use of professional work as a binding construct presents the status of former servicemembers—from veterans to full retirees—in a different light. The cohort system relegates these individuals to the category of former professionals whose responsibilities include acting in ways that “are not detrimental to the effectiveness . . . of the Profession.”¹⁴⁰ Again, this perspective reduces the status of former servicemembers according to their organizational status, not their professional one. Many veterans and retirees continue to support the military in some way, including performing similar (if not the same) professional tasks as they did when they served and coaching and mentoring active-duty personnel. Instead

139. “Careers & Jobs,” GoArmy.com, updated May 11, 2017, <https://www.goarmy.com/careers-and-jobs/army-civilian-careers/in-demand-civilian-jobs.html>.

140. Martin E. Dempsey, *The Profession of Arms: An Army White Paper* (Fort Eustis, VA: US Army Training and Doctrine Command, 2010), 17.

of only focusing on what these individuals cannot do, the professionalism literature should also address what they should be encouraged to do.¹⁴¹

The following discussion is a brief introduction. We divide these former professionals into three categories that represent common postservice career choices. These categories are for illustration purposes and are not comprehensive. The first category is the simplest—former servicemembers who essentially divorce themselves from the profession of arms. These former members may perform similar professional work, such as a military engineer taking a civil engineering position, a military doctor joining the local hospital, or another specialist leveraging his or her military credentials in his or her second career. These former members have truly embraced being “former”; we do not need to consider them further.

The second category represents retirees who continue to provide services to the military, such as those joining the Army Civilian Corps, continuing as reservists (that is, not immediately joining the rolls of the Army’s Retired Reserve), or becoming a defense contractor who directly supports a military organization. The legal status of these retirees may contribute to changes in the character, scope, and quantity of the professional work performed, but not its nature. The expert knowledge and experience are applied directly back into the enterprise.

The third category is the most important and controversial: former members who leverage their past membership to influence the defense enterprise but

141. Marybeth P. Ulrich, “‘Cashing in’ Stars: Does the Professional Ethic Apply in Retirement?,” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (2015): 105.

who do not work directly within it. These individuals may have joined or started firms that provide services to the enterprise; joined think tanks, lobbying groups, or other organizations promoting an agenda to influence the enterprise in some way; or participated in the media landscape, providing influential commentary.¹⁴² These individuals may also be consultants, informal coaches, advisers, or mentors of serving individuals. The actions of these individuals may ultimately be construed as beneficial to their present organizations (or themselves, if they are self-employed), and the knowledge and expertise they possess are still valued commodities from which the profession can benefit. The emphasis uniformed leaders have placed on avoiding conflicts of interest and actions that denigrate the profession are justified. But without avenues for former members to continue to make valuable contributions to professional knowledge, they may be discouraged from doing so. The profession of arms should not forfeit such opportunities to capture and leverage such expertise.

Expert Knowledge

Abbott and Wenger agree expert knowledge should be actively managed, expanded, and sustained, and this is a central need of the profession of arms. The scope of these responsibilities extends far beyond the role of any segments of the enterprise dedicated to doctrine. Rather, the scope of these responsibilities extends to the whole of the profession and all of its members. All professionals have an obligation to systematically capture, develop, sustain, and share expert knowledge. While the professional bureaucracy may provide dedicated structures and resources to foster ideas,

142. Ulrich, "‘Cashing in’ Stars," 102–25.

develop concepts, and write doctrine to synthesize abstract knowledge for practical use, this abstract knowledge must be constructed through experience and reflection.

The FAP was right to pursue the most important question first: What is the military profession? With this question answered, exploring what the profession does is the next logical step. The inclusion of Wenger helps answer this question through understanding the complexity of the many internal domains of expert knowledge the military applies in both operational and garrison environments. Just as the military may not be a profession just because it says so, it is certainly not a profession if its actions—the conduct and sustainment of its professional work—do not uphold its claims.¹⁴³

MODELING CHALLENGES MILITARY PROFESSIONALISM FACES

Until this point, including the FAP, we have assumed military professionalism is inherently good and desired or expected by society. But what if this assumption is wrong? What if society ceases to recognize a professional military and no longer supports it? This question is important because of the doubts that have been cast about professions during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The armed forces naturally seek to build trust with the nation they serve and sustain it. The armed forces aspire to behave honorably and lawfully in combat. Also, despite the aforementioned challenges in implementing diversity and inclusion, the Army and the military embrace important national and democratic ideals,

143 Dempsey, *Profession of Arms*, 1.

such as equality, fairness, justice, self-determination, selfless service, etc. The military may not get everything right, but it prefers to seek autonomy and to address its problems internally rather than having fixes imposed from the outside.¹⁴⁴

The FAP identified multiple challenges to military professionalism, but it did not provide a central framework for analysis. This lack of a central framework complicates the ability to provide tools for the diagnosis and treatment of a profession's ailments. We propose an initial framework to differentiate particular classes of these challenges, each reflecting different pressures on the conduct of professional work and requiring different remedies. Our proposed framework includes three distinct categories of professional challenges: (1) "unprofessionalism," or the improper conduct of professionals; (2) "deprofessionalism," or the improper use of expert knowledge; and (3) "antiprofessionalism," or the rejection of professionals and professionalism in favor of alternative methods for conducting the work of professionals. We propose each has multiple forms that warrant further research to determine the category's impacts on the military profession.

Unprofessionalism: Improper Conduct

The first category, unprofessionalism, is obvious. Unprofessionalism is when the profession or its professionals behave in ways that undermine trust. We suggest two forms, one being better understood than the other. Scandal, the deliberate misconduct of professionals who bring a profession into disrepute,

144. Thomas P. Galvin, *Leading Change in Military Organizations: Primer for Senior Leaders* (Carlisle, PA: School of Strategic Landpower, US Army War College Press, 2018), 8.

is straightforward. Professionals who make serious personal errors in judgment harm the profession and undermine trust. The military's recurring sexual harassment and assault scandals are examples of such misconduct occurring broadly across the military. Identifying the commission of such acts as abhorrent and a violation of professional norms is simple. Unfortunately, eliminating this misconduct has not been easy. That such scandals recur despite efforts to sanction and prevent such unprofessional behaviors is of great concern to civilian and military leaders.¹⁴⁵ Research into the persistence of scandal and ways to effectively counter it could be helpful.

The other form is incompetence, which is the demonstrated inability of professionals to apply expert knowledge appropriately and effectively. This form is more difficult for an enterprise to deal with because incompetence is challenging to define and even harder to diagnose. In his historical examination of military incompetence, Norman F. Dixon develops an extensive list of outcomes and describes their results, including the unnecessary and avoidable wastage of human resources, indecisiveness, underestimation of the enemy, overestimation of one's capabilities, obstinance in one's position despite contrary data, failures to leverage opportunities, and others.¹⁴⁶ Dixon also finds these same outcomes could emerge from reasonable decisions, and militaries may forgive the errors of some leaders more than if the same errors were committed by others due to personalities, individual traits, or

145. Don M. Snider, "Will Army 2025 Be a Military Profession?," *Parameters* 45, no. 4 (Winter 2015): 49-50.

146. Norman F. Dixon, *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 159.

membership in a dominant group in the military.¹⁴⁷ Further research could apply the Abbott construct of professional work to facilitate the understanding of and ultimately preclude poor decisions derived from the misapplication of military professional knowledge.

While the remedies seem obvious, they can be difficult to apply consistently. They are (1) communicating to reinforce professional norms and expectations; (2) providing reparations to those who are harmed; and (3) removing violators from membership. But, despite intense efforts to root out unprofessionalism, it tends to persist or recur. Further research could explore the potential shortcomings of these remedies.

Deprofessionalism: Losing Control over Knowledge

We define deprofessionalism as the systematic use of expert knowledge by nonprofessionals, such that it erodes professional jurisdictions. We propose two forms here: laicization and commodification.

