Liberal Democracy and the Path to Peace and Security

SEPTEMBER 2017

A Report of the
Community of Democracies'
Democracy and Security Dialogue
Madeleine Albright and
Mehdi Jomaa, Co-chairs
with
Ted Piccone and Cheryl Frank

Community of Democracies

ISS INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

BROOKINGS

Liberal Democracy and the Path to Peace and Security

A Report of the Community of Democracies'
Democracy and Security Dialogue
Madeleine Albright and Mehdi Jomaa, Co-chairs
with
Ted Piccone and Cheryl Frank

INTRODUCTION

Seventeen years ago, at a time of rising optimism about international cooperation and the spread of democracy, 107 countries sent senior representatives to Warsaw for the first-ever meeting of the Community of Democracies. The purpose in convening was for democracies to help one another by sharing knowledge, providing assistance, and engaging civil society. The premise was that democracies in every corner of the world could help each other meet common challenges in fulfilling their commitment to fundamental principles of pluralism, rule of law, and universal human rights.

Since that time, the Community of Democracies has evolved into an important platform to strengthen bonds among democracies and share best practices. But the democratic euphoria so evident at the turn of the 21st century has dissipated as both established and emerging democracies deal with a myriad of social, political, economic, and security challenges—including terrorism and violent extremism. Because of their more open and deliberative nature, democracies are perceived as more exposed to criminal and violent actors bent on exploiting such vulnerabilities through spectacular attacks against civilians and by more insidious means of corruption, propaganda, and technology. The rise of violent extremism and sectarian conflict in the Middle East following the Arab Spring has fed into a broader narrative, embraced by authoritarian propaganda, that democracy leads to chaos and the breakdown of security. This narrative has helped feed doubts, even in established democracies, about the role of democracy in underpinning national security and international stability.

Given these trends, the Community of Democracies has a new imperative: to demonstrate to itself and to the world that the core values of democracy and human rights are not only goods in and of themselves, but also the most promising path to peace and security in an increasingly turbulent world. The report we present here to their representatives and to all engaged citizens from civil

> "[D]emocracy and human rights are not only goods in and of themselves, but also the most promising path to peace and security in an increasingly turbulent world."

society, parliaments, businesses, and youth seeks to show that the norms and practices of liberal democracy and human rights do in fact lead to better security outcomes over time and across multiple dimensions.

Based on a year-long research project gathering the empirical evidence on the relationship between democracy and security, and on accumulated experience with combating the scourge of extremist violence and terrorism, we can say with confidence that liberal democracy, when allowed to consolidate and flourish, is the best path toward achieving domestic and international peace and security. A series of policy briefs covering a range of security-related issues from civil war to digital technology were commissioned by the Community of Democracies' Permanent Secretariat and prepared by the Brookings Institution's Foreign Policy Program and the Institute for Security Studies.[1] This research, which was complemented by consultations with policymakers, academic experts, and civil society during workshops held in India, South Africa, Mexico, Brazil, Poland, Sweden, and the United States, examines these linkages in substantial detail.

The evidence affirms the standard observation that democracies do not go to war against one another. But the data also prove that democracies are less likely to spawn internal armed conflicts or experience deadly terrorism because they channel dissent through nonviolent means and manage violence through respect for the rule of law and human rights. Authoritarian and failed states, on the other hand, are more likely to experience intra- and interstate conflict, generate refugees, hinder women's equality, and harbor violent extremists.

"Authoritarian and failed states … are more likely to experience intra- and interstate conflict, generate refugees, hinder women's equality, and harbor violent extremists."

The research also shows that states at intermediate stages of democratization—hybrid regimes with mixed features of democracy and autocracy, elite-driven patronage systems, and/or weak institutions—are generally the most vulnerable to insecurity, whether from violent crime, terrorism, or entrenched poverty. These are states where there is both weak institutional capacity and weak political legitimacy, which together contribute to a breakdown in the social contract between citizens and the government. This report argues that to foster domestic and international security, and to address the underlying drivers of violent extremism, this social contract must be repaired. It is essential, therefore, to adopt strategies to institutionalize democratic governance, inclusive politics, and human rights in fragile states. Civil society—as independent participants, monitors, and critics of our democratic institutions—are also critical ingredients to any strategy for peace.

