

JANUARY 2008

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HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

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Religious Factors Analysis

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INTRODUCTION

This document represents an effort by the United States Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School (USAJFKSWCS) Directorate of Training and Doctrine (DOTD) to equip Army special operations forces (ARSOF) with a better tool for understanding religious considerations in mission planning. Today's culturally centric warfare places ARSOF Soldiers in high demand. Soldiers trained in the skills of cultural competence and cultural analysis provide an effective mission planning tool for developing an understanding of the operational environment.

Since 9/11, ARSOF have been at the forefront of the War on Terrorism. They are recognized as one of the greatest force multipliers in the United States (U.S.) military arsenal, because of their expertise in military operations, which ranges from counterinsurgency to nation building.

The War on Terrorism has made U.S. leaders more aware of the importance of religious identity and caused them to increasingly focus on religious ideology. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's 2 February 2006 press conference addressed the need to counter the religious ideology of extremist Islamic groups. Doing so will require not only a deeper understanding of religion's effects upon society than is currently provided by intelligence analyses and products but also an increased emphasis on including religious factors in mission planning.

The changing dynamics of conflict are driving a profound change in ARSOF operations. Finding the center of gravity (COG) of the conflict may require translating unfamiliar religious traditions into mission factors. Religion, in the form of nonstate actors, faith-based transnational networks, polygonal insurgency operations, and transcendent ideology, challenges the power of secular organizations.

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The answer to overcoming this challenge is not to exclude religion from planning but rather to increase the ARSOF's understanding of religious factors. They need to examine the application of religious factors to mission planning and develop a synchronized process within the intelligence preparation of the battlefield (IPB). There is a need to integrate a new religious factors analysis (RFA) into the IPB process so that religious factors become actionable elements of the mission plan.

WHY RELIGION MATTERS

Given religion's complexity and power, it is imperative that ARSOF understand the way it shapes modern warfare and the modern battlefield. There are several reasons for religion's ability to shape the battlefield:

- Religion answers some of life's big questions, such as why there is death and war. Religion is relevant to all conflict.
- Religion adds a higher intensity, severity, brutality, and lethality to conflict than other factors do.
- Religion offers a stronger identity to participants in conflicts than nationality, ethnicity, politics, or language.
- Religion can motivate the masses quickly and cheaply, and it often remains outside the view of nation-state security forces.
- Religion offers an ideology—or a platform for a political ideology—that resonates more strongly than other forms of propaganda. Theology will trump ideology in most conflicts.
- Religious leaders are often the last leaders left when states fail, and they offer a voice to the disempowered or oppressed.
- Religious leaders are often the first to seek peace and reconciliation after a conflict.

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- Religious factors are fundamental to conflict resolution and conflict management.
- Religious nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) supply a major portion of support to humanitarian efforts in military missions.

Given the nature of ARSOF missions, understanding religious factors is critical to predicting the human response to these operations. One definition of religion is "the human response to the perceived sacred." As a human response, it can be positive or negative. Understanding the positive and negative aspects of an operation is critical to explaining the human response. Trying to win the hearts and minds of local populations without understanding their religious beliefs deprives ARSOF of one of the greatest avenues of approach available. In short, combating religious insurgents without understanding religious factors limits ARSOF's abilities.

Although not engaged in a religious war, ARSOF must understand religious factors if they are to gain a clear view of the battlefield. Religion has shaped many past conflicts. There are indicators that its influence will only grow. For this reason alone, ARSOF Soldiers must seek to understand the impact that religious factors have on their missions and must learn to leverage those factors. Sometimes the impediment to understanding is not the lack of tools for analysis but rather the failure to apply them. The mission of each ARSOF unit calls for a different emphasis in religious analysis, but a good way to begin is to examine why religious factors need to be emphasized. If ARSOF do not know why religion is important to a culture, they may fail to correctly interpret the culture's responses to military actions. The first step in analyzing religious factors is to examine the Soldier's beliefs.

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A TWO-FRONT WAR

A culturally centric war is fought on two fronts. The first front is within the Soldier's view of culture and religion. Biases about religion will often prejudice his analysis and limit his ability to leverage cultural understanding. Secular tendencies within Western culture also limit the Soldier's ability to understand religion in other cultures. In mission analysis, a line is frequently drawn between religion—which is relegated to the private realm—and the rest of the mission. ARSOF Soldiers commonly quote the misperception that "we don't do religion" as evidence of this bias. Not "doing" religion for fear of misunderstanding often results in a lack of in-depth religious analysis in mission planning. If religion is analyzed, it is often skewed by internal biases, which again limit the ability to leverage cultural understanding.

The second front in a culturally centric war involves understanding religion from the standpoint of the indigenous population. Doing this allows the Soldier to make a predictive analysis of civilian reaction to military operations. First, the Soldier must compartmentalize his own belief system to understand the religious practices of the population. Second, he must comprehend how and to what degree the theology of the practiced religion influences the indigenous population's worldview. To accomplish this, the Soldier needs to have a sense of self-awareness and a sensitivity to the faith factors of the population. A reeducation process aimed at fighting a two-front war will allow the soldier to understand the religious experience.

REEDUCATION PROCESS

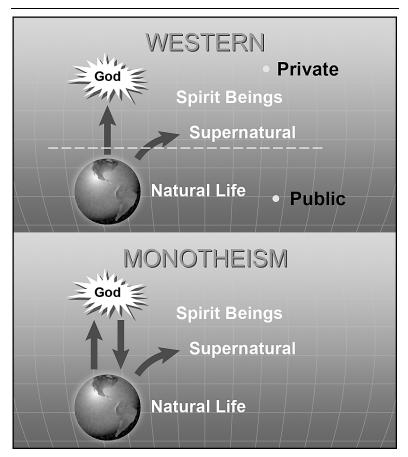
The Western education system embraces the idea of the separation of church and state. This separation often results in a minimalist view of religious factors. This Western concept is shared by less than one-sixth of the world's population, and it is foreign to the indigenous

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populations of most of today's areas of military activity. This view can prevent an accurate area analysis in military operations. To prevent errors from occurring and to increase the understanding of religious factors in mission planning, ARSOF must develop a basic understanding of religious worldviews that links spiritual values with earthly actions. Soldiers must develop a view of religion that erases the separation between private religion and public action. This does not mean that the Soldier must convert to a particular religious view, but he must understand religion if he is to leverage it in mission planning. If ARSOF do not comprehend religion, they will miss a tremendous opportunity to use the COG in many conflicts.