The first is Abbott's process of laicization, which reflects the transfer of expertise from professionals to the laity or ordinary citizens.¹⁴⁸ An example of laicization in medicine is when patients decide to diagnose and treat themselves or others without a doctor's consultation. Laicization becomes problematic when patients with access to expert medical information decide to diagnose symptoms that should warrant established medical attention or to administer improper

147. Dixon, *On the Psychology*, 436, 446.

148. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 300-301.

treatments that could cause harm.¹⁴⁹ Contemporary information technologies, such as videos, websites, social media, and other resources, enable laicization because nonprofessionals can easily locate information drawn from professional bodies of knowledge. The risks of improper self-diagnosis and treatment are great.¹⁵⁰

Laicization is also found at the organizational level because professional firms may be competing against nonprofessional firms that provide professional-like services without the requisite expert knowledge, skills, ethics, and certifications. Law enforcement and the military compete with private security firms.¹⁵¹ Attorneys, tax professionals, accountants, and others compete with do-it-yourself online applications, such as free tax preparation programs.¹⁵² Teachers and others in the education professions compete with homeschoolers, private charter schools, and for-profit firms whose interests, business models, or incentives may be

149. Henry Ford Health System Staff, "The Dangers of Online Self-Diagnosis," Henry Ford Health System, May 22, 2018, <https://www.henryford.com/blog/2018/05/the-dangers-of-online-self-diagnosis>.

150. Srin Pillay, "The Dangers of Self-Diagnosis," *Debunking Myths of the Mind* (blog), May 3, 2010, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/debunking-myths-the-mind/201005/the-dangers-self-diagnosis>.

151. Sean McFate, *Mercenaries and War: Understanding Private Armies Today* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2019).

152. Justin Elliott, "Congress Is About to Ban the Government from Offering Free Online Tax Filing. Thank TurboTax," ProPublica, April 9, 2019, <https://www.propublica.org/article/congress-is-about-to-ban-the-government-from-offering-free-online-tax-filing-thank-turbotax>.

misaligned with the purposes of education's support to democracy and democratic institutions.¹⁵³

A second form of deprofessionalization is commodification, in which the knowledge of professionals and experts is influenced by market forces and social pressures that interfere with the equitable provision of professional services to all eligible members of society.¹⁵⁴ Professionals could become biased in their diagnoses, inferences, and treatments. The pharmaceutical and legal professions are particularly vulnerable because of the economics involved, such as the impact of prices and insurance plans on drug treatments or law firms restricting competition to sustain status and prestige.¹⁵⁵

The FAP devoted several chapters to this problem; one chapter opines the pursuit of efficiency, predictability, and control deprofessionalizes the military and refers to this effect as the "McDonaldization" of defense.¹⁵⁶ In contemporary times, to what extent might the economic, social, or political costs of COVID-

153. Miguel Urquiola, "Competition among Schools: Traditional Public and Private Schools," in *Handbook of the Economics of Education*, ed. Eric A. Hanushek, Stephen Machin, and Ludger Woessmann (Oxford, UK: Elsevier, 2016), 210, 229, 231.

154. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 146.

155. Gail B. Rattinger et al., "Principles of Economics Crucial to Pharmacy Students' Understanding of the Prescription Drug Market," *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education* 72, no. 3 (2008): 61; and Jonathan Goldsmith, "The Impact of Economic Values on the Future of the Legal Profession" (speech, General Assembly of the Swedish Bar, Orebro, SE, June 13, 2008), https://www.advokatsamfundet.se/globalassets/advokatsamfundet_sv/nyheter/goldsmith_fullmaktige.pdf.

156. Remi Hajjar and Morten G. Ender, "McDonaldization in the US Army: A Threat to the Profession," in Snider and Matthews, *Future of the Army Profession*, 515-30; and Watkins and Cohen, "In Their Own Words."

19 impact the military profession?¹⁵⁷ The exodus of military members and their expertise during the post-Cold War drawdown contributed to the initiation of the FAP, with many of these professionals transferring to the private sector.¹⁵⁸ Joining a commercial security firm could be an attractive, cheaper alternative to using the military to accomplish one's professional mission.¹⁵⁹ The potential harm to the profession warrants further study.

Antiprofessionalism: The Rejection of Expertise

Stanley Fish defines antiprofessionalism as “any attitude or argument that enforces a distinction between professional labors on the one hand and the identification and promotion of what is true or valuable on the other.”¹⁶⁰ The constructs of professions, professionalism, and expertise are rejected and replaced with other decision-making paradigms. Antiprofessionalism comes in several forms, and we address four: bureaucratization, careerism, anti-intellectualism, and cognitive distancing.

The first form covered in the FAP is bureaucratization, in which the profession's responsibilities are increasingly overtaken by

157. Matteo Bonotti and Steven T. Zech, *Recovering Civility during COVID-19* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 1-17.

158. Burk, “Expertise, Jurisdiction, and Legitimacy,” in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 19; and Burk, “Expertise, Jurisdiction, and Legitimacy,” in Snider and Matthews, *Future of the Army Profession*, 39.

159. Burk, “Expertise, Jurisdiction, and Legitimacy,” in Snider and Watkins, *Future of the Army Profession*, 28-30; and Burk, “Expertise, Jurisdiction, and Legitimacy,” in Snider and Matthews, *Future of the Army Profession*, 49-52.

160. Stanley Fish, “Anti-Professionalism,” *Cardozo Law Review* 7, no. 3 (1985): 645.

government bureaucracy, whose interests and measures of merit are inconsistent with professional norms.¹⁶¹ This viewpoint contrasts with the bureaucracy of the defense enterprise, which serves important purposes, such as ensuring routine tasks (for example, annual budget submissions and human resources management functions) are performed efficiently. Bureaucratization is when bureaucratic rules and practices encroach upon, and potentially supplant, professional work.¹⁶² Bureaucratization inappropriately imposes administrative procedures or standard rules in instances better served by professional diagnosis, inference, and treatment. The FAP recognized the threat uncontrolled bureaucratization poses to the profession when imposed mandates and standards suppress the profession's self-policing culture or risk aversion overtakes effectiveness.¹⁶³

A related problem is when members lose their professional calling and begin to view their service as just another job.¹⁶⁴ In this second form of antiprofessionalism, the member retains the title and prestige, but the ethical and moral underpinnings of being a professional have eroded.¹⁶⁵ For present purposes, we propose the term "careerism": the devolution of one's response to the call to service into the pursuit of self-interest. Instead of performing the honorable and altruistic work of the profession, careerists only act when convenient to do

161. Snider, "US Army as a Profession," 14.

162. Abbott, *System of Professions*, 151.

163. Snider, "US Army as a Profession," 13-16.

164. Snider, "US Army as a Profession," 14.

165. Charles C. Moskos, "Institution versus Occupation: Trends in Military Organization," *Armed Forces and Society* 4, no. 1 (1977): 41-50.

so while avoiding risk to themselves or their status.¹⁶⁶ Careerism also infects the stewardship of the profession; in this case, meritocracy is replaced by nepotism, cronyism, and other biases.¹⁶⁷ Although these problems can be caused by extrinsic factors, they are also reflective of a poor professional climate characterized by risk aversion or perverse incentives (for example, ill-conceived signing or retention bonuses).