The Community of Democracies' participating states and civil society leaders can play a key role in shaping how democratic governments and citizens address the root causes of violent extremism and pursue strategies of security and peace in accordance with democratic values and practices. It starts and ends with the bedrock principle that democratic governments should always strive to perfect their own adherence to fundamental norms of human rights and democracy, even in the face of serious security pressures. In other words, they should practice what they preach. Throughout this

report, we offer a plethora of other suggestions for international, national, and subnational actors to tackle the complex and overlapping relationships between democracy and security. They include:

- establishing inclusive and transparent mechanisms of political, economic, and security decisionmaking;
- investing early and heavily in meritocratic state institutions for delivering social services;
- empowering civil society, especially women, to play key roles in political, economic, and security fields of governance; and
- protecting an open, secure, and accessible ecosystem for digital technology.

One fundamental point from the accumulated knowledge and experience with democracy and security is the need for sustained, long-term leadership and action, tailored to local circumstances but always tethered to the fundamental principles of democracy and human rights laid out in the Community of Democracies' Warsaw Declaration and the core international human rights treaties. If the international community stays focused on the ultimate aim of a world composed of states that respect the fundamental rights of their citizens and of their neighbors, we will be that much closer to "saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war," protecting human rights, and achieving "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom," as envisioned by the United Nations Charter.

"[T]he norms and practices of liberal democracy and human rights do in fact lead to better security outcomes over time and across multiple dimensions."

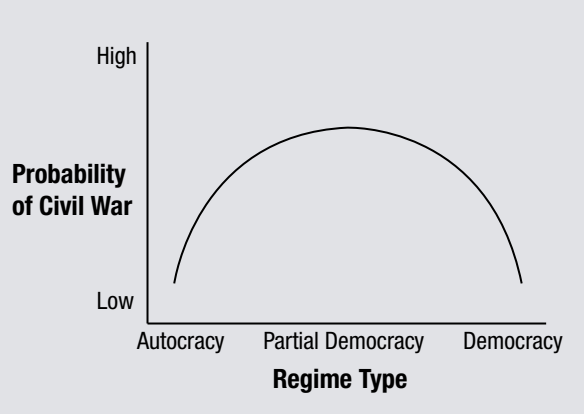
DEMOCRACY AND SECURITY: WHAT THE EVIDENCE TELLS US, AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICTS

Scholars and practitioners of diplomacy and international relations have long considered the proposition, articulated by theorists like Immanuel Kant, that societies governed democratically are more inclined to avoid armed conflict with each other. The accumulated evidence, in fact, remains strong that established liberal democracies do not go to war against each other. Leaders accustomed to the negotiated trade-offs of shared power and accountable to citizens through free, fair, and periodic elections, embedded in constitutional systems with independent judiciaries, free media, and civilian control of the military, have built-in checks against belligerence toward similar liberal democratic countries. Healthy democracies are better at credibly signaling their intentions to their citizens and to other states. Such transparency reduces the likelihood of miscalculations and is more likely to lead to peaceful settlements before the onset of direct military conflict. At least in the realm of interstate conflict, the empirical record suggests that a world of stronger democracies will be more peaceful.

With the decline of interstate war over the last many decades, particularly after the end of the Cold War, the international community has struggled instead with the persistence of internal armed conflicts of varying intensities, some of which also have international dimensions. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, according to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), the number of civil wars has increased with a significant uptick since 2010. Notably, 70 conflicts involving non-state actors were recorded in 2015, dwarfing the yearly average of 35 between 1989 and 2015. Similarly, armed conflicts between governments and rebel groups increased from 41 in 2014 to 50 in 2015—making it the second highest tally since 52 were recorded in 1991. Factors contributing to internal conflict, including defining elements of democracy and human rights such as elections and political repression, are complex and diverse. The historical record shows, however, that countries with strong records of respect for democracy and human rights are far less likely to experience civil wars than hybrid regimes.[2]

Figure 1. The inverted U-shaped curve: Regime type and civil war onset



Stronger democracies are less prone to civil war for at least two reasons. First, at the elite level, healthy democratic institutions and regular electoral processes create incentives for political participation by a wide range of ideological actors at relatively low cost, while taking up arms involves much higher costs. Second, rebel groups are less likely to find support among citizens if popular grievances are being met through peaceful and credible political processes. Strong autocracies also tend to avoid civil wars because of the repression and cooptation employed by their state institutions.