Note the line of separation in the Western view and the placement of religion into the private world (Figure 1, page 6). In the pure monotheistic worldview, the line disappears and religion is not relegated to the private realm. Monotheism, a belief in one god, represents the theological view of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. The Western religious worldview represents the influence of the enlightenment or secular thought.

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Figure 1. Western religious worldview compared to a monotheistic worldview

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RELIGION AND POLITICS

A quick study of the link between international politics and religion will improve the Soldier's understanding of religion. Providing security is a major goal of political powers. As Barry Rubin of the Global Research in International Affairs Center states:

In many areas of the world, religion should be seen as a central political pillar maintaining the power of any ruler—a major pole in determining the people's loyalty—and as a key ingredient in determining a nation's stability or instability....[R]eligion plays a key role as an important defining characteristic of politically contending communities.

For many societies, religion is the richest form of public motivation. It allows unrelated groups to coexist peacefully and gives people a higher motive for selfless service. U.S. presidents have understood religion's power to reassure the nation in difficult times.

Soldiers who have dealt with mass movements or riots started by a religious leader or a religious ritual understand the power of religion to shape the mission. Normally, the U.S. Soldier thinks in terms of providing security through strength and firepower—bringing religion into the formula requires a deeper understanding of the linkage between politics and religion. Osama bin Laden has used his understanding of the link and has exploited it. His fatwas, or religious edicts, against the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia and his classification of the Americans as infidels play to a disempowered populace and provide them the promise of security through a religious hope. He has linked religious and political ideology with psychological finesse. How can ARSOF counter this exploitation of religion for ideological and political purposes? By understanding how religion interacts with society and exploiting the weaknesses of bin Laden's ideology through unconventional countermeasures and tactical diplomacy.

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In The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists, Khaled Abou El Fadl states: "[N]othing helps the puritans' cause as much as Western ignorance, prejudice, and hate." Promoting a deeper understanding of religion and political security gives the Soldier a countermeasure to use against those who believe that he is spreading Americanization-also labeled as globalization or Westoxification-to other parts of the world. Leveraging this understanding could help the Soldier find innovative approaches for helping indigenous people retain their group identity while working with ARSOF. It would also rob a religiously motivated insurgency of its ability to use ideology to promote insecurity and to divide the indigenous population. When Soldiers of the 1st Battalion, 19th Special Forces Group, were in Afghanistan, they used money from the Commander's Emergency Response Program to refurbish several mosques in Konar Province. Refurbishing the mosques countered the messages of al-Qaeda and the Taliban that the Americans hated Islam. It was a psychological action that had deep resonance with the Afghani people. As members of the local population observed the U.S.-funded effort, they developed a trust for the ARSOF units throughout the area. This is an example of the effective use of religion in a military mission.

WHY RELIGION IS MISSING

In an age when ARSOF should be seeking cultural intelligence to understand the indigenous society and the insurgent ideology, there seems to be a tendency to minimize a major human factor—religion. This minimized dimension of mission analysis could exact a high cost for the United States and limit the Soldier's ability to predict future reactions. As the author Thomas Friedman says, "While we were celebrating 11/9 [the fall of the Berlin Wall], the seeds of another memorable date—9/11—were being sown." Internationally, ARSOF missed the impact of religion on world politics. Strategists and futurists

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wrote religion off as a declining factor in society and missed the implications of a religious resurgence.

There are several reasons for the minimization of religion in mission planning. First, religion is a complex subject. There are no definitive templates for religion. Too often, religion is oversimplified with broad statements, such as "All religions are basically the same" or "All religions share universal beliefs." Try the simple exercise of defining religion among a group of people. Each person will have a different definition. Although an analysis of religion does not fit well within most analytical studies, this does not mean that religion's complexity makes it incomprehensible. Author and professor Marc Gopin offers several recommendations for governmental and nongovernmental agencies in performing religious analysis. Summarized, these recommendations represent a good start for that analysis in military planning:

1. Study the fears and resentments of religious worldviews that oppose present civil societies, and develop policies that do not increase those fears.

2. Study causal chains that link religious violence to both internal and external religious traditions, and understand how mass traumas affect groups.

3. Know religious traditions affected by the mission and anticipate the impact on religious life, religious institutions, and religious leaders.

4. Know when religion or religious figures have influenced social transformation in a positive sense, and reinforce policies that continue positive transformation.

5. Know the most negative expression of a religion's or a culture's interpersonal behavior patterns to anticipate causes and develop counteractive measures.

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6. Study the perceived and remembered traumas of a society from its religious interpretations, and involve the religious community in healing any trauma.

7. Bring all parties—no matter how violent or exclusive—into interactions. Doing so short-circuits the martyr complex.

8. Isolate violent groups not by confrontation, which strengthens them, but by co-opting; address the grievances of the violent groups through cooperation with religious leaders and organizations.

The consideration of any one of these recommendations would aid the Soldier in leveraging religion.

A second reason religion is minimized in mission planning is that it is often seen as irrelevant. The belief that religion is a cover for other motivating factors causes the connections between religious ideology and societal responses to military actions to be underestimated. This belief still misses the point that even if an insurgent is misusing religious ideology to gain a political end, he is nonetheless "thinking" religiously. Until ARSOF gain a better understanding of religious factors, they will not defeat religiously motivated terror. Bullets will not defeat "spiritual warriors," and the more the Soldier thinks in purely secular terms, the more the religiously motivated insurgent becomes empowered. As Professor Mark Juergensmeyer states, "When governments abandon their own moral principles in responding to terrorism, they inadvertently validate the religious activists' most devastating critique of them: that secular politics are devoid of morality."

A third reason for the minimization of religion in mission planning is a limited cultural understanding by Soldiers and staff members. As one senior Special Forces Soldier stated about his initial understanding of the operational environment of Fallujah, Iraq: "I didn't know the difference between Shi'a and Sunni when I deployed into the area ...

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and I didn't know enough to ask about it. ... You don't know to ask about what you don't know."

Too often, cultural briefs on religion are either limited to one practitioner of a faith or conducted by a staff that is not religiously oriented. The unit chaplain should be used to give the Soldier a broader view of religion's influence on the mission. Although chaplains are not subject-matter experts in world religions, they are an internal resource that can aid the staff in exploring and bringing into focus factors that might affect mission planning. Chaplains provide the staff with a religious perspective that can assist in exploring the religious impacts on mission planning, and they provide a theological voice throughout the mission-planning process. Their role as religious and military leaders and their education in religious schools uniquely position them to understand religion from an insider's view.