A third form of antiprofessionalism is anti-intellectualism: the rejection of expertise because of perceived elitism or views of professions as tools of oppression.¹⁶⁸ The FAP examined this problem because of the military's cultural tendencies toward action, which, according to Dixon, leads military personnel to make decisions emotionally rather than rationally. Speed and decisiveness become revered, but they represent the antithesis of developing the necessary cognitive skills to apply professional knowledge properly.¹⁶⁹ Also, the archetype of the professional—an educated, trained, and dedicated expert—is a target of antiprofessionalism under the pretense all professionals are products of supposed upper-class elites and their institutional structures.¹⁷⁰ In this view, even professionals from modest or disadvantaged backgrounds are, upon achieving professional certification, allegedly infected with naked self-interest and concerned only with acquiring power and dominance and the desire to treat ordinary citizens

166. Fish, "Anti-Professionalism," 648.

167. Hajar and Ender, "McDonaldization"; and Watkins and Cohen, "In Their Own Words."

168. Matthews, "Anti-Intellectualism."

169. Dixon, *On the Psychology*, 175–76.

170. Fish, "Anti-Professionalism."

with contempt.¹⁷¹ For the military, such views manifest in civilian leaders who do not necessarily reject military advice out of disagreement with its contents, but repudiate the need for it and instead demand compliance, as though this were tantamount to a high degree of discipline.¹⁷²

A fourth form of antiprofessionalism gained strength with the gaming technologies of the 2010s: cognitive distancing, in which the societal understanding of a profession becomes utterly, perhaps intentionally, detached from reality. One can argue cognitive distancing has a long history, such as war being romanticized for centuries through legends, songs, and poems.¹⁷³ The American Civil War and the horrific photographic images of its battlefields shattered these perceptions and brought the realities of war to public consciousness. This perspective remained through the Cold War, as the possibilities of mutual nuclear exchange drove a US civil defense program that inculcated the need for grassroots preparations

171. Eric Hoffer, *The Ordeal of Change* (Titusville, NJ: Hopewell, 1963), 41–43.

172. William E. Rapp, “Civil-Military Relations: The Role of Military Leaders in Strategy Making,” *Parameters* 45, no. 3 (2015): 4; and Risa Brooks, Jim Golby, and Heidi A. Urben, “Crisis of Command: America’s Broken Civil-Military Relationship Imperils National Security,” *Foreign Affairs* 100, no. 3 (May/June 2021).

173. Simon Bainbridge, “Romanticism and War,” Oxford Handbooks Online, 2018, <https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-111?print=pdf>.

in case the worst happened, thereby potentially saving millions of lives.¹⁷⁴

The trend may be reversing. Video games like *Call of Duty* allow players to immerse themselves in a fictional warlike environment. These games do not have or reinforce professional values and norms. The laws of armed combat are substituted by gaming rules that allow players to do mostly anything they wish without physical, emotional, mental, or ethical risk. On the one hand, the Army has embraced gaming to reach potential recruits. On the other hand, whether playing these games or using modeling and simulation adequately prepares individuals to face a real combat situation or even a rigorous training environment remains unanswered.¹⁷⁵

The questions raised are: To what extent does the societal rejection of professions and professionals impact the military and its seminal institutions, such as PME, certifications, expert knowledge, and ethics? In particular, to what extent are the contemporary problems of deprofessionalism and antiprofessionalism threats to civil-military norms and effective civilian oversight of the military?

174. Net Evaluation Subcommittee, *1963 Report of the Net Evaluation Subcommittee* (Washington, DC: National Security Council, 1963), 27.

175. Scott N. Pomaniuk and Tobias Burgers, "How the US Military Is Using 'Violent, Chaotic, Beautiful' Video Games to Train Soldiers," *Conversation*, March 7, 2017, <https://theconversation.com/how-the-us-military-is-using-violent-chaotic-beautiful-video-games-to-train-soldiers-73826>.

MAPPING MILITARY EXPERTISE

A third area in requiring more research is the set of jurisdictions of the military profession, which need to be updated. The FAP was primarily concerned with the Army, and the responsibilities of the Joint community and defense enterprise do not necessarily scale up from the service level. A map is a good metaphor for the analysis of the conceptional elements of professional expertise and the jurisdictions within which expert work is applied. We can increase or decrease the scale to gain fidelity at various levels, from society to groups of professionals, organizations, and individuals.

The primary organizing principle for the armed forces is the use of organized violence against other foreign and domestic armed forces that threaten the security of the republic. Ideally, capable armed forces deter violent challengers and hence prevent armed conflict. The traditional conception of the primary role of the armed forces in the current era is to counter the organized violence of other states or nonstate actors that pose threats to the US homeland, population, or resources and those of its allies and partners.

The US military profession has a lot of expertise on the use of coercive, potentially violent force to attain society's security. But to serve society effectively, the expertise has to be embedded within organizations that apply it. Historically, the concept of the "profession of arms" captured the centrality of arms or weaponry to the profession's contributions. Merely managing violence in battle is insufficient. The instrumental employment of disciplined, organized violence is the primary and unique expertise of military professionals; however, the responsible employment of arms requires expertise in four domains, such that military-technical

expertise (first domain) be complemented by moral-ethical (second domain), social-political (third domain), and human development (fourth domain) expertise.¹⁷⁶ The latter three represent professional communities that extend beyond the military. Thus, the military can borrow this expertise and then modify it for military use or simply reference it when needed. In turn, the military can generate knowledge in these fields and share them with the external communities of practice.

The natural focus for the FAP was the Army, with Lacquement developing the constructs of knowledge domains. For each of the four domains, he identified their major subdomains (for example, leadership and education under human development and resource acquisition and management under political-cultural) and the cohorts of personnel best suited for the tasks (for example, military personnel, civilians, or a mix of the two). He also clarified jurisdictions of practice between the Army and other services and government agencies (for example, the Army had “full” jurisdictional control over offensive land operations, but it was “subordinated” to other agencies’ jurisdictions in counterdrug operations). See table 1 for a map of the military profession’s expert knowledge.¹⁷⁷

176. Lacquement, “Army Professional Expertise,” 221–22.

177. Lacquement, “Army Professional Expertise,” 219.

Table 1. Map of the military profession's expert knowledge

		Ia	Ib	II	III	IV
	Expertise Applicability and Priority	Service Primacy	Services Shared Unique Experience	Services Adapt Civilian Professional Expertise	Services May Adopt Civilian Professional Expertise or Hire Civilian Professionals	Services Hire Civilian Professionals
	Character of Expertise	Core	Core	Core support	Acquired	Borrowed
	How Acquired	Service exclusive	Military exclusive	Services and society	Contract in from society	Contract out to society
	Developmental Responsibility	Services	Military	Society with military component	Society with military quality control	Society
	Certification	Services	Military	Services	Services and society	Society
Military-Technical Knowledge	Leadership of human organizations in application of coercive force	X (sustained warfare)	X (general warfare)			
	Combat (for example, land (for the Army))	X				
	Combat support	X				
	Joint operations		X			
	Combined operations		X			
	Administration/logistics			X		
	Engineering and Science			X		
Information technology				X		
Human Development Expert Knowledge	Leadership	X				
	Human behavior			X		
	Physical fitness			X		
	Education			X		
	Combat medicine			X		
	Family medicine				X	
Social work				X		
Moral-Ethical Expert Knowledge	Military ethics	X	X			
	Character development	X	X			
	Legal			X		
Political-Cultural Expert Knowledge	Soldier spirituality			X		
	Advice on behalf of and representation of the profession	X	X			
	Military governance	X				
	Political negotiation			X		
	Diplomacy (attaché)		X	X		
Resource acquisition and management					X	
Other	Basic research					X

Because the FAP focused on only one segment of the defense enterprise—the Army—the picture was incomplete. The Army may claim primacy over offensive land operations, but the same knowledge is also applied by enterprise-level experts (including serving Army professionals) in conducting strategic planning and resource allocation necessary for the Army to develop the force capable of conducting these operations. Some Army jurisdictional claims were identified as “shared” (for example, security assistance), but identifying with whom, how, and when is important. Some jurisdictions may be shared equally among the services under a defense proponent (for example, communication support). Others may see designated service proponents assigned on a contingency basis (for example, Joint leadership). Still others may invoke a default service proponent who yields only by exception (for example, offensive and defensive land operations, which, during the 2000s, were also conducted by the Marine Corps).

