CHALLENGES OF INCLUSIVE SECURITY[1]

Dr Zorica Mršević,[2] Senior research fellow
Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade
zmrsevic@idn.org.rs

Mr Svetlana Janković
Faculty of Security Studies, University of Belgrade
svetlana.jankovic.cacak@gmail.com

Abstract. Inclusion within the security sector has become one of the priorities of the national security of many EU Member States. The reason for this introduction of inclusive security has been rationally observed as the security interest of countries of diverse population composition which are faced by modern security risks. This concept enables women and members of various national and religious minority groups to be included, without discrimination, in the security sector of the countries of their citizenship. It is well-known that women have been too often asked to assist in stabilizing a country throughout history, although this has primarily happened in the wake of conflicts. Arguably, it would be much better for states, however, to direct their human resources toward peace, stability and prosperity in due time, meaning, before the outbreak of violence. Inclusion of women as decision makers in peacebuilding processes provides better results: It is more likely that peace agreements will be achieved more quickly and sustained for longer when women are involved to a greater degree. Beside conflict resolution, disaster risk reduction is also another important domain for considering inclusive ways and means for reducing the vulnerability and risks of society, in order to avoid or counteract adverse effects and dangers caused by natural phenomena.

Key words: inclusive security, women's physical security, challenges, risks, experiences: France, Germany, disaster risk reduction

INTRODUCTION

No nation can enter the peacetime phase of development without accepting and supporting a stabilizing, creative and intellectual force of 50% of its population ... women. (Royce, 2018)[3]

The concept of inclusive security enables the discrimination-free inclusion of primarily women, and also members of various national and religious minority groups in the peace pro-

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2 Corresponding author.
3 Ed Royce - Californian Republican, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

cesses and security sectors of the countries of their citizenship. Inclusive security contributes to transformation of and transformational powers of decision-making on war and peace. It is transformed by the very participation of women, and transformational because it further empowers women to participate. Inclusion is needed at several levels, from women's participation in the armed forces, through their adequate representation and participation in civilian representative bodies and other political decision-making places, to their engagement in all phases of the peacebuilding process and post-conflict reconciliation. The opposite situation is the exclusion of groups based on prejudices surrounding identity – regardless of whether the prejudices are gender-based, religious, ethnic or cultural. Experience has shown that such prejudicial situations contribute to war, poverty and various state failures (O'Reilly, 2018: 65). Women are traditionally the largest social group marginalized by political processes (Tamar, 2018). Today, even conservative politicians see the harmfulness of women's absence from certain socio-political spheres, and especially from peacemaking political processes. "The benefits of women's participation – and the risks of their exclusion – in all aspects of governance and peace building are too great to be ignored." [4]

Sustainable security and ways to achieve it are two of the most pressing and important challenges of any security concept (Mršević and Janković, 2017b: 249). Even starting to achieve lasting security is not possible without considering the various impacts that violent conflicts – and those who –wage them – have on women and girls. Similarly, the construction of tools needed to build lasting security and the eradication of gender-based insecurity requires a thorough review of the existing – still highly masculine – make-up of security structures, both in peacetime conditions and in post-conflict periods (Reinke, 2016).

GLOBAL SECURITY RISKS

In the past decade, the number of armed conflicts has risen sharply. In 2014, the world witnessed the most deaths since the Cold War as a result of conflict. Affected parties have been increasingly targeting civilians, and global displacement due to conflict, violence and persecution reached the highest ever recorded levels. Furthermore, when war erupts, the risk that a society will again go through violent conflicts in the future increases considerably. This is a highly worrying trend. Over the course of the 2000s, 90% of conflicts which broke out occurred in countries already affected by a previous war, and this rate of reoccurrence has increased every decade since 1960. An empirical analysis of eight decades of international crises shows that various peacekeeping efforts have often failed, while many were successful only in the short term, with the vast majority being unsuccessful in achieving lasting peace.

In contrast, there has been a continuous build-up of evidence in recent decades of the positive impact women have on socio-economic outcomes, which affect changes in the way governments, donors and aid organizations do their jobs. Despite this, women are thoroughly and consistently excluded from the area of peace and security. Although during the last two decades, there has been an increase in women's participation in decision-making relating to peace and security, these changes are still too slow. For example, women made up just 2% of mediators and 9% of negotiators in official peace negotiations between 1992 and 2011, and only 2% of the funds dedicated to peace and security are related to gender equality or the empowerment of women.