One word of caution in this area is in order, however, because some chaplains—and other religiously oriented Soldiers—often lack the theological flexibility to advise the command on religious issues. Too often, individual and theological prejudices overshadow religious and cultural considerations in mission planning. Still, it is better to have some understanding of religion than to have none, and the inclusion of chaplains in the planning process enhances the understanding of religious factors.

A NEW APPROACH

The current doctrinal guidance for mission analysis gives credence to religious factors. The formal doctrine of each ARSOF branch includes a mention of "religious analysis" as part of the overall missionassessment process. None of these doctrines give much detail to the process or attempt to align the assessment process with IPB. The doctrine for chaplains on RFA contains several steps that help in an overall assessment. However, the lack of alignment with the IPB

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decreases the harmony of the process. (See Field Manual [FM] 1-05, *Religious Support*, Appendix G, "Religious Area Assessment," or Training Circular [TC] 1-05, *Religious Support Handbook for the Unit Ministry Team*, Table D, "Religious Area/Impact Assessment.")

A new approach to templating and integrating religious factors into mission planning would need to consider critical religious factors. It would need to align these factors with the rest of the IPB process and would require the evaluation of implicational considerations. Since religious factors are so difficult to encapsulate into a process, the approach would need to have a measure of flexibility in understanding religious conditions unique to the area of operations (AO). Religious factors do not exist in a vacuum, but too often, the considerations for inclusion leave them outside mission planning. For this reason, two critical factors for RFA in mission planning are imperative: intentionality and interpretation. Intentionality is the vital commitment to continual consideration of religious factors in all stages of the IPB process. Interpretation of the religious factors is the most difficult step in the planning process, because religious meaning is subjective.

Translating religion through only anthropological or social-science disciplines of study leaves the process incomplete. Triangulating the interpretation of religious factors through the additional study of theology yields a more accurate picture of how religion affects the military mission and allows commanders to properly understand their enemies and potential allies on the ground (Figure 2, page 13). This triangulation requires careful consideration of the local applications of a religious worldview.

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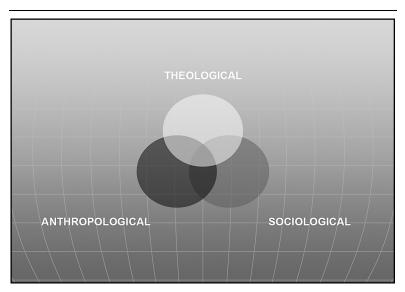


Figure 2. Balanced analysis

According to Dr. Scott Appleby:

The unique dynamism of lived religion—its distinctive patterns of interaction not only with secular, nationalist, ethnic[,] and other elements of political or personal identity but also with its own sacred past—means, among other things, that religious behavior cannot be predicted merely on the basis of an individual's or group's affiliations with specific religious traditions....[Therefore] there is no substitute for continual on-site analysis, fieldwork of a highly specialized and particular sort that is best conducted by experts in the religious tradition(s) in questions.

Given the warnings of working with the sacred, the need to understand and interpret religious factors in military planning demands that

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ARSOF approach the subject of religion in an analytical manner. Synchronizing religious analysis with the present IPB process would give the military planner the best approach to the integration of religious factors and allow the reexamination of assumptions throughout the total process, which would keep the process transparent and applicable to the final mission.

INTEGRATED APPROACH

FM 34-130, *Intelligence Preparation of the Battlefield*, gives the following steps for an abbreviated IPB process: work ahead, focus on the essentials, stay objective-oriented, and use minimal essentials. Adapting these steps to the RFA would give the mission planner the following advantages:

- Work ahead. Working ahead to recognize religious factors in the AO would save time and give an understanding of how religious factors may affect the mission. Building an analysis of religious factors would give the staff flexibility during contingency planning and save time in mission planning.
- Focus on the essentials. Religion is complex, but the essentials for understanding the reaction of a religious group are similar, regardless of the AO. Thinking through the essential religious factors begins the integration process.
- Stay objective-oriented. If the intent is to help commanders and staffs plan a mission efficiently, then integrating the religious factors must begin early in the process. Including the effect of religious factors on the mission objective requires continual integration by the staff. When oriented on the mission objective, religious factors integration includes:
 - Understanding the impact of religion on the mission objective.

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- Understanding the risks involved.
- Factoring religious risks into the COA development process.
- Use the minimum essentials. In the case of religious factors, identifying the minimum essentials for planning begins with the most obvious factors and moves to the most difficult.

In synchronizing these factors within the four-step IPB process, the intentionality and skill of the commander and staff determine the usefulness of the factors in mission execution. Building a model for RFA can ensure that the process stays objective-oriented while using the minimum essentials for planning.

RELIGIOUS TERRAIN ASSESSMENT

The terrain of religion is vast and sometimes restrictive, but it is open to understanding. Navigating the terrain requires an understanding of a few basic factors before beginning the analysis process. It is the nature of religion to espouse beliefs and to endow the physical world with a transcendent reality. Where the sacred affects the physical world is a beginning point for terrain assessment in the IPB process. Using three areas (Figure 3, page 16, and Figure 4, pages 17 and 18) in which religion intersects with the physical world in a visible, somewhat measurable focus would allow ARSOF Soldiers to begin navigating the religious terrain.

The first area of religious terrain is the visible expression of religion. This stage of assessment asks where religion is practiced in the AO. Assessment in this area locates religious sites and seeks to understand their use, their priority to the populace, and their symbolism to the community. It is the first stage in the RFA and the easiest to assess.

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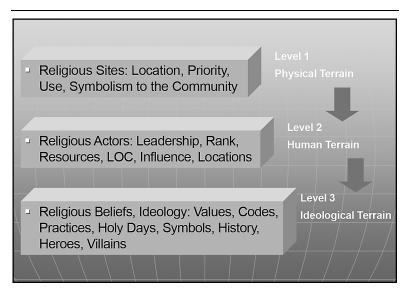


Figure 3. Religious analysis integrated into the IPB process.

The second area of religious terrain is human assessment. It focuses on the religious actors in the AO. Actors can range from formal religious leaders to religiously motivated laymen. They can fill the ranks of the political leadership or religious insurgent groups, but they all operate within a religious sphere, and understanding their role gives insight to their influence. In this area, the mission planner seeks to identify who the leaders are and determine their rank or status, resources, lines of communication, and location. Religious leaders are often the only voice of stability in disrupted societies. They provide powerful leadership that should be acknowledged and included in the larger mission.