We propose an architecture for mapping military expertise across the defense enterprise. The architecture accounts for four organizational layers—defense, Joint, service, and intraservice—roughly corresponding to the DoD and the civilian secretariats of the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, and the Department of the Air Force; the Joint community, including the Joint Staff and Combatant Commands; the armed services themselves (the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Space Force) comprising the three military professional domains of ground, maritime, and aerospace; and the major subordinate elements of the services (for example, components, branches, communities, and major commands). From this architecture, the relationships among formal jurisdictional claims established in law, statute,

regulation, or decree and the informal domains of communities of practice will be presented. The section will conclude with a discussion on whether each of the layers constitutes a fully formed profession.

Four Echelons of Professional Work

Questioning whether the echelons of defense, Joint, service, and everything internal to the services are equally necessary echelons is beyond our present scope. Each nation organizes its armed forces differently, but, in general terms, the differences stem from what is omitted through lack of need. A landlocked nation likely does not have a navy unless it has an extensive need for a riverine force. Some nations effectively merge their defense and Joint establishments, or their Joint construct is dominated by a single service (often an army) because of the considerably smaller size of the other services. Still, the division of labor performed at the defense (or ministry), Joint or interservice, service, and intraservice levels is consistent enough for extant purposes.

The topmost echelon is the defense enterprise, a “systematically purposeful activity” that provides defense for the nation by generating and sustaining the capabilities and capacities needed for its mission.¹⁷⁸ In practice, the defense enterprise is a political-military activity whose purpose is to generate and sustain capability to meet national security requirements under authorities established by elected and politically appointed civilian leaders.¹⁷⁹

178. *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. “enterprise (*n.*),” accessed October 26, 2021, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/enterprise>.

179. Galvin, “Defense Enterprise,” 16.

The organization of the defense enterprise layer is more than just the Office of the Secretary of Defense.¹⁸⁰ This layer also includes the service secretariats and the various organizations outside the services, including defense agencies, defense field activities, and other offices that exercise direct oversight over the military professions or translate national assets into military capabilities. In the United States, the defense enterprise also includes nonfederal entities, such as state government bureaus that oversee the respective National Guards and various entities that could be activated in the event of national mobilization, such as agencies within the National Response Framework and the defense industrial base.¹⁸¹ For present purposes, however, the focus will be on the defense and service secretariats and the various defense-level agencies and activities.

Below the defense enterprise is the Joint layer, which is the primary interservice conduit. The Joint layer represents the interdependence of uniformed military expertise in the use or threat of violence and subsumes service professional expertise and jurisdictions in much the same way military services subsume the constituent professional elements (such as branches, communities, and specialties) they comprise. The Joint echelon is the primary integrator of the military professions for the conversion of national strategic direction into the conduct of military campaigns. On the one hand, the Joint echelon is the interservice extension of the military professions themselves, integrating offensive land, air, ground, cyber, and space operations into Joint offensive operations. To accomplish this mission, the Joint

180. Galvin, "Defense Enterprise," 16.

181. Galvin, "Defense Enterprise," 17.

echelon must be postured to adjudicate conflicting and underlapping jurisdictional claims of the services.

The heart of the military profession beats at the service level. The service echelon is the primary organizing construct for the three professions of ground, maritime, and aerospace. The professional tasks associated with this echelon are oriented first on combat operations, both offensive and defensive, in the warfighting domain or domains that reflect the jurisdictional claims of the service. Also included are other military operational tasks, such as stability operations, strategic deterrence, and homeland defense and security, though each service prioritizes them differently.

The intraservice level is where services divide their professional work across communities, branches, functional areas, and other organizational structures in support of the services' tasks. In the Army, these include combat arms branches, such as infantry, armor, and field artillery; combat support branches, such as intelligence, engineering, signal, and military police; combat service support branches, such as the logistics and sustainment community, medical service, chaplains, and judge advocates; and functional areas or groups of technical experts separately managed like branches, such as public affairs, operations research and systems analysis, nuclear systems, and force management.

These intraservice groups are communities of practice. Members perform distinct professional tasks that potentially draw from discrete bodies of expert knowledge outside the Army. These members' work is in support of the services' assigned professional tasks, not in competition with them. These members'

contributions to the Army are through collaboration, cooperation, learning, and boundary spanning. Though these members may exercise jurisdictional claims comprising a subset of those claimed by the service, the service expects them to avoid unduly interfering with other communities' fulfilling of their roles.

Mapping Jurisdictions of Practice

The first step in our analysis is to establish the general division of labor for the overall conduct of the military's professional tasks and the requisite expertise to perform them. For the sake of simplicity, we will use the four jurisdictions listed in the second edition of the FAP because they apply to all of the services: (1) major combat operations; (2) stability operations; (3) strategic deterrence; and (4) homeland defense and security. We will also use the four general domains of expertise in the FAP: (1) military-technical; (2) human development; (3) moral-ethical; and (4) political-cultural.¹⁸²

The Defense Enterprise Layer

We begin with the professional responsibilities of the defense enterprise layer in enabling (and sometimes conducting) tasks that foster the abilities of the military professions to sustain their four jurisdictional claims and conduct their professional work. The first responsibility is the receipt of national policies and strategies and developing and implementing defense policies, strategies, and plans. These instruments set strategic direction for the enterprise on matters such as the prioritization of threats and where capabilities are needed to deter or confront them. These instruments

182. Lacquement, "Army Professional Expertise," 227.

also establish guidance and direction for enterprise activities below the level of war. Enterprise leaders require expertise that is predominantly political-cultural, especially for communication, with military-technical in support. In effect, to establish suitable and feasible policies and strategies, enterprise leaders must exercise skills and knowledge in the general principles and processes of policy and strategy development. Enterprise leaders incorporate extant technical knowledge from the military professions to ensure the products provide clear guidance and direction the services need for accomplishing their own tasks.

An example is the *2018 National Defense Strategy* (NDS), which identifies a prioritized list of threats and threat conditions (for example, “a resilient, but weakening, post-WWII international order” and “the homeland is no longer a sanctuary”) as well as challenges to the United States’ military advantage. The NDS establishes 11 objectives for the DoD and describes a strategic approach that includes requirements for building more lethal capabilities, strengthening existing partnerships while pursuing new ones, and reforming the department’s business practices in response to budgetary pressures and the need for greater innovation.¹⁸³ The Army subsequently published *The Army Strategy 2018*, which incorporated the guidance, established a vision or end state to be achieved in 10 years, and established ways and means for meeting the vision while driving future budget requests.¹⁸⁴ Importantly, *The Army Strategy 2018* identified active and emerging weapons systems and other programs essential to meeting the vision and

183. Mattis, *2018 National Defense Strategy*, 2-5.

184. Mark A. Milley and Mark T. Esper, *The Army Strategy 2018* (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 2018).

satisfying the NDS. These products reflect professional work, in that abstract knowledge of strategy, planning, and programming was employed to diagnose the environment, exercising inferences about higher guidance, competing interests, and limited resources and communicating the treatment—clear strategies that allowed some flexibility.¹⁸⁵

The second responsibility of the enterprise is the acquisition, distribution, and stewardship of defense resources. Although in the US system, the services are directly involved in this task because of the congressional authorization and appropriation process, the ultimate responsibility for consolidating and harmonizing the requests for funds and advocating for the requests in support of the president's budget is among the defense enterprise leadership within the Joint Staff and the Office of the Secretary of Defense.¹⁸⁶

Enterprise leaders rely on combinations of political-cultural, moral-ethical, and military-technical expertise. Political-cultural expertise is required for engaging with key national stakeholders such as Congress and executive branch agencies (for example, the Office of Management and Budget). Defense leaders propose plans, programs, and budgets to satisfy national strategies, set resourcing priorities and strategies across the services, establish and implement systems of accountability for the expenditure of resources, and report back to stakeholders to demonstrate

185. Milley and Esper, *Army Strategy 2018*, 7.

186. JCS, *Resource Management*, JP 3-80 (Washington, DC: JCS, January 11, 2016), I-1-I-2.

public resources are being used appropriately.¹⁸⁷ Moral-ethical expertise helps leaders ensure compliance with established federal legal requirements and ethical norms.¹⁸⁸ Military-technical knowledge helps ensure the distribution of resources is appropriate, well informed, and executable while minimizing or mitigating risk.¹⁸⁹

The execution of these responsibilities also involves professional work, particularly in the design and use of associated decision support processes and systems. The primary system used in the US defense enterprise is the Planning, Programming, Budgeting, and Execution system. Designed in the 1960s, this system provides mechanisms for the enterprise to determine its funding requirements for all of its activities, including sustaining readiness, modernizing the force, and providing for the proper compensation and well-being of its members (that is, those serving in the active or reserve component, retirees, and veterans). Each program is different and requires leaders to exercise professional judgment in determining the program's efficacy and resourcing requirements over time. Expertise in finance, accounting, resource management, acquisition, and many other areas aids in the aggregation and prioritization of these program requirements.¹⁹⁰ The goal is allocative efficiency, such

187. US Army Force Management School, *Department of Defense Planning, Programming, Budgeting and Execution (PPBE) Process/Army Planning, Programming, Budgeting, and Execution (PPBE) Process: An Executive Primer* (Fort Belvoir, VA: US Army Force Management School, 2010).