Hybrid regimes, on the other hand, face greater risks of internal armed conflict for at least two reasons. First, political liberalization opens new avenues for grievances to be heard, but elites are not fully committed to implement meaningful change. Countries emerging from civil war are particularly vulnerable to backsliding during the first five years of transition as parties test new institutional frameworks, stick to wartime objectives, or renege on power-sharing arrangements. Second, hybrid regimes with weak institutions lack the capacity and resources to deliver the kind of changes that would secure civil peace. Corruption or capture of state agencies by predatory elites exacerbate the situation, often locking in economic, political, and social advantages at the expense of a broader social contract that benefits all.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

We all have a stake in helping societies resolve internal conflicts through peaceful means. We know what the opposite looks like—horrific human rights abuses, severe displacement of innocent civilians, delayed education for children, refugees fleeing across borders at great personal risk, and more opportunities for criminals and traffickers to exploit violence for their own selfish gains. Fortunately, there are good strategies available for preventing and ameliorating civil wars if we are prepared to make the long-term investment in political reforms that address the underlying roots of conflict.

- **Widen channels of political participation:** First and foremost, the world's democracies should support broad political participation by a wide range of political actors through credible and transparent mechanisms at all levels of government. The beauty of democracy is that it can take many forms while still satisfying the bedrock principles of freedom of expression, association, and participation in civic affairs. Regularly scheduled and credible electoral processes for the most important seats of political power, particularly for the chief executive position and legislative seats, reduce conflict because they give losers predictable incentives to stay in the game.[3] At the local level, communal circles of consultation can supplement more competitive structures of representation. Town halls, public debates, visits with marginalized communities, and yes, nonviolent street protests, all have legitimacy if carried out in accordance with international human rights law.

"Regularly scheduled and credible electoral processes … reduce conflict because they give losers predictable incentives to stay in the game."

- **Embrace women and youth as partners in security:** Given the strong empirical evidence that more gender-equal societies experience less conflict, the international community should make special efforts to support the participation of women in politics, peace processes, conflict resolution mechanisms, and political negotiations. Special efforts should also be made to incorporate youth in decisionmaking processes wherever possible.

- **Build strong state capacity:** Creating meritocratic, accessible, and properly resourced state institutions—for example, in the realms of social services or the rule of law—is critical to reducing the risks of conflict associated with states dominated by faction-driven patronage

networks. External actors must also understand the power dynamics of local situations, encourage those factions more amenable to a fairer distribution of resources to build institutions to address corruption, and incentivize responsible foreign investment that does not facilitate elite capture of public institutions.

- **Prioritize support to emerging democracies:** In deciding how best to assist other states, the international community should prioritize support to countries undertaking genuine political reform or emerging from conflict and committed to the democratic path. States that systematically exclude segments of their populations, and are therefore at higher risk of conflict, deserve special attention. In addition to offering expertise on the design of more inclusive and transparent political systems, the international community should support and protect civil society actors engaged in projects of political, economic, and social liberalization.

- **Prepare the ground for competitive politics:** Post-conflict situations are particularly vulnerable to backsliding and, therefore, should not be rushed into competitive politics without time to prepare the ground for fair electoral processes and peaceful acceptance of electoral results. Transitional solutions may include power-sharing arrangements in which formerly warring parties are granted temporary access to government and legislative positions. Such arrangements must only be transitional, as extended periods without the democratic accountability of free and credible elections is often a recipe for backsliding and conflict. Ultimately, governments must secure public legitimacy, and the only way to accomplish that is through free and fair elections.

- **Carry out civilian-led security sector reforms:** One of the more vexing problems associated with strengthening democracy is achieving state monopoly over the use of force while simultaneously reforming the security sector, especially in countries emerging from civil war. Civilian, democratic control of the military is a feature of nearly all established democracies. It should be pursued through proper vetting of security personnel for human rights compliance, building capable civilian-led ministries of defense and other national security agencies, enabling legislative oversight of military budgets and policies, and instituting mechanisms for holding uniformed leaders accountable to democratic and human rights principles. Programs to demobilize, disarm, and reintegrate armed factions require adequate resources to institutionalize peace. The community of security reform experts in academia, think tanks, and nongovernmental organizations can help ensure security policies reflect such best practices.

TERRORISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM

Acts of terrorism and violent extremism are, in some ways, the ultimate attack on democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. When individuals radicalized by fanatical interpretations of political or social ideology or religion employ violence, especially acts of terrorism against unarmed civilians, to further their particular beliefs, they assault the basic underpinnings of civilized society and human life. The deliberate targeting of innocent people as they go to market, enjoy a concert, or seek shelter in hospitals is particularly odious. Our individual and collective responses to such deviant behavior must respect the fundamental norms that bind us together as human beings. Anything

Box 1. Democracy and refugees: Three reasons why regime type matters

At 22.5 million, the number of refugees is "at the highest level ever recorded," according to the U.N. High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR).[4] A simple analysis of how levels of democracy correlate with refugee outflows during the period of 1989-2013 shows that countries with higher levels of democracy produce fewer refugees. Conversely, nondemocracies are more likely to have larger outflows of refugees. This finding, while not controlling for other variables, holds true across different measurements of democracy.[5] Seen in this light, the international community should take regime type seriously as it considers how best to mitigate and eventually resolve the global refugee crisis.

There are at least three key reasons why nondemocracies are likely to generate a higher proportion of refugees than democracies. First, in the most severe cases, autocrats' desire to remain in power at all costs increases the likelihood of their countries becoming "failed" states. Leaders of authoritarian regimes face threats from within and without. In such opaque domestic environments, dictators adopt coup prevention techniques to retain the absolute loyalty of a narrow support base while marginalizing other groups in society. Such patronage politics rend the social fabric and increase the likelihood of internal unrest, mass displacement of peoples, and even descent into full-blown civil war. This exclusionary dynamic is most apparent in the case of South Sudan—the third largest source of refugees in 2016. A conflict between the president and vice president precipitated the civil war that involved each rival mobilizing his respective co-ethnics in a bid for control of the country. Democracies, on the other hand, feature inclusive mechanisms for nonviolent political competition and broader social contracts.

A second reason why nondemocracies have higher refugee outflows is that they typically lack both high state capacity and the rule of law to govern effectively and judiciously. The stunted state institutions of nondemocracies struggle to ensure the basic provision of public goods. This results in poor socio-economic conditions among the population, which are typically associated with mass displacement. Such bad governance is exacerbated by the wanton corruption that usually emerges from unaccountable autocratic rule. With the rule of law weak or absent, the ruling elite's systematic persecution of dissenters and discrimination against minorities begets significant refugee outflows. For instance, the stateless Rohingyas of Myanmar have historically faced systematic discrimination by the military junta. The government's failure to address their status and protect them from violence has forced them to flee to Bangladesh and neighboring Southeast Asian states. Strong democracies, by contrast, have transparent and accountable institutions capable of controlling corruption and discrimination against minorities.

Finally, nondemocracies are generally less committed to taking their international legal obligations seriously. Unlike democracies, which do not go to war against each other, dictators' disregard of international norms gives rise to a higher proportion of militarized disputes and consequent refugee flows. Furthermore, the propensity of authoritarians to surround themselves with sycophantic advisors results in a higher likelihood of poorly conceived foreign interventions that end up generating higher levels of refugees, as in the case of Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. A more insidious but increasingly documented phenomenon is the deliberate use of forced displacement by dictators for strategic ends.[6] In the face of NATO pressure, Slobodan Milošević's threat to "empty Kosovo within a week" during the 1999 Kosovo crisis illustrates this reality.

"[T]hese three common attributes of nondemocracies—the dictator's quest for power through patronage politics, weak state capacity and dismal rule of law, and disregard of international legal norms—explain in part why they are likely to have higher levels of refugees."