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The Abbreviated RFA Process

For an abbreviated process, the concept focuses on meanings. In the physical terrain, the Soldier should identify the following:

- Location of holy sites and sacred places to the religious group.
- Prioritization of the value of these sites to the group.
- Determination of the uses of the sites by the group.
- Description of the symbolism of the site, past and present.
- Prediction of reactions by the group to actions near the sites.

In the human terrain, the Soldier should identify the following:

- Determination of the position, rank, and educational level of the religious leader.
- Locations of the leadership.
- Role of the religious leader.
- Area of influence of the religious leader.
- Resources of the religious leader.
- Relationship of the religious leadership with outside groups, such as the regime, political leaders, and other religious group leaders.

Figure 4. The abbreviated RFA process

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• Prediction of the reactions of the religious leadership.

In the ideological terrain—perhaps the hardest to assess—the Soldier should identify the following:

- Central beliefs of the religious group.
- Codes—written and unwritten—of the group.
- Central practices of religious expression.
- Prioritized holy days and calendar events.
- Symbols and meanings of the belief.
- Historic narratives.
- Heroes and villains.
- Interconnectedness to society and other groups.
- Variances between orthodox beliefs and local beliefs.
- Prediction of responses to the mission objectives.

Figure 4. The abbreviated RFA process (continued)

The third area of religious terrain is ideology. Identifying religious ideology includes gaining knowledge of the values, codes, practices, holy days, symbols, history, heroes, and villains of the religious population. Ideological factors are the most difficult to assess in an RFA, but they yield a deeper understanding of the culture's core elements. Understanding the way that religious ideology shapes individuals and the larger society can provide the commander with the greatest ability to shape the battlefield of the hearts and minds.

This level of assessment often requires reaching out to local cultural or academic specialists to gain deeper insight. All three levels require an

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effects-based assessment. This is the most difficult skill to develop in assessing religion. Identifying religious sites is easier than understanding their meaning, but a thorough assessment is required to accurately predict the impact of religion on the mission. Continually asking the "So what?" question keeps the RFA relevant to the mission for the ARSOF Soldier.

In summary, the consideration of religious factors will not guarantee mission success. It has been said that all politics are local, and so it is with religion. Those who engage in religious analysis must understand that religion is too broad a subject to predict accurately, but that does not eliminate the need to study and interpret religion's impact on the mission. A cursory glance at religion as part of cultural awareness is often the training solution, but this solution's lack of depth often leads to errors in the analysis.

GAP IDENTIFIED IN CURRENT PSYOP ANALYSIS MODEL

Psychological Operations (PSYOP) are planned operations to convey selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence the emotions, motives, objective reasoning, and, ultimately, the behavior of foreign governments, organizations, groups, and individuals (Joint Publication [JP] 3-53, *Doctrine for Joint Psychological Operations*). The foundation of any PSYOP effort to change a behavior in a target audience (TA) is target audience analysis (TAA). TAA is an in-depth analysis of historical, cultural, and, to a limited degree, religious factors that shape the TA. Basically, TAA is a tool that enables PSYOP personnel to provide a commander with sound advice on the psychological implications of conducting military operations and an effective means to change TA behavior within his AO. As part of planning, PSYOP personnel can help devise the best possible course of action (COA) to modify the TA's behavior and achieve mission objectives. However, unless religious factors specific

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to a particular society are examined, TAA alone may not provide the depth and breadth of information necessary for sound decision making.

RFA builds upon TAA by specifically assessing the degree religion influences TAs. The results of RFA provide essential information that is vital to evaluating the operational environment. In essence, PSYOP assesses TAs in order to monitor the adversary situation and how changes may impact the current COA; identify and select key friendly, adversarial, and neutral TAs; determine the key communicators and agents of influence; and define the current situation (who, what, where, when, and why). Addressing the shortfalls of current analysis is necessary to determine how to change the undesired behavior.

PSYOP TAA examines groups of people and defines current behavior and its causes. It also specifies procedures to establish and maintain desired behavior. The ultimate goal of TAA is to determine the best way to change behavior in a given group. However, military planning gives inadequate emphasis to religion, a key component in many of the conflicts the United States is involved in. It is vital to the success of PSYOP, in particular, that religious factors be assessed to avoid inadvertent operational mistakes that can undermine months or years of intensive work. RFA is a good supplement to TAA, enabling PSYOP personnel to more effectively advise commanders on the psychological impact of military operations in religiously focused regions. The information the RFA provides can help commanders avoid mistakes that may have strategic implications.

Mistakes related to violations of religiously based customs and taboos have infrequently occurred in military operations. However innocent the relatively few incidents may or may not have been is irrelevant. Any incident can make world headlines. A series of such incidents can seriously undermine otherwise successful military operations. RFA can help prevent such incidents in two ways. In the near-term, such analysis better determines limits for U.S. forces during operations in religiously

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focused societies. In the long-term, the TAA/RFA linkage provides a comprehensive framework for PSYOP addressing religious issues, should restrictions on such activities be relaxed in the future.

Many conflicts, particularly in the Middle East, can be viewed as regional wars between local leaders who are striving to modernize their societies and radicalized religious movements or factions that are seeking to impose a more extreme, restrictive vision onto those same societies. Viewed in this context, these conflicts can be characterized as discordant interpretations of religion. However, this analysis is not exclusively useful in the Middle East. It has application to any religiously focused society, whether TAs are Jainists in Asia or animists in Africa. PSYOP personnel must know how religion affects societies in order to provide the depth and breadth of advice necessary to support operations.

PSYOP change behavior through Psychological Operations actions (PSYACTs) and products. PSYACTs are usually conducted by non-PSYOP personnel in an effort to influence the behavior of the TA. These agents of action must understand the motivations that drive human behavior. This knowledge, in turn, enables tactical- and operational-level units to understand the impact military operations have upon TAs. PSYOP personnel must thoroughly understand what influences affect TA behavior, assess any barriers to behavior change, and determine how to overcome those barriers, or changing undesired behavior will largely be unsuccessful. Identifying religious barriers is critical to achieving specific behaviors and to providing essential information for developing tailored PSYACTs and PSYOP products to overcome them.

In-depth analysis yields specific information that aids sound decision making during mission planning and execution. RFA is helpful in step two of the military decision-making process and in the formulation of the commander's critical information requirements. The information

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gathered to meet these requirements directly affects mission success and provides specific direction on targeting and targeting objectives. For ARSOF, RFA augments target value analysis and aids in the determination of high-value targets. In addition, RFA is very relevant to mission analysis when conducting IPB.