4 John Allen, President of the Brookings Institute, retired general.

INCLUSIVENESS AS A PREDICTOR OF PEACE AND SECURITY

Women are not only victims of war, but also powerful, essential actors in building lasting peace (Hunt, 2018). A statistical analysis of the largest set of data on the position of women in the world today shows that *women's physical security* better predicts the peace of a country than its level of democracy, GDP or the level of religiousness (Peters, 2016: 14). Physical security may be estimated in accordance with whether family law structures – such as those that regulate the minimum age for marriage, property rights of women and their inheritance rights, or divorce and custody rights – discriminate against women or not. It is also one of the indicators of a country's tendency toward conflict and the fragility of its peace (Peters, 2016: 55). Countries with more women in parliament are certainly less involved in interstate or civil wars, and are less likely to tolerate human rights violations within family units. "Empirical evidence is convincing: where women's inclusion is achieved, peace is more likely to be stabile and lasting – especially when women can and essentially influence decision-making" (Tamaru, 2018). It is also stated that "when women participate in peace processes, peace is more likely to endure. Measuring the presence of women as negotiators, mediators, witnesses, and signatories to 182 signed peace agreements between 1989 and 2011, this analysis shows that women's participation has its greatest impact in the long term: an agreement is 35 percent more likely to last at least 15 years if women participate in its creation" (O'Reilly, 2018: 28).

Many studies show a direct link between the power of women's decision-making and peace and conflict, as well as the likelihood of an outbreak of war. For example, results of one analysis have shown that a higher level of women's participation in parliament reduces the risk of civil war. A second analysis, using data on international crises over four decades, found that, as the percentage of women in parliament increases by just by 5%, it becomes five times less likely that the state will use violence when facing an international crisis. In terms of political violence committed by the state, statistical analysis of data from most countries of the world in the period between 1977 and 1996 shows that the greater the percentage of women in parliament, the lower the probability that the state would violate human rights by means such as political imprisonment, torture, killings and disappearances.

But just as empowerment of women is associated with a reduced likelihood of violent outbreaks, statistical analysis also shows that the strengthening of political and social participation of women also reduces the possibility of renewed conflict after the cessation of a war. In particular, increasing parliamentary representation and women's literacy reduce the risk that the country will again experience a civil war. A study of 58 countries affected by conflict between 1980 and 2003 found that when no woman is represented in parliament, the risk of recurrence increases over time, but "when 35% of the parliament is female, this relationship practically disappears and the risk of relapse is close to zero" (O'Reilly, 2015: 57).

Contemporary analyses show that in societies where women are engaged in many public spheres of life, it is less likely that countries will go to war with their neighbours, be considered 'persona non grata' within the international community, or that significant crime and violence zones exist within their society. The very mechanism of this causation is not yet fully clear, but it is obvious that *gender equality* is a better indicator of a state's peacefulness than other factors, such as democracy, religion or GDP. Similarly, gender inequality has been identified as a predictor of an armed conflict in a number of empirical studies, either by measuring conflicts between states or within states. In particular, fourteen out of seventeen countries at the bottom of the OECD Gender Discrimination Index have had a conflict over the last two decades. Syria, for example, has the third most discriminating institutions among the 108 surveyed countries – women face the legal and social limitations of their freedom of movement, only

men can act as legal guardians of their children in most communities, and judges can approve marriage for girls younger than 13 years old.

INCLUSIVENESS AS A GLOBAL TREND

The global inclusiveness trend is moving toward a growing demand for democratic participation, globally fact which has been evident worldwide since the beginning of the third wave of democratization during the 1990s. The representation of women in politics and in the field of legislation has increased, and there is a growing international standardization of wider participation and inclusion (Tamaru, 2018). The implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, interpreted earlier as encouraging the adaptation of women to the current concept of peace and security, is increasingly understood and applied as a redefinition of peace and security from a gender-based perspective (Geuskens, 2014).

Inclusiveness based on the very concept of armed forces in certain states can serve as an example of inclusiveness. The French and German experiences are examples of inclusiveness that offer strong arguments for rationality and utility of inclusiveness. The French population is incredibly diverse: it is the state with the largest Muslim, Buddhist, Jewish, and other, communities in Europe, which is a large part of what makes the nation so diverse. This is further compounded by the pre-existing specificity of French military philosophy. Namely, in France, the army was organized from the Third Republic (*La Troisième République*, of 1871 to 1914) as a means of societal integration in order to reduce, and as a force to eliminate, internal security risks. This means that from the end of the 19th century, the goal of the military was to transform individuals of different identities, e.g. Breton, Basque, Corsican, and people from different regions, into primarily French citizens, developing a sense of patriotism and affiliation with the use of French. So, the French army has long functioned as a means of unifying the population as a whole (Berg et al., 2017).