Overall, these three common attributes of nondemocracies—the dictator's quest for power through patronage politics, weak state capacity and dismal rule of law, and disregard of international legal norms—explain in part why they are likely to have higher levels of refugees. The international community would do well to recognize the indirect but well-documented link between regime type and refugee flows when considering how best to prevent migration crises.

less threatens our democratic coexistence and encourages extremists to continue their violent ways. Such harsh measures as torture, extraordinary renditions, prolonged and arbitrary detentions with little due process, violent regime change under false pretenses, and blanket discrimination against certain minority groups have proven particularly ineffective and costly.

Democratic societies are perceived as more vulnerable to terrorist acts because their more open and permissive nature offers lower cost opportunities for extremists to carry out terrorist operations. The empirical evidence, however, demonstrates just the opposite: democracies that are responsive to public demands and respect civil liberties, minority rights, and the rule of law are far less likely to experience both domestic and transnational terrorism than other types of regimes. Studies have found, for example, that states that avoid illegal use of torture or other cruel treatment against citizens experience less terrorist violence, as do systems with effective and impartial judiciaries that are viewed as legitimate. Societies suffering from severe social, political, ethnic, and/or economic fragmentation and inequality, on the other hand, are more at risk of terrorist attacks. These tend to be nondemocratic countries, particularly those in civil conflict.

"[D]emocracies that are responsive to public demands and respect civil liberties, minority rights, and the rule of law are far less likely to experience both domestic and transnational terrorism than other types of regimes."

More recently, we are witnessing an important exception to these general findings: a number of well-established democracies are experiencing an increase in transnational terrorist attacks. Perceived grievances toward armed interventions are helping extremist groups like al-Qaida and ISIS radicalize and recruit more adherents to their cause. This takes the form of foreign fighters from both democratic and nondemocratic countries traveling to places such as Syria to take up arms for sectarian purposes. We also see an increase in the number of "lone wolf" attacks in democratic Europe and North America by fanatics who, inspired by apocalyptic visions, are prepared to use any violent means at their disposal to kill and maim innocent civilians and stoke fear among the general population. Nonetheless, among those countries experiencing the highest rates of deadly terrorism, democracies are disproportionately underrepresented. And of the 65 major violent extremist organizations that have emerged since 1992, 51 are present in less democratic countries.

Figure 2. Top 10 worst terrorist attacks in 2016[7]

	Country	Date	Terrorist Organization	Fatalities
1	Syria	12-10-2016	ISIS	433
2	Iraq	07-03-2016	ISIS	383
3	Iraq	02-07-2016	ISIS	300
4	Iraq	10-21-2016	ISIS	284
5	South Sudan	08-19-2016	Sudan People's Liberation Movement in Opposition (SPLM-IO)	283
6	Iraq	04-21-2016	ISIS	250
7	Iraq	10-26-2016	ISIS	190
8	Afghanistan	10-03-2016	Taliban	154
9	Somalia	01-15-2016	Al-Shabab	141
10	Iraq	10-29-2016	ISIS	130

Drivers of terrorist violence are multiple and complex and vary from locality to locality. Much more research is needed to understand better the motivations and mindsets of both the elites that organize such movements and their adherents. Nonetheless, as far as governance factors are concerned, explanations for these findings revolve around the inability of authoritarian, failing, and weak states to find political solutions for the underlying grievances that radicalize people to take such extreme measures. Chronic political problems such as underrepresentation or exclusion from government power or economic discrimination based on religion or ethnicity are better addressed in pluralist democratic systems with open competitive elections and fair administration of the rule of law. States that take multidimensional approaches to deal with root causes—political, social, psychological, community, educational, and economic strategies combined with fair criminal justice procedures—stand a better chance of minimizing extremism.

That said, some terrorists with apocalyptic objectives will probably never be persuaded that entering politics will take them to their destination. The leaders of ISIS, for example, see history as a twilight struggle between cultures in which the individual is a disposable pawn. They fill innocent young minds with poison, spew lies while claiming sole ownership of the truth, pervert the teaching of one of the world's great religions, and seek to achieve their goals by trying to bludgeon us into panic and retreat.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

Our response to the scourge of terrorism and violent extremism must be both principled and pragmatic. Liberal democracies are by design more committed to fundamental principles of political participation of all sectors of society and full respect for human rights and the rule of law. They also suffer fewer deadly terrorist attacks. Any comprehensive strategy to counter and prevent violent extremism, therefore, must include measures to strengthen and uphold these common features of liberal democracy.