RELIGIOUS LEADER ASSESSMENT

Perhaps the most powerful influence in religion is the leadership. Whether he is called priest, reverend, monk, bishop, mullah, imam, or mufti, the leader possesses great power to persuade. The factors that influence a religious leader are determined by three indicators; what is the popularity of the regime in its local area; what is the agenda of the opposition; and what are the resources of the leader and his organization. Often, the higher-ranking religious leader is more likely to cooperate with the local government than the religious leader who serves a smaller group in the community. The lower-ranking leader may oppose the local government on a social issue and gain support among his congregation for opposing the larger dominions of society. An example is to apply these indicators to Grand Ayatollah Ali Hussein al-Sistani and Shi'i cleric Muqtada al-Sadr in Iraq to determine their cooperation or opposition with the government.

To assess religious leadership, Soldiers should use the following matrix (Figure 5, page 23) to determine the religious leader's cooperation or conflict with the mission.

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	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
Regime Popularity			
Agenda of Opposition			
Rank of Clergy			
Source of Resources			

Figure 5. Religious leader matrix: cooperation or conflict

In assessing religious leaders, remember they think in terms of their god and their people. Transnational and transcendent factors often influence religious leaders, making them difficult to control. Their influence can have wider effects than the operational environment. The Soldier must understand his religious convictions when dealing with religious leaders of a similar faith. If a Soldier gives more credence to a person of a similar faith than one of another faith, it can negatively affect the mission.

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RELIGIOUS SUPPORT IN CIVIL-MILITARY OPERATIONS

Throughout U.S. history, chaplains have supported commanders by advising them on the interface between religious-support operations and civil-military operations (CMO). The necessary guidelines for chaplains to engage in this role as required by their commanders are outlined below. Figure 6, pages 25 through 27, list religious support tasks in CMO.

ADVISING THE COMMAND

Chaplains will advise the commander in the following areas that may influence CMO:

- Indigenous religious, ethnic, and cultural influences.
- Beliefs, practices, and customs of religious groups in the AO.
- Religious issues of displaced civilians.
- NGOs and international organizations (IOs).
- Relations with indigenous religious leaders when directed by the commander.

Chaplains should not-

- Directly participate in negotiations or mediations as the sole participant.
- Conduct human intelligence collection.
- Perform target acquisition.

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•	Advise the command of moral considerations affected by religion.
•	Advise the command on accommodating religious practices in the AO. Monitor the care of displaced civilians to ensure it is moral and ethical.
•	Advise the command on the religious support plan for displaced civilians.
•	Plan religious support activities. Assist CMO personnel in coordinating with local religious leaders for implementation of CMO activities.
•	Assist the command in meeting human welfare needs in conjunction with religious NGOs and IOs (clothing, food, and shelter).
•	Advise CMO personnel on the role and influence of religion in cultural affairs.
•	Assess distinct religious, cultural, ethnic, and gender ministry needs.
•	Brief the commander of religious influences on contingency operations.
•	Advise the command of the impact of local religions, sites, and facilities that could affect the mission.
•	Advise the command on the training of Soldiers with respect to religious beliefs, practices, sites, and facilities.

Figure 6. Religious support tasks in CMO

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•	Implement religious support in combined or joint areas of operation with consideration to host-nation religious background.
•	Perform analyses of local religions as they affect the mission.
•	Prepare the religious support annex to the operations order, which includes the impact of indigenous religions on the AO and mission.
•	Provide input to CMO personnel regarding local religions.
•	Advise leadership on negative changes in Soldier attitude and how those changes affect the local population.
•	Coordinate religious support for enemy prisoners of war.
•	Provide religious support for humanitarian assistance survey team operations.
•	Coordinate religious support activities with CMO personnel and local religious leaders.
•	Provide religious support to CMO personnel.

Figure 6. Religious support tasks in CMO (continued)

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- In coordination with the CMO center, provide certain religious support to refugees and displaced persons when directed by the commander after consultation with the office of the Staff Judge Advocate.
- Make every effort to include indigenous religious leadership in meeting these needs.

Figure 6. Religious support tasks in CMO (continued)

ALIGNMENT WITH IPB

During IPB, RFA results are important in determining the influence religious leaders and institutions exert over a given society and its members. This assessment allows for a more thorough understanding of religiously based power relationships within a TA's society and shows how to exert influence over them. An RFA may even aid in determining relationships between religious entities and the government, and potentially in revealing exploitable discord.

RFA improves the quality of advice PSYOP personnel provide to commanders. The RFA is particularly useful in determining operational constraints, such as which human and geographic targets should be offlimits or handled with great care. For example, a relatively small percentage of the congregation may actually be involved in weapons storage at a religious site chosen for a raid. Avoiding alienation of members who are uninvolved is crucial to preventing strong negative reactions within the congregation. U.S. and allied forces may also use the incident as a way to divide the members of the congregation from the hostile forces that misused their place of worship and endangered their lives. While determining constraints, RFA leads planners to certain critical facts and assumptions that affect all subsequent activities.

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As planners identify this key information (Figure 7, pages 29 through 31), RFA can increase the number of facts and decrease the number of assumptions. The facts will allow for more effective mission planning. Although assumptions will always exist, RFA-based assumptions fall into the realm of educated guesses derived from specific information. Consequently, RFA helps achieve a higher degree of accuracy. The review of key facts and assumptions in follow-on planning will be easier as long as the analysis is kept current. RFA will have established the baseline data that defines the battlefield.

A risk assessment is more accurate if the quantity of known facts exceeds the number of assumptions. Knowledge of expected population reaction to combat operations weighs heavily in determining if the amount of force is adequate for the planned operation. Whether the attitude of the people is for, against, or indifferent to the operation greatly affects the operational scope and dangers that friendly forces may encounter.

Finally, when conducting the mission analysis briefing, the use of specific facts gleaned from the RFA will increase the likelihood that well-devised plans are approved. RFA also aids contingency planning, since the population's reaction will be thoroughly assessed. At that point, potential pitfalls will have been considered and countermeasures devised to offset potential undesired consequences. As a result, RFA provides facts that clarify the briefing and address outstanding issues. Overall, RFA will help PSYOP personnel achieve success, which means success for the supported force, as well.

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1. *Define the battlefield environment.* Breakdown the area of interest and AO by—

- Dominant religions.
- Demographic layout of—
 - Religious groups.
 - Tribes.
 - Sects, divisions, and overlaps.
- External and internal influence.
- Exploitable norms, values, beliefs, and traditions.
 - Religious groups.
 - Tribes.
 - Sects, divisions, and overlaps.
- Government's vulnerability to being influenced by religion.
 - Key events and celebrations (daily, weekly, monthly, and annually).
 - Religious biases and problems.