188. Lacquement, "Army Professional Expertise," 222.

189. Lacquement, "Army Professional Expertise," 222.

190. Louis G. Yuengert, ed., *How the Army Runs 2019-2020: A Senior Leader Reference Handbook* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 2020).

that programs receive adequate funding but not excessive funding, which would incur waste.¹⁹¹

The third responsibility of the defense enterprise is governance of the enterprise. Governance includes matters of organizational design and strategic leadership. These matters reflect the internal policies and strategies of the enterprise, including determining whether tasks will be delegated to the services, entrusted to the fourth estate, or retained within enterprise leadership. For example, as of 2021, the Office of the Secretary of Defense includes undersecretaries for policy, comptroller, personnel and readiness, intelligence, acquisition and sustainment, and research and engineering. Each undersecretary has assistant secretaries focused on various subdomains. The office has undergone numerous changes since its establishment in 1947, reflecting the enterprise's assessment of the matters that require direct executive leadership and oversight at any given time.¹⁹² Meanwhile, each military department secretariat self-organizes based on the needs of the service secretaries.

Governing the enterprise involves professional work associated with navigating persistent, paradoxical tensions that often require pragmatic, targeted solutions that must be continuously reassessed. Leadership tasks often include diagnosing problems related to the exigencies of a complex strategic environment,

191. Stephen Aldridge, Angus Hawkins, and Cody Xuereb, "Improving Public Sector Efficiency to Deliver a Smarter State," *Civil Service Quarterly* (blog), January 25, 2016, <https://quarterly.blog.gov.uk/2016/01/25/improving-public-sector-efficiency-to-deliver-a-smarter-state/>.

192. Historical Office, *Department of Defense Key Officials: September 1947–October 2021* (Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2021).

the emergence of mismatches between strategies and resources, and the need to sustain productive relationships with stakeholders (such as Congress and the White House) and the public.

Organizational scholars have presented taxonomies of large-organization paradoxical tensions the defense enterprise routinely faces. Tensions are organized into several general types, but we only present two here as illustrations.¹⁹³ One tension is between centralization for efficiency and control and decentralization for effectiveness and flexibility; this tension can appear in policy discussions and planning. The following questions are representative of this tension.

- Is developing blanket regulations that encompass the whole enterprise preferable to delegating this responsibility to the services or local commanders and leaders? This tension is often involved in matters of personnel and finance.
- Is centralizing responsibilities at a defense agency for the sake of efficiency preferable to decentralizing the responsibilities among the services for the sake of flexibility? Combat support functions like signal, intelligence, medicine, and logistics are structured as a mix at defense agencies with broad responsibilities and service-level organizations that satisfy specific, service-oriented requirements.

193. Thomas P. Galvin and Charles D. Allen, "The Challenge of the Paradoxical Vision: Innovating Where No Solution Seems Possible," APOJ 16-6, Army Press Online Journal, February 4, 2016, [https://ssl.armywarcollege.edu/dclm/pubs/Challenge%20of%20the%20Paradoxical%20Vision%20\(Galvin-and-Allen,%20APOJ%2016-6,%204Feb16\).pdf](https://ssl.armywarcollege.edu/dclm/pubs/Challenge%20of%20the%20Paradoxical%20Vision%20(Galvin-and-Allen,%20APOJ%2016-6,%204Feb16).pdf).

Consider the following examples. One is the development of the Joint Strike Fighter, which was implemented as a holistic, Joint program with service-specific variants rather than defaulting to the services, which pursue separate acquisition efforts. Managing a single, large program initially appeared more promising and cost-effective compared to the services pursuing independent and redundant programs. Thus, the Joint Strike Fighter program was viewed as a model for future Joint programs.¹⁹⁴ As the costs of implementing the program skyrocketed and problems arose in managing all the proposed service variants, critics questioned whether the idea of a centralized Joint program was fundamentally flawed.¹⁹⁵ Another example is an enterprise-wide migration to centralize the information technology architecture and consolidate services, such as help desks, to better manage workflows and track systemic computer and software problems across the network.¹⁹⁶ Network consolidation carries the risks of: (1) the creation of bottlenecks that slow down network traffic; and (2) catastrophic failures in the event

194. Jeremiah Gerstler, *F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) Program*, RL30563 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, May 27, 2020), 1-2.

195. Mark A. Lorell et al., *Do Joint Fighter Programs Save Money?* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2013), 37-39.

196. Kimberly Underwood, "DISA's Fourth Estate Network Optimization Is on Track," *SIGNAL*, July 29, 2020, <https://www.afcea.org/content/disa%E2%80%99s-fourth-estate-network-optimization-track>; and Office of the Army Chief Information Officer, *Army Network Campaign Plan 2020 & Beyond* (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 2017), 15.

of security breaches, especially from insider threats.¹⁹⁷ In both cases, today's dynamic and competitive environment means the vulnerabilities of centralizing may be exploited in such a way decentralization becomes the best mitigation strategy.

A second persistent tension is continuity versus change. For enterprise leaders, this tension represents a significant challenge because stakeholders—both legislative and executive—change regularly, and defense leaders are continuously receiving new political appointees charged with aligning the defense enterprise with the new administration's policies and priorities. Leaders must assess what to change to balance alignment with emerging policy while mitigating the risk of disrupting ongoing activities.

The optimal way to implement change is also a matter of professional judgment. For example, due to intensifying budget constraints and changes in service strategies, the Army instituted Night Court, a program review panel chartered to realign the budget by canceling unneeded programs to reinvest in new priorities.¹⁹⁸ Although the then-secretary of the Army expressed satisfaction with the results and similar approaches being adopted by other services, the move was disruptive to the federal budgetary process

197. Brien Posey, "Network Consolidation and Virtualization Solve Management Issues," SearchServerVirtualization.com, December 15, 2020, <https://searchservervirtualization.techtarget.com/tip/Network-consolidation-and-virtualization-solve-management-problems>.

198. Thomas Brading, "Back in Session: 'Night Court' Reinvesting More Funds for Modernization Goals," US Army, January 17, 2020, https://www.army.mil/article/231719/back_in_session_night_court_reinvesting_more_funds_for_modernization_goals.

and Congress's ability to analyze the impacts of service proposals.¹⁹⁹

Although these three responsibilities—developing and implementing defense policies, strategies, and plans; acquiring, distributing, and stewarding defense resources; and providing governance of the enterprise—are identified as professional in character, this recognition does not necessarily establish the defense enterprise layer as being a profession in the same fashion as a service. In particular, the previous analysis stops short of equating the three major functions of implementing policies, distributing resources, and providing governance as jurisdictional claims. Further, though having the defense enterprise layer to help the military professions effectively and efficiently conduct combat operations is arguably helpful, it is theoretically not necessary. The Army could, under certain conditions, conduct major combat operations on its own through the use of a professionalized general staff construct that performs similar tasks to those of the defense enterprise for strategies, planning, programs, and interactions with the other military professions. Creating the enterprise layer was ultimately a choice—a justifiable choice, but a choice nonetheless. Thus, we will label discussion of the enterprise as a profession as an area that requires further research.