It has long been accepted in Germany that no group should be deprived of the right (often emphasized as a privilege) to serve their country with weapons in their hands. The rhetorically asked question, is whether there is a sincere wish that Muslims, black people, women, gay and transgender people wear the colours of the country and the flag of its victories, Domink Wullers, the Spokesman for Germany's Federal Office for Bundeswehr Equipment answered with easy and clear, pragmatic answer of three "yeses": Yes, because it allows many who want to avoid the call to serve to do just that. Yes, because recruitment goals cannot be met without minorities and women. And, most importantly, yes, since many studies have shown that groups of different composition are more effective. In addition to pragmatism, having the opportunity to serve one's own country is a privilege, as it shows the readiness to invest one's own time and effort for your country and its values. This contributes to the fact that representatives of minority communities feel strongly connected with their country and its values by defending it, even giving their lives for it. Withdrawing this privilege from one particular group, not for militaristic but for ideological reasons, says more about exclusion than the excluded. Because if someone is qualified to protect his/her country, and some would prefer to refuse the protection that the excluded group would offer, it simply means accepting a deficient army. It is unacceptable to give consent for a greater danger to their country, its values, families and individuals, for the sake of preventing someone from the excluded community from taking arms and defending their country. In the end, this is not a question of the appreciation of black, female or transgender soldiers, but whether the ideological reasons for refusing

military service to certain groups are worthy of bringing the security of the country and the nation into question. The answer to this should be obvious (Mršević and Janković, 2017c: 81).

Very similar is the USA standpoint, expresed by Chevalier Cleaves, the Director of U.S. Air Force Diversity and Inclusion, who said that diversity and inclusion are critical because they are national security imperatives, and this has become more and more evident as U.S. Department of Defense doctrine and policy has integrated diversity and inclusion concept. Inclusiveness will make the security forces, especially the militaries, destinations of choice for the talent that wants to engage, which will simultaneously make all such inclusive countries safer places (Berg et al., 2017).

INCLUSIVENESS OF PEACE PROCESSES

Like men, women are assigned various roles during a conflict, from peacekeepers to political advocates of victims and perpetrators. Regardless of this, the average woman's experience of a conflict is different to that of a man. Men make up the majority of combatants and are more likely to be killed in combat. Women are less likely to take up arms, but they lose their lives in greater numbers through the indirect consequences of wars: the breakdown of social order, human rights violations, various forms of crime and gender-based violence, the spread of infectious diseases and economic devastation. Perhaps because of these unique experiences during (and immediately following) war, women emphasize different priorities during peace negotiations. They often expand the issues that are being considered, leading discussions away from military action, power, and territory, in order to consider the social and humanitarian needs that the parties to conflicts do not prioritize. Moreover, women are key actors in the "soft power" model. Women are still underutilized resources for successfully facing the challenges of establishing peace after violent conflict (Hunt, 2018).

Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a slow increase of number of women involved in negotiating processes. Women still have to overcome visible and invisible forms of discrimination, often wondering who exactly they represent when they are at the negotiating table. They have diverse, cross-referenced identities and differently located support centres, as well as different roles, e.g. technical experts, representatives of civil society, community leaders and voters. The sense of lack of legitimacy goes beyond this, through early actions and alliance building, which have proven to be useful strategies for overcoming such obstacles. An inclusive approach can be of vital importance in allowing conflicting parties to discuss and negotiate the conditions of the new national order and peaceful resolution of important differences, especially in previously deeply divided societies and those that have become such as a result of conflict (Tamaru, 2018).

The capacity to potentially end a conflict depends, in part, on who will participate in such a process. Due to the growing evidence that exclusion and inequality between groups is a significant driver of conflict and unrest, there is also a growing recognition that good governance depends on strong social alliances between citizens and the state. In addition, it has become increasingly evident that there is a greater likelihood that peacekeepers will succeed if women and other traditionally marginalized groups are involved (Tamaru, 2018).

It seems convincing that a safer world is possible if policymakers and conflict-affected populations work together. Significant participation of women can be the difference between failure and success. There are several reasons why this is so: women promote dialogue and build trust. They consistently bridge divisions and create peace-building coalitions. They bring different perspectives on what peace and security means and how it can be realized, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of peace that both meets long-term needs

and short-term security (O'Reilly, 2015: 55). When women influence decisions on war and peace and take the lead against extremism in their communities, it is more likely that crises will be resolved without resorting to violence. The participation of women as a result of the concept of security inclusiveness is not only the predecessor but also the determinant of peace (Vogelstein, 2018).