2. Describe the battlefield effects. The determination of how the battlefield environment affects both enemy and friendly operations. How do ARSOF actions affect religious factors in and around the battlespace? The Soldier must determine cause and effect. Based upon previous actions, the Soldier can determine a specific reaction that the enemy or the local population is likely to have. How do these reactions benefit or hinder military activities?

Figure 7. Religious factors in the IPB process

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What is the sentiment of religious leaders, both external • and internal to the conflict COG (positive, negative, neutral, or passive)? How does the sentiment of religious leadership affect the local populace? Will certain actions cause religious "no-go" areas? What is the impact on ethnic and cultural beliefs? • How will sects or denominations fracture or align based upon military actions? Is there a way to exploit the situation? Are there targeting considerations that may restrict . engagement? Specific clergy or leadership. Religious structures or holy sites. . 3. Evaluate the Threat. What are the-Religious capabilities and methods used to influence • the populace? (Examples of methods and means are rallies, propaganda, rhetoric, radio, and fliers.) Is there corruption in the religious entities? If so, can it be exploited? Goals? Specifically, what goals are against U.S. or rival religious sects' efforts?

Figure 7. Religious factors in the IPB process (continued)

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- Motivations? Are the motivations ideological (jihad), monetary, or power-based?
- Limitations? Is there an insufficient support network or a lack of resources?

4. Determine Threat COA. Determine how religious entities or groups will act based upon the activities conducted by U.S. forces. (This might not be applicable for determining religious aspects, since this factor was covered in previous paragraphs.)

Figure 7. Religious factors in the IPB process (continued)

INTEGRATED APPROACH

To overcome the deficiencies of current analysis systems, Civil Affairs, PSYOP, ARSOF, and the chaplaincy combined their individual assessments and tailored the new RFA format to a religious context. The RFA format provides the necessary depth and breadth of information needed to address the religious implications of military operations. RFA provides specific information that goes further in predicting how a population may react to military operations involving religious figures and sites. RFA then serves as a model for predicting potential behavior that must be addressed in mission planning.

Furthermore, RFA provides information for ARSOF intelligence on where and how to reach the TA through key communicators that influence the battlefield. Using PSYOP capabilities, ARSOF can be more attuned to psychologically resonant images, symbols, and language that elicit compliance, if not cooperation, from the population. Conversely, RFA may reveal important information about what actions, symbols, and language the Soldier should avoid, because of possible negative behavioral effects. In essence, RFA allows PSYOP to better define and understand the specific TAs and enables ARSOF to be more

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cognizant of the psychological consequences of their actions. This knowledge directly affects mission analysis and subsequent planning. Comprehensive and well-conducted planning determines success, and RFA aids in both analysis and planning.

RELIGIOUS FACTORS ANALYSIS—EXPEDIENT ASSESSMENT

Crisis action planning often necessitates modification of either the military decision-making process or joint operation-planning process, either because of time constraints or the direction of the commander. Whatever the cause, expedient planning should never totally omit an initial, even if abbreviated, RFA of the targeted AO. Available information may come from either classified or open sources, may be dated, or may be unverifiable, forcing the development of planning assumptions prior to deployment.

In a time-constrained planning environment, certain key RFA information will—

- Contribute to the overall civil considerations analysis and the IPB process.
- Enhance cultural awareness of the AO.
- Identify key leaders, communicators, and spheres of influence.
- Contribute to both the lethal and nonlethal targeting process.
- Assist in populace and resource-control planning.
- Provide the basis for a more in-depth analysis.

Figure 8, pages 33 through 36, is a suggested expedient RFA template. It uses the complete template (Figure 9, pages 37 through 44) as a source document. As with any assessment and analysis process,

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continuous information gathering is essential upon entry into the AO to validate the initial assessment and satisfy identified information gaps.

ARMY SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES IMPLICATIONS

Religious awareness will not always enable ARSOF to predict what the enemy and noncombatants will do, but it will help Soldiers better understand the motivations behind the actions. A well-conducted RFA will assist with mission preparation before, during, and after deployment. It will also help the operational detachment-A, as well as follow-on forces, with their overall mission.

Religious Group
Country
Regional Area
Prepared By
Date Prepared
1. Religious entities in the area

a. What religions are indigenous?
b. Are the religious entities associated with specific families, clans, tribes, ethnic groups, or races?

2. History and background

a. What are the past conflicts involving religion?
b. What is the historical relationship with the government?

Figure 8. Religious factors analysis—expedient format

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3.	3. Holy days, rituals, and customs	
	a.	What holy days or festivals may affect military operations?
	b.	What are important religious "dos and don'ts" to observe?
	C.	What are the sexual customs and mores (interrelationships and intermarriages)?
	d.	What are the dietary habits and restrictions?
	e.	What are the group's distinctive symbols and colors, and what is their significance?
	f.	How does the group worship? What are the forms, nature, location, frequency, and traits of worship?
	g.	How many forms of worship are there? What are the different sects or denominations?
	h.	What is the role of women within the religion?
4.	Site	es and shrines
	a.	What and where are the places of worship, pilgrimage, and memorial sites? Why?
	b.	Where are the cemeteries and sacred areas located? What is the character of their makeup?
	C.	Is there a distinctive architecture unique to the group's gathering place? What do these distinctions represent to the group?
	d.	What religious sites are off-limits? When? Why?

Figure 8. Religious factors analysis—expedient format (continued)

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	e.	How do the locations, architecture, or uses of holy spaces support or detract from the mission objectives?
	f.	What is the location and composition of religious records (property, marriage, birth, and death)?
	g.	What is the location and makeup of ecclesiastic archives or relics?
5.	Prin	nary values
	a.	What are the major tenets and beliefs of the religion?
	b.	How are beliefs initially formed (family, tribe, or religious center)?
	c.	What are the religious members willing to die for?
	d.	What subjects incite emotional responses in the religion's members?
	e.	What value is placed on women, children, ancestors, animals, or objects?
6.	Lea	dership
	a.	Who are the religious leaders (official and unofficial), and what are their affiliations?
	b.	What is the political role of religious leaders?
	C.	What is the relationship of religious leaders to government officials?
	d.	What is the scope of the government's influence on religious leaders (and vice versa)?
	F	igure 8. Religious factors analysis—expedient format (continued)