The Joint Layer

Authors who contributed to the FAP proposed a distinct US Joint military profession exists and stated it has important work in all four jurisdictions claimed by

199. "Army's Night Court Could Be Model for DoD," Association of the US Army, February 22, 2021, <https://www.ausea.org/news/armys-night-court-could-be-model-dod>.

the services.²⁰⁰ With the exception of stability operations, the Joint layer provides unique expertise for the use of coercive force for which it could claim a settlement of full jurisdictional control on behalf of US society. Within the US military profession, grouping constituent elements by domain emphasizes expertise and jurisdictional claims separate from organizational structures. For example, with the creation of the Space Force, in the US military only the warfighting domain of cyberspace lacks a service with primary responsibility over it.²⁰¹

At the same time, the Joint layer supports the three domains of professional work for the defense enterprise. The Joint responsibilities in the US Code are those of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: (1) provide strategic direction; (2) conduct strategic and contingency planning; (3) assess and sustain comprehensive Joint readiness; (4) conduct Joint Force development activities; (5) develop Joint capabilities; and (6) exercise global military integration.²⁰² The alignment with the defense enterprise activities is straightforward, but the chairman (and, therefore, the Joint Staff and the Combatant Commands) perform these tasks by negotiating Joint positions among the services and mediating and reconciling gaps or inconsistencies between service and defense enterprise perspectives. The following discussion delves further into how the chairman's responsibilities translate into the professional work of other organizations or constitute their own unique jurisdictional claims. Each

200. Snider and Peterson, "Opportunity for the Army."

201. Kreuzer, "Cyberspace Is an Analogy."

202. Chairman: functions, 10 U.S.C. § 153 (2010).

has a Joint Staff proponent whose professionals aid in the preparation of the various products.²⁰³

The Joint layer exercises seven strong jurisdictional claims, with several rooted in US Code. The Joint layer inherits the four claims of the services by virtue of its unique establishment of a Joint Staff and Combatant Commands with the missions of planning and conducting military missions involving major combat, stability, deterrence, or homeland defense. The Joint layer is also granted codified responsibilities to perform professional work as the military contribution to civil-military relations: strategies and plans, resource management, and governance of the organization.

The Service Layer

Analysis of the service layer begins with the four original, jurisdictional claims from the FAP in which each claim is subdivided into tasks. Table 2, slightly modified from the second edition of the FAP, shows these subclaims from a land (that is, US Army) perspective. The table includes the extent to which these claims are fully within the profession or shared with or subordinated to others.²⁰⁴

203. Mark A. Milley, *Joint Strategic Planning System*, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Instruction 3100.01E (Washington, DC: Joint Staff, May 21, 2021), B-1-B-2.

204. Lacquement, "Army Professional Expertise," 227.

Table 2. Jurisdictions and Army expertise

Jurisdictions	Army Jurisdictional Claims	
	Expert knowledge (internal)	Expert work/priority (high, medium, or low)
Army tasks		
Major combat operations		
OFFENSIVE LAND OPERATIONS	FULL	HIGH
Defeat/destroy the enemy decisively	FULL	HIGH
Disrupt enemy defenses/coherence	FULL	HIGH
Secure or seize terrain	FULL	HIGH
Deny enemy resources	FULL	HIGH
Fix the enemy	FULL	HIGH
Gain information	FULL	HIGH
DEFENSIVE LAND OPERATIONS	FULL	HIGH
Defeat enemy attacks	FULL	HIGH
Defend terrain (including homeland)	FULL	HIGH
Develop conditions favorable for resuming operations	FULL	HIGH
Stability operations		
Peace operations (peacekeeping, peace enforcement, support of diplomatic efforts)	FULL	HIGH
Foreign internal defense (includes counterinsurgency combat)	FULL	HIGH
Security assistance	SHARED	MEDIUM
Support to insurgencies	FULL	HIGH
Combating terrorism	SHARED	HIGH
Noncombatant evacuation	SHARED	HIGH
Humanitarian and civic assistance	SUBORDINATE	LOW
Relief operations (foreign)	SUBORDINATE	LOW
Arms control	SUBORDINATE	LOW
Strategic deterrence (for example, deter or assure)		
Global situational awareness (intelligence)	SHARED	HIGH
Presence and deterrence	SHARED	HIGH
Peacetime military engagement (military-to-military contact—exercises, training, education, visits)	SHARED	HIGH
Rapid response and preclusion	SHARED	HIGH
Deterrence information operations	SHARED	HIGH
Show of force	SHARED	HIGH
Homeland security		
Defeat threats in forward regions	SHARED	HIGH
Defeat land threats to the homeland	FULL	HIGH
Relief operations (domestic)	SUBORDINATE	LOW
Support to domestic consequence management	ADVISORY	MEDIUM
Support to counterdrug operations	SUBORDINATE	LOW
Support to civil law enforcement	SUBORDINATE	LOW
Community assistance/emergency preparedness	SUBORDINATE	LOW

From a conceptual standpoint, these jurisdictional claims still hold; the differences from similar tables in the FAP reflect only the changing character of the strategic environment and the related ongoing negotiations of these claims with civilian leaders and among the military professions. For example, all domains incorporate conceptions of major combat operations and the meanings of offensive and defensive operations. The professions promote mastery of the operations within their own domains while sharing claims with the other professions.

Aviation is one such profession. All three services have aviation elements; however, the greatest negotiated claims are those of the Air Force because its claims are more global in scope and, therefore, abstract, while the other professions are focused more on specific aviation tasks or platforms. Only the Air Force, for example, exercises strategic air maneuvers, whereas the Navy and Army perform only certain forms of tactical air maneuvers. Operationally, aerospace professionals, predominantly from the Air Force, provide the expertise for integrating air capabilities into Joint campaigns.²⁰⁵

What of the three other jurisdictions being claimed at the Joint layer? Do they apply to the services as well? Most definitely, and this recognition signals a marked change in the way we are looking at the military profession. All three constitute additional claims of jurisdiction by the services. For example, strategy and planning is a jurisdictional claim that preceded the FAP but was not considered a separate claim at the time.

The logic could be described as such: Major combat operations were the *raison d'être* of the Army, and

205. JCS, *Joint Air Operations*, JP 3-30 (Washington, DC: JCS, 2019), II-1-II-28.

developing strategies and plans was seen as supporting activities to that purpose. The Army planned in case it had to go to war, and planning for other purposes was peripheral. In practice, however, the services plan for other purposes as well. The services' roles in the Planning, Programming, Budgeting, and Execution system are to develop and implement (that is, fund) a service plan for integrating current and future capabilities in support of the NDS and the National Military Strategy. The services also plan as a governance function to ensure the comprehensive review of mission-related concerns and the availability of courses of action to coordinate action and execute contingencies as problems arise.

In this way, planning constitutes an independent jurisdictional claim of the services that has been leveraged by other US government agencies that have an important mission to accomplish but lack planning expertise to develop comprehensive solutions. Military planners have helped interagency partners plan and implement humanitarian operations; disaster relief; and other Defense Support of Civil Authorities activities, such as support to Operation Warp Speed, which facilitated the development of COVID-19 vaccines.²⁰⁶

The same holds for the acquisition, distribution, and stewardship of service resources. In particular, the jurisdictional claims of the US military professions are even stronger than those of the defense enterprise and Joint layers because of the congressional appropriation process, which appropriates funds primarily through the services, not the DoD. Acquisition professionals,

206. Karen Howard and Candice Wright, *Operation Warp Speed: Accelerated COVID-19 Vaccine Development Status and Efforts to Address Manufacturing Challenges*, GAO-21-319 (Washington, DC: Government Accountability Office, 2021).

resource managers, comptrollers, human resource (that is, talent) managers, and others synthesize military-technical, human development, moral-ethical, and political-cultural knowledge in the unique context of the military in support of, but largely independent of, the accomplishment of the military's core missions.²⁰⁷ For example, the conduct of major combat may increase the urgency for developing a new weapon system, but, to the program manager, this factor only contributes to an independent diagnostic and treatment process for determining how best to accelerate development, production, and fielding.