"Our response to the scourge of terrorism and violent extremism must be both principled and pragmatic. ... If we respond to terrorism by abandoning our own principles, we lose the battle."

The first responsibility of any nation is to defend its territory, its people, and its way of life. The countries that have been attacked by al-Qaida, ISIS, and other extremist organizations have the right to respond with military force to take terrorist leaders off the battlefield and recapture territory. But to ultimately succeed in the fight against violent extremism, we must understand that although weakness encourages terrorism, overreaction spreads it. If we respond to terrorism by abandoning our own principles, we lose the battle. And if we respond to those who disrespect human life by disrespecting human life ourselves, we lose the war.

Liberal democracy and respect for human rights are the twin pillars upon which the defeat of terrorism must be built. They may not convert minds already trapped by hate, but they can help persuade the uncommitted that suicide bombing is not glorious but rather shameful, not a defense of religion but rather a betrayal of it.

- **Tackle terrorism through law and justice:** We agree with experts who argue that states must prioritize rule of law and criminal justice strategies for addressing violent extremism, particularly once territory has been recaptured militarily from groups like ISIS. Rule of law programming, for example, should include building strong judicial institutions and cultures, supporting fair and effective criminal justice procedures, expanding human rights education, effectively punishing abuses by state security forces when they occur, promoting widespread citizen participation (especially by marginalized groups) in public policy decision-making, and fighting corruption. Such efforts should not be packaged exclusively or princi-

Box 2. Youth and violent extremism

Young people are a specific group of interest in discussions about violent extremism, and violence more generally.[8] This phase of life is marked by continued socialization and identity formation, a stage in which youth are assumed to be more vulnerable to external influences, such as extremist and criminal groups. This generalization, however, denies the significant agency that young people display, and the multiple roles as well as gender differences associated with their decisions. While the youthfulness of populations in many developing countries is associated with increased security risks, it is also the source of potential demographic dividends if young people are recognized also as contributors to society, including as political actors, employees, parents, and citizens.

A wide range of studies on young people's associations with violent extremism point to different sets of factors that operate together to influence or protect against young people's involvement in violent extremism.

- Political factors, such as the absence or weakness of the state and official corruption, experienced by youth as neglect, disinterest, or even victimization, can motivate young people to seek alternative means for achieving their needs (including socio-economic needs and protection from abuse) in extremist groups and associations; this has been observed in Mali and Nigeria.[9] Evidence also suggests that repressive government actions, including human rights abuses, exacerbate discontent and anger directed at the government.[10] Allegations of extrajudicial executions in Kenya, Egypt, and Nigeria appear to be a motivating factor for the youth who join al-Shabab, ISIS, and Boko Haram, respectively. The targeting of ethnic and/or religious communities has shown similar responses from young people, for example, actions taken by Kenyan security agencies against Kenyan Somalis during Operation Usalama Watch in 2014.[11] Government-sponsored abuses have been shown to foment political and social divisiveness, creating greater vulnerabilities to extremist groups.[12]

- While poverty and related socio-economic factors are often assumed to be a driver of young people joining extremist groups, the evidence indicates more complexity in these associations. A study from Mali, for example, confirmed a link between youth unemployment and their involvement with armed jihadist groups. However, it was also shown that young people ended up in these groups despite having sources of income that they considered satisfactory prior to their involvement, and that additional factors were at play, including the protection of their livelihoods or illicit activities such as drug trafficking.[13] The significant number of ISIS recruits that come from middle-class backgrounds, with some holding stable, well-paid jobs in developed countries, argues for far more nuanced explanations that are not centered only on economic factors. Psychological and social issues such as disillusionment and frustration due to perceptions of limited pathways to achieve progress relating to personal or political goals might lead young people to seek other avenues to achieve these goals, including joining extremist groups such as al-Shabab.[14] The issue may also be one of exclusion from the economy or certain sectors of it, rather than unemployment itself. Using Belgium as an example—the country with the largest employment gap between foreign nationals and nationals in Europe—Blattman argues that economic exclusion is compounded by social or racial differences and draws the conclusion that "the shame and injustice of exclusion, not poverty, is what leads so many to rebel."