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	e.	What is the religious leader's scope of influence on the populace and area?
	f.	What is the relationship among religious leaders, other religions, and NGOs?
7.	Tol	erance and religious intensity
	a.	What is the degree of religious commitment or conviction in each group (nominal, mild, strong, inclusive, exclusive, pluralistic, radical, or fanatical)?
	b.	How do they perceive modernization, globalization and secularization?
	C.	How do they view the United States and Western society?
8. Relationship to society		ationship to society
	a.	What is the relationship of religious or spiritual leaders to government officials?
	b.	What political influence do religious or spiritual leaders have?
	C.	What is the socioeconomic influence of the religion on the society?
9. Organization		anization
	a.	What are the locations of the religious learning centers?
	b.	What is the size, attendance, and influence of each center?
10.	10. Doctrine and myths	
	a.	What are the sources of doctrinal authority?
	b.	What is the spiritual focus or COG for the religion's belief system?
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Figure 8. Religious factors analysis—expedient format (continued)

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- 1. Local religious entities
 - a. What religions are indigenous?
 - b. Are religious entities organized or unorganized?
 - c. Are the religions national, regional, or local?
 - d. Are the religions predominately rural or urban?
 - e. Are the religious entities associated with specific families, clans, tribes, ethnic groups, or races?
- 2. History and background
 - a. What is the religious history of the area?
 - b. What ethnic groups came into the area and when?
 - c. Did the religion arrive by trade, conquest, or some other manner?
 - d. How were the religions affected by colonization?
 - e. What past conflicts involved religion?
 - f. What are the historical relationships of the entities with the government?
 - g. How were they affected by recent history, major shifts, social changes, and status in society (in the past 100 years)?
 - h. How did groups weather changes?
- 3. Holy days, rituals, and customs
 - a. What holy days or festivals may affect military operations?
 - b. What are important religious "dos and don'ts" to observe?

Figure 9. Religious factors analysis

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C.	What are the sexual customs and mores (interrelationships and intermarriages)?
d.	What are the dietary habits and restrictions?
e.	What are the group's distinctive symbols and colors, and what is their significance?
f.	How does the group worship? What are the forms, nature, location, frequency, and traits of worship?
g.	What are appropriate protocols for issues related to birth, marriage, and death?
h.	How do these protocols affect the local culture?
i.	How many forms of worship are there? What are the different sects or denominations?
j.	What are the membership requirements?
k.	Are distinct rites of passage observed for conversion, initiation, youth-to-elder, single-to-married, baptism, confirmation, warrior induction, and commissioning? If so, what observances and customs mark their passing?
I.	Are there unique festival celebrations that may affect military operations?
m.	How are religious observances prioritized?
n.	What is the role of women within the religion?
0.	What are the rituals for mediation, forgiveness (cleansing of guilt), reconciliation, and retribution?

Figure 9. Religious factors analysis (continued)

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4.	Sites and shrines	
	a.	What and where are the places of worship, pilgrimages, and memorial sites? Why?
	b.	Where are cemeteries and sacred areas located? What is the character of their makeup?
	C.	Is there a distinctive architecture unique to the group's gathering place? What do these distinctions represent to the group?
	d.	What religious sites are off-limits? When? Why?
	e.	How do the locations, architecture, or uses of holy spaces support or detract from the mission objectives?
	f.	What is the location and composition of religious records (property, marriage, birth, and death)?
	g.	What is the location and makeup of ecclesiastic archives or relics?
5.	5. Primary values	
	a.	What are the major tenets and beliefs of the religion?
	b.	How are beliefs initially formed (family, tribe, or religious center)?
	C.	What are religious members willing to die for?
	d.	What subjects incite emotional responses in the religion's members?
	e.	What behaviors does the group reward? What behaviors are punished? What are accepted rewards or punishments?

Figure 9. Religious factors analysis (continued)

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What value is placed on women, children, ancestors, f. animals, or objects? How are values transferred (oral, written, symbolic, or other g. means)? How do outside influences threaten (real or perceived) these h. values? Is the religion or group more focused on the individual or the i. community? 6. Leadership Who are the official and unofficial religious leaders? a. b. How many leaders are there, and where are they located?

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c. What is the political role of religious leaders?

- d. What is the relationship of religious leaders to government officials?
- e. What is the scope of the host-nation government's influence on religious leaders (and vice versa)?
- f. What are the motivations of the religious leaders? Are they theological, ideological, or politically driven?
- g. How are they organized (administration, clergy, ranks, titles, roles)?
- h. What does their jurisdiction cover, and how are they connected to a higher organization?
- i. What is the religious leader's scope of influence on the populace and area?

Figure 9. Religious factors analysis (continued)

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	j.	Do the religious leaders have an impact on the armed forces?		
	k.	What is the level of religious integration in the military?		
	I.	What do religious leaders wear to symbolize their position?		
	m.	How are leaders selected and trained?		
	n.	What methods of religious education, legitimization, ordination, and discipline are in place?		
	0.	How are religious leaders monitored? What missionary efforts are present? What is their base support?		
	p.	What is the relationship among religious leaders, other religions, and NGOs?		
	q.	What role do religious leaders play in the cultural society?		
7.	Tole	Tolerance and religious intensity		
	a.	What is the degree of religious commitment or conviction in each group (nominal, mild, strong, inclusive, exclusive, pluralistic, radical, or fanatical)?		
	b.	How accepting are the group's leaders of conversion of their members to other groups?		
	C.	How are competing groups viewed and received?		
	d.	How easily can others join and quit the group? Are there repercussions?		
	e.	How tolerant are adherents if other members convert to different groups or religions?		
	f.	How do members react to bad behavior within their own ranks?		
	g.	How do they perceive modernization, globalization, and secularization?		

Figure 9. Religious factors analysis (continued)

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h.	How do they view the United States and Western society?
i.	What factors are present that affect fundamentalism?
Rel	ationship to society
a.	How does the society relate to the religious group?
	(1) Group eradication
	(2) Group containment
	(3) Group assimilation
	(4) Group power sharing
	(5) Group pluralism
b.	How is this group viewed?
	(1) Religious group
	(2) Secret society
	(3) Protest movement
c.	Political party
d.	Does the group have a distinct subculture or communal life?
e.	How does the group seek to influence society?
f.	How does the group use media resources to relate to or influence society?
g.	What is the relationship of religious or spiritual leaders to government officials?
h.	What political influence do religious or spiritual leaders have?
	i. Rel a. b. c. d. e. f. g.