The governance function is likewise a stronger jurisdictional claim than at the defense and Joint levels, and for similar reasons. The defense and Joint levels perform governance at a more abstract level than the services do. An assistant secretary may establish a policy that family support is critical to individual readiness, but the services fully operationalize the policy into organizational structures, resources, and activities. Governance is also manifest in the many ways services demonstrate commitment to service members and families, helping to foster readiness and resilience so servicemembers can concentrate on combat preparations. Yet, the effective performance of this function avoids interfering with the core mission of the organization. Governance must be robust, yet not become an end unto itself, lest it become too bureaucratic and self-serving, and an impediment rather than a help.

For this reason, expert knowledge of a moral-ethical and human development nature becomes very important. The professions view military ethics,

207. Kappelmann, *American Military Profession*, 6.

character development, laws of warfare, and the enhancement of resilience as important. Failures in these areas are sources of scandal and other unprofessional behavior, as has been found in various sexual harassment and assault scandals that arose in the 2010s, presenting challenges to the military's espoused values. Of course, leader and member responses to such crises must address the problem, but they must do so in a way that enhances the mission and avoids creating bureaucratic or other structures that detract from, or compete with, the mission over time.

The Intraservice or Community Layer

The community layer examines how the military professional tasks break down into component functions requiring separate, though interdependent, domains of expertise. Some represent formal subdivisions, such as Army branches or Navy communities. But we must also consider the many informal subdivisions that emerge through the unique skills and expertise of individual servicemembers or demands for capabilities not resident within the established organizational structures.

For example, in table 2, stability operations is subdivided into peace operations, foreign internal defense, combating terrorism, and others. Although these subdomains may contain common tasks, they are largely discrete and require different skills and competencies to perform correctly and appropriately. Although the military's strength in strategic planning and overall "can do," mission-first attitude affords it a degree of adaptability that, in the short term, can allow it to accept any mission required, a professional force should not operate outside its areas of expertise for too long, particularly in environments where adaptive adversaries can exploit knowledge and expertise gaps

once uncovered. Consequently, each of the subordinate entries in table 2 can constitute a community of practice, delivering niche capabilities that may only be required of a small part of the force, such as a specialized unit or informal working group in a service component command staff.

A detailed examination of communities of practice operating within a service or the enterprise is beyond the scope of this monograph because numerous candidates present themselves, each uniquely different in character and history. Instead, we will present some general themes that explain the different sources and structures of these communities based on the various subordinate tasks and subdomains of expertise identified or implied in table 2. These tasks and subdomains reflect degrees of internal professionalization—discrete domains of expert knowledge; discrete professional structures, such as certifications and associations; and affirmed, professional identities of the members—in descending order. For identity, one's professional self-concept is not necessarily in competition with that of the broader profession; rather, they reflect two facets of identity, the relative salience of which could ebb and flow over time.

Formal internal subdivisions: branches and communities. Some communities of practice are clearly and unambiguously defined in the organizational structure; these constitute the majority. These communities include all of the branches and functional areas within the Army (for example, infantry, artillery, signal, intelligence, and logistics) and the communities within the Navy (for example, surface, submarine, and supply corps) and the Air Force (for example, bombers, fighters, transport, tankers, and base support). Most of these communities are not self-contained within a

service. Rather, they comprise professionals working interdependently with colleagues from higher headquarters and peer organizations.

Communications support is an excellent example because it is provided through an extensive collection of providers, from the Defense Information Systems Agency and various Joint and service entities down to tactical signal units, all of whom must work well together to provide communication support to the warfighter. In contrast, armor is a branch that is more closely tied to the ground profession and is less involved with boundary spanning.

These communities are generally the most internally professionalized. They maintain most or all of the following in an official capacity: centers of excellence with dedicated organizations that sustain community-specific, expert knowledge, including concepts, doctrine, and lessons learned; human resources management institutions for community-specific education, recruitment, assignments, and career development; force development professionals who translate concepts and doctrine into organizational structures and requirements; and community-specific associations, journals, conferences, and related activities dedicated to furthering knowledge and its application. The strength of the community is measured in part by its relevance to the conduct of major combat operations or other professional tasks over which the service has full jurisdictional claims.

Many professional tasks involve some degree of integration between the community and the broader military context. For example, professional education and training integrates general knowledge of major combat operations with the technical knowledge

of the community. This integration improves collaboration across communities of practice because all servicemembers operate under a shared context. In addition, this integration reinforces service and Joint professional identities and improves interoperability. Moreover, for the communities that are connected to professions outside the defense enterprise, like information technology, these internal institutions ensure the community of practice does not divorce itself from the military mission.

Formal internal components of external communities. The previous paragraphs discussed communities of practice that are mostly internal to the military; however, not all of them are. Some view most of the expertise and its top professional institutions (for example, other government agencies) as residing outside the defense enterprise. This viewpoint could create more tension between the military profession and its community of practice. Military intelligence is an example. The community provides intelligence support to the Joint Force commander, and military intelligence units perform critical tasks associated with each of the service's primary warfighting jurisdictions. The military community, however, is also a conduit to the broader intelligence community that provides important products the military component cannot. In effect, the internal community of practice of intelligence is both a service provider to the commander and a customer or client of the broader intelligence enterprise. Other examples may include space operations, the Army scientist community, modeling and simulations, the special branches (chaplain, judge advocate, and medical), and nuclear operations.

A key difference from other communities, like infantry and armor, is the extent to which knowledge sustainment, professional work, and professional institutions and associations reside outside the defense enterprise. Schools, certifications, and other institutions may be external to the military, and members may struggle more with balancing their military professional identities with those of their community. In particular, education and certification requirements could be at odds. For example, military doctors face competing demands to participate in PME while sustaining their medical credentials. For members of the smaller communities, like nuclear operations, being a military member may be disadvantageous for membership in the broader profession if the members face too many barriers to maintaining their external credentials due to military demands.

Formal functions within organizational structures. Though the two categories previously discussed align with formal communities of practice with discrete structures, other communities of practice emerge from more duty-specific requirements. Most military organizations have staff elements that perform common professional tasks, such as managing current operations, plans, and training, where members are immaterial to the branch. Other organizations have common staff elements that draw expert knowledge from a community of practice, but their incumbent members may not be part of the community. For example, Army unit S-1/G-1s, S-4/G-4s, and maintenance officers may be members of the unit's branch rather than being assigned from the adjutant general, quartermaster, or ordnance corps.

Other positions that may be community-immaterial include professional military educators, legislative affairs personnel, and country desk officers in the Combatant Commands. Some of these communities have a central domain of knowledge to draw from and may even be closely associated with a branch (for example, S-4s and quartermasters), but other communities may be more closely associated with a special organization (for example, legislative affairs or the Office of the Chief Legislative Liaison). In these cases, the community of practice is more volatile and may focus its sustainment of knowledge locally to ensure transient members are brought up to speed quickly.

These communities of practice have vulnerabilities. Internal stratification within the community may be significant, with the core of the community comprising longer-term specialists and technical experts. Though this high degree of internal stratification could foster the development and sustainment of knowledge, it could also marginalize the perspectives of transient members or treat unusual or lower-level tactical contexts as less interesting or important. Transient members may also not adopt the community identity because the duties may be collateral to the members' career progression or long-term professional goals. The communities of practice as a whole could also be marginalized if the domain of professional work is (perhaps wrongly) perceived by service or Joint leaders as peripheral to the core mission of major combat operations.