Mediation is a more effective means of dispelling conflict when compared to military victories. However, it still has mixed success: the empirical analysis of eight decades of international crises shows that although mediation often results in short-term interruptions to hostilities, it rarely leads to long-term peace. The results of qualitative and quantitative research show that women can change this picture. A study of 40 peace processes in 35 countries over the past three decades has shown that when women's groups were able to effectively influence the peace process, an agreement was almost always reached – with only one instance being an exception to this. When women did not participate, the rate of agreement was significantly lower. Once an agreement has been reached, the impact of women's groups is also associated with much higher implementation rates. The key ways in which women improve both the process and results of peace negotiations are that women are much more ready and capable for dialogue, trust building, bridging all kind of political and societal borders and building and mobilizing influential female coalitions. Parties to conflicts often consider women as being more respectful mediators in peace processes, and thus they act in accordance with this respect. Parties to conflicts generally perceive women as a lesser threat, as they usually act outside the formal structures of government and are not assumed to have an ability to mobilize combat forces. This allows women better access to conflicting parties than their male counterparts.

Research across cultures has shown that, in principle, women are less likely to be rejected or treated with mistrust because of their race, religion or ethnicity than men, making them well-positioned to move between and across conflicting groups during a conflict. Empirical studies show that both men and women are less afraid of women coming from rival social groups than men from these social groups, so it is more likely that conflicting parties will be more inclined to trust women to act as intermediaries. The fact that it is more likely that men will act as competitors and aggressors in interpersonal and intergroup relationships can also help explain why women tend to be seen as – and act as – peacemakers rather than opponents or competitors for power (O'Reilly, 2015: 29-30).

In addition to their role in mediation processes, women are skilled in building influential coalitions in their peace efforts. They often mobilize different groups within a society, working on different ethnic, religious, political and cultural divisions through open conflict, ensuring that participants represent a cross-section of religious, indigenous, youth and other groups. Negotiators from opposing sides are able to unite in their efforts to convince the public of the value of conflict-related negotiations. It is interesting that detailed studies on forty peace processes show that no women's group has ever tried to disrupt the peace process. Women in civil society, many of whom have decades of peace-building experience to their name, have worked with female officials and have constantly pushed the elite to continue their quest for peace. When the parties to a conflict have threatened to interrupt negotiations with violence, e.g. in 2012 in Sri Lanka[5], women held a peaceful protest, pushing those who hampered the peace process to return to the table (O'Reilly, 2015: 29).

One aspect that contributes to the success of women's peacemaking activities is a much higher likelihood of the dismissal the group hierarchical structures by women, than by men. In an analysis of research involving more than 50,000 respondents in 22 countries on 5 continents,

5 In Sri Lanka Buddhist monks and civil society organizations have mobilized to protest against peace talks.

social psychologists discovered that this is true across all cultures, without exception. This gender dynamic is particularly important for peacebuilding initiatives, since many wars have been initiated by oppressed groups against the dominant, and vice versa (O'Reilly, 2015: 44).

INCLUSIVENESS OF WOMEN WIDES INCLUSIVE

Wherever and whenever women are involved, they often advocate for other excluded groups, e.g. members come from under-represented gender, racial and ethnic groups, LGBTI communities, and persons with disabilities (Vogelstein, 2018).They also place on the agenda and discuss issues related to development and human rights that are related to the underlying causes of a conflict. Both of these aspects help societies reconcile and ultimately establish stronger peace. Women do not only explain how peace, unity, and reconciliation could not be achieved without women's inclusion, but also highlight how housing shortages, limited food production, needs of orphans, and the financial and social challenges facing female-headed households threatened the fragile peace and stability the state had recently accomplished (Tamaru, 2016). Also, when women participate in peace processes, they often raise issues of gender equality and women's rights, which also contribute to the creation of lasting peace. This not only strengthens the representativeness and legitimacy of the new political order that follows, but also the strengthening of the concept of inclusiveness, which in turn increases the proportion of women's participation, as well as the participation of other politically marginalized groups.

Even when women's problems are ultimately not included in peace agreements or new constitutions, female mobilization in contexts where gender roles and political power are in constant change seem to have produced positive results for the political institutions that followed. Studies show that across Africa, South Asia and Southeast Asia, there has been a dramatic increase in the numbers of women in parliament in post-conflict countries when compared to those without conflict. In Africa, women in post-conflict countries almost doubled their parliamentary representation rates – reaching 27% of parliamentary members in post-conflict environments, compared to 13% in parliamentary constituencies where conflict has not recently occurred, according to a 2012 study (Peters, 2016: 55).