Figure 9. Religious factors analysis (continued)

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	i.	What is the socioeconomic influence of the religion on the society?
	j.	What is the relationship of a secular education to a religious education? How are they legally distinct from each other?
9.	Org	anization
	a.	What is the official hierarchy within the religious institutions? If in name only, what is the de facto power structure?
	b.	What subgroups (sects) are present within the religion?
	C.	What are the locations of religious learning centers? What is the size, attendance, and influence of each center?
10.	Doo	ctrine and myths
	a.	What are the sources of doctrinal authority?
	b.	What are the sources of ethics?
	C.	What are the group's concepts of justice?
	d.	Who are the historical heroes, villains, friends, foes, and rivalries (past, present, future) of the group?
	e.	What are its concepts of the afterlife and salvation?
	f.	What is the spiritual focus or COG for the religion's belief system?
	g.	What are the central truths of the group's most famous myths?
	h.	What are the local interpretations of their myths?

Figure 9. Religious factors analysis (continued)

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- i. How can these truths and interpretations affect operations?
- j. How much variance is there between official and folk doctrine and teachings?
- 11. References/sources

Figure 9. Religious factors analysis (continued)

PROVIDING INFORMATION FOR TARGET ANALYSIS

The first steps of an effective assessment include an analysis of the operational area's predominate religions, their influence on the instruments of national power, and the effect this influence has at the regional and local levels. Emphasis should be given to how enemy forces leverage religion to influence these instruments and how ARSOF can guide friendly operations to counter this influence. Considerations include:

- Diplomatic: Define the boundaries of a religion versus that of the state to define AO and area of interest for an operational detachment-A.
- Information: Analyze any religious influence on media to determine methods of effecting change in those outlets. Include popular perceptions of media organizations, verbal and visual religious symbols used, and common religious and political myths.
- Military/Law: Determine the effect of religious law on military operations to understand religious restraints and limitations for indigenous troops in both foreign internal defense (FID) and unconventional warfare (UW).

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• Economic: Analyze the effect of religion on the state and local economics in order to understand potential influence as it relates to religious structures, organizations, and individuals.

The human terrain—the location and loyalties of the population becomes as important as the physical terrain in shaping the operational environment. Military and intelligence planners need detailed intelligence on the human terrain to conduct effective operations.

In accurately defining the religious considerations of the operational environment, there is an apparent need to develop a keen understanding of the religious intricacies that drive the population. These include—

- Identifying the linkages between influential religious leaders and leaders of tribes, clans, and local governments as well as their influence in the media.
- Defining the linkages between religious influence and the economic, political, and social conditions of the AO.
- Defining the areas controlled by influential religious leaders and their organizational structure.

On the battlefields of Iraq and Afghanistan, enemy forces commonly have leaders playing the dual role of religious and military leader, which often involves a complex chain of command. Identifying linkages will help mission planners determine not only the relationships but also the weight of those relationships. Leader analysis includes—

- Identifying religious leaders who support legitimate government efforts (FID or counterinsurgency missions).
- Identifying religious leaders who support a resistance movement (during UW missions) and the reasons for resistance to government).
- Reducing the resistance to U.S. operations.

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Targeting friendly infrastructure. ARSOF must assess who supports what efforts. They need to know which leaders support the resistance movement, insurgency (potential government), or current government. This information is valuable in targeting through lethal and nonlethal means and to synergize, align, and leverage friendly or neutral forces to support the mission. Targeting includes—

- Identifying religious leaders who support an insurgency (in support of FID or counterinsurgency operations).
- Identifying religious leaders who support government efforts (during UW missions).

Targeting hostile infrastructure. In ARSOF, targeting does not always equate to destroying. A situational analysis is done to develop possible COAs that will have a desired effect. To achieve this effect, COAs may be lethal, such as a direct action strike, or they may be as nonlethal as having tea with a local sheikh. The purpose of an analysis is to identify intelligence gaps that need to be filled to develop a plan of execution.

CIVIL AFFAIRS IMPLICATIONS

Analysis of the civil considerations of the operational environment is a capability that Civil Affairs (CA) Soldiers provide to the supported commander. Through the area assessment process, CA describes the civil components of the operational environment both in general terms and definitively by CA functional specialty concentration. The goal of any CA analysis is to identify key and decisive ASCOPE present in an AO and to determine how they interact with one another.

Analysis of the religious aspects of an area has always been a consideration in the development of the cultural relations section of the CA area assessment. In-depth RFA is necessary at the lowest echelons to clarify the interactions between religious influence and the

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population's leadership, politics, economics, rule of law, and governance.

Conducting a detailed RFA has the potential to further clarify the overall cultural environment of the AO and provide the information necessary to—

- Identify the linkages between influential religious leaders and tribal, clan, and local government leaders.
- Identify those religious leaders to empower. Determine which leaders support legitimate government efforts to provide a secure environment and a better quality of life to the populace.
- Identify those religious leaders to isolate from the populace in support of counterinsurgency operations as part of an overall populace- and resource-control plan.
- Define the linkages between religious influence and the economic condition of the AO.
- Provide a more detailed perspective of the civil components of the supported commander's common operational picture.
- Define the areas controlled by influential religious leaders and their organizational structure.
- Provide additional data to the targeting process through the identification of local holy sites and shrines for inclusion to the list of restricted fire locations.
- Increase cultural awareness information for dissemination to Soldiers.

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- Increase the supported unit's situational understanding of the impact of religion on the local populace.
- Continually monitor the RFA process, and update and disseminate new information as it becomes available.

PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS IMPLICATIONS

Contemporary perspectives of current conflicts are heavily influenced by a worldview that does not recognize separation between religion and politics, economics, or other facets of human society. Such a belief system significantly influences TA thought, beliefs, attitudes, and, ultimately, behavior. To reach those audiences, PSYOP personnel must thoroughly understand the influences affecting TA behavior; otherwise, attempts at behavioral modification will be unsuccessful. RFA, as a supplement to TAA, can increase the ability of PSYOP to specifically address behavior. Identifying religious barriers is critical to achieving specific changes in behavior and provides essential information that aids in developing effective PSYACTs and products.

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ACRONYMS

AO-area of operations

ARSOF-Army special operations forces

ASCOPE-areas, structures, capabilities, organizations, people, and events

CA-Civil Affairs

CMO-civil-military operations

COA—course of action

COG—center of gravity

DOTD-Directorate of Training and Doctrine

FID-foreign internal defense

FM—field manual

IO-international organization

IPB-intelligence preparation of the battlefield

JP-joint publication

NGO-nongovernmental organization

PSYACT—Psychological Operations action

RFA—religious factors analysis

TA-target audience

TAA—target audience analysis

TC-training circular

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USAJFKSWCS—United States Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School

UW-unconventional warfare

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