Informal communities of practice comprising individual expertise. Whereas the three communities previously discussed derive from formal structures within the enterprise, informal communities of practice are largely based on individual skills, knowledge, and interests.

These communities are the least professionalized, although the process of professionalization may be underway. Two cases may be considered. The first is individuals specializing in mission areas the military shares with or subordinates to other experts in accordance with table 2. An example is counterdrug operations under the jurisdiction of homeland security. The expertise resides outside the defense enterprise (within the Department of Homeland Security, particularly the US Coast Guard and US Customs and Border Protection), but some Combatant Commands and other organizations have a vested interest in tapping into counterdrug expertise (for example, US Southern Command as a result of its membership in Joint Interagency Task Force South). These communities could include advisers from or connections with other US government agencies. The communities could also include internal members who accumulate expertise and experience through exposure to counterdrug operations, such as those of Joint Interagency Task Force South, which may identify them as counterdrug experts and influence their future assignments. Community members assume an implicit responsibility to stay connected, share relevant expertise, and ensure their knowledge remains applicable to the profession's primary jurisdictions.

The second case is the informal network in which emerging requirements for expert knowledge in support of the profession are becoming apparent but have not been codified in the organizational structure. A useful historical example is cybersecurity, which began as a niche expertise area in the information technology field but eventually grew into a separate structure

(for example, US Cyber Command).²⁰⁸ In their infancy, these communities form out of a recognized need for expertise, possibly through the hiring or onboarding of external experts with special skills or knowledge. Depending on the context and use of the knowledge, these communities may evolve into enduring sources of expertise in their respective organizations and pursue some degree of professionalization for stability. But, absent a formal structure, these communities are vulnerable and subject to potential elimination or outsourcing.

IMPLICATIONS

The above mapping of professional expertise constitutes a more robust model of how, when, and where military professionals perform their work. The map captures more completely the continuous vertical and horizontal competition over jurisdictional claims within the enterprise structure. The map also accounts for the full professionalization process and recognizes the military's demands for expertise often expand into domains traditionally outside the military purview. The following paragraphs discuss areas that are ripe for future research.

First, why, how, and when should the jurisdictional claims in table 2 change? Much of the FAP's focus was on defending the military's jurisdictional claims against potential attack or reaffirming the military's identity in its core tasks. But these claims are dynamic, and the emergence of cyber, space, and other domains of expertise has implications for the areas in which the military requires expertise. Moreover, some domains

208. "Our History," US Cyber Command, n.d., <https://www.cybercom.mil/About/History/>.

identified as “shared” or “subordinate” may need to become “full” or vice versa. Other domains may shift their focus from the service level to the enterprise level, and the less formal or codified domains at the community level may need to become more formalized and constitute new jurisdictional claims. Fears of mission creep can cause leaders to avoid taking on new missions, even when the profession would benefit. Factors contributing to informed decisions about changes to jurisdictional claims would be useful.

The second area is a corollary to the first: Why, how, and when should the military relinquish a jurisdictional claim? Relinquishing a jurisdictional claim is tantamount to giving up a mission or outsourcing it entirely. Although relinquishing a jurisdictional claim is rarely done in practice, this discussion is an ongoing civil-military one about the tasks the military should stop performing because they detract from preparations for major combat operations. Frequently targeted tasks are security assistance, humanitarian assistance, Defense Support of Civil Authorities, and support to law enforcement. Though these tasks are designated as low priority in table 2, they surface as requirements in times of domestic crisis.²⁰⁹ The military is often the only institution postured for these types of missions, which would make divesting the capabilities difficult. The abrupt cutting of missions is also fraught with risk. Senior leaders would benefit from further study into how best to analyze, identify, approve, and implement changes to jurisdictional claims and to whom to assign this task.

209. Nina M. Serafino, *Peacekeeping and Related Stability Operations: Issues of US Military Involvement*, RL33557 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2006), 1, 15.

The third area of research is to conceptualize table 2 for the enterprise-level tasks and how they promulgate through other layers. Research should go beyond defining them and determine when they enhance or constrain professional work performed at the Joint, service, and community levels.

Finally, the proposed additional jurisdictional claims at the defense enterprise layer could be further explored to determine how and to what extent the public sector bureaucracy overtakes or unduly constrains the military's professional work. The professional work of defense bureaucrats, which is important for ensuring the adequate flow of resources and development of military capabilities, involves complex decision making and management of risk. The FAP warns of the obedient form of bureaucracy that inhibits the abilities of military professionals to perform professional work. Because the military profession is naturally protective of its professional identity, intrusion may be met with negative reaction. Further research is needed to better understand the character of the alleged intrusion. Is the intrusion an appropriate response to a military failing? Is the intrusion characteristic of ordinary claims of jurisdiction between the military and its civilian leadership? Or is the intrusion indeed an undue constraint imposed for nonprofessional reasons?

WAY FORWARD: PROJECT OUTLINE

Snider, Gayle L. Watkins, Lloyd J. Matthews, et al. did a masterful job building a team and leading it to apply Abbott's insights into the Army in a period of major change following the end of the Cold War and the initial post-9/11 response to global terrorism threats.

These scholars' framework for the future of the Army profession should be expanded to the entire US military.

To improve the foundations of the US military profession, the project we propose should accomplish four main objectives. First, the project should update the analysis of the military profession to account for changes that have occurred in the past 15 years. The contemporary challenges facing the profession are daunting, but so too have been the challenges throughout the US military's history. Some challenges are enduring, such as keeping abreast of the ever-changing character of war. Others are peculiar to contemporary times, such as the growing antiprofessionalism movement in society. This monograph has raised multiple questions about the stewardship of the profession that deserve exploration.

Second, the project should extend the Abbott/Snider model beyond the Army to a better understanding of the US military profession as a whole, including placing its Joint character on the pillars of service and domain-specific expertise. Extending the model to include Wenger's communities of practice makes examining the many tasks the military is asked to do, from running a three-million-person defense enterprise to a squad on the battlefield, easier. The extended model proposed here should help the stewards of the profession differentiate between the expertise that is important and necessary and the expertise that is not and is therefore eligible for outsourcing to other entities.

Third, the extended model allows for a reexamination of the professional roles and responsibilities of the various cohorts: military members, civilians, retirees, and veterans. The extended Abbott/Snider/Wenger framework helps explain what we, the authors, are

asking professionals of all cohorts to do and not do as stewards of the profession.

Finally, and most importantly, the project should strive to sustain society's trust in the US military profession. The US armed forces have enjoyed a high level of trust from society for several decades, but this support changed in the postpandemic environment. Politicization of the military; recurring professional crises, such as sexual harassment and assault; and the possible shift from overseas operations to domestic concerns may mean the military will face greater scrutiny than it has in recent years. Society would be less likely to forgive errors. The military could become unpopular with the public and experience greater difficulties recruiting volunteers, which would impact readiness. Preserving the professional identity of the force remains a critical responsibility vested in leaders at all levels of the defense enterprise.

The other side of the military-social relationship has not been adequately explored. What should US society grant the US military profession in return? The US military can only be as professional as society permits. Militaries, whether they are composed of volunteers or draftees, depend on their societies for personnel who are ready and willing to serve, the resources necessary for mission readiness, and the will to fight when called upon for the defense of the nation and its interests. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the very ideas of professions and professionalism have been called into question, as seen in the COVID-19 pandemic with the controversies over law enforcement and public health. Society's role in conferring the designation of "profession" should not be taken for granted.

The overall goal of this project is to provide a framework that supports continuous and healthy negotiations between US society—citizens as well as executive and legislative representatives—and its military professionals. This project does not provide a permanent answer to what the US military profession is, what it does, and who decides; however, it frames how to answer questions about the character of national security challenges and the role military professionals play (including in conjunction with nonmilitary professions). The objective is to support open and continuous dialogue about how the military can best meet US national security goals now and in the future.

FRAMING THE FUTURE OF THE US MILITARY PROFESSION

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