When a war officially ends, political and social participation of women can contribute to a stronger peace for everyone, reducing the likelihood of re-entry into conflict and the undertaking of a more inclusive approach to post-conflict reconstruction. But not all doors are opened immediately: The results of the survey reveal that the 75 countries affected by conflict undertook significant reform processes between 1995 and 2015, but only one in five participants in the drafting of constitutional texts in these environments was a woman. When women open up the possibility of participation in formulating the constitution, this leads to more just legal frameworks and socially involved reforms, laying the foundations for sustainable peace. Inclusive security is thus shown to be the right solution for achieving lasting security (Holt-Ivry, 2018).

INCLUSIVE SECURITY AND REDUCTION OF RISK OF CATASTROPHE

Inclusive security is the concept of diversified inclusion of different social segments in the security sector. A gender-sensitive approach in the area of disaster risk reduction is based on the understanding that women and men are part of a society in which gender equality is not

achieved in practice. The possibilities that are actually available to them are not the same; both in "normal" circumstances and when a natural disaster occurs. In fact, gender equality is actually lower in emergency situations. All persons can be equally exposed to the risk of natural disasters, but the gender division of labour, unequal access to resources, and considerably less involvement of women in planning and decision-making have significant consequences in terms of increasing female vulnerability.

Public policies, instruments, mechanisms and tools used to respond to catastrophes and climate change must not be neutral in relation to gender, and should not be formulated and applied without considering specific gender differences. The consequences of the incorrect assumption that the risk of disasters is gender neutral include an incorrect identification and risk assessment, neglect or reduction of the risk of gender-based violence, and inadequately conceived policy responses, prioritization and risk financing at the national community level. The starting point in reducing disaster risk and promoting a culture of disaster relief and resiliency lies in the knowledge of the dangers of physical, social, economic and environmental disaster vulnerabilities that most societies face. It should always be borne in mind that disasters do not discriminate, but people do so when adhering to traditional gender prejudices and stereotypes, which discriminate against women and do not take the necessary measures to anticipate and prevent gender-based violence.

For all of these reasons, laws, policies and practices should take into account the fact that, due to the different economic, social, reproductive and political roles of men and women, they also have different capacities and needs in responding to the effects of disasters and climate change. It is evident from previous practice that, in taking on multiple roles in the name of their communities, women are strengthened not only to develop the capacities of the community to cope with catastrophes, but also to build an active, inclusive civic society that deals with development priorities that are inseparably linked to the reduction of gender-based vulnerabilities. In doing so, resilience to disasters, community development and empowerment of women are elements of unique, but not separate, efforts (United Nations Office for Disasters Reduction, 2011).

Transformative resistance (Le Masson et al., 2016) of a disaster-hit society is the capacity of resistance resulting from transformations – changes in the traditional structure of society – which are more likely to occur than maintaining and repeating the conditions that have led to its vulnerability to disaster risks. The goal of resistance is to improve the existing status rather than maintaining the *status quo*.

Emergency, extraordinary situations are also an opportunity to change the role and status of women within their communities, especially during the period of reconstruction and reconciliation. As with seismically unsafe facilities no longer being able to be built on earthquake-prone ground following an earthquake, with seismically resistant objects occupying the space instead, with the aim of not being affected by the damage again, so it needs to be with gender relations after disasters: they need to be changed in order to achieve greater gender equality, as a prerequisite for greater community resilience (Mršević and Janković, 2018: 405). The continued growth of disaster risk, including increased exposure of people and property, combined with lessons learned from previous disasters, points to a need to further strengthen preparedness for disasters in response to them. But it is also necessary to take action in anticipating events, integrating disaster risk reduction in preparing responses, and ensuring that there are capacities for effective response and recovery at all levels. It is necessary to empower women, people with disabilities and other marginalized groups to conduct public affairs, and, to this end, promotion of gender equality and universally available response, recovery, rehabilitation, and reconstruction are crucial.

CONCLUSION

Social relations are in constant change, with the development and achievement of transformational resistance being one of the qualities recommended today, an aspect that is not only desirable but also necessary (Mršević and Janković, 2017a: 163). It is possible that today's narrative with arguments will be unnecessary in a decade or so, as social awareness will reach the level of understanding necessary for the inclusiveness of security organizational models. But at present, inclusiveness is still a missing model of an ideally organized society of high resistance to security risks of all kinds, even those that are barely predictable, such as natural disasters. It is therefore necessary to persistently develop and integrate social inclusiveness at the present moment in order to achieve resistance to future risk scenarios. In particular, it is necessary to take the opportunity to initiate social changes in emergencies and to build in an inclusiveness that will be much more than a situational response to current events. The presence of inclusiveness across all phases; before, during, and after emergencies, is precisely a manifestation of transformed societal resistance of the highest possible level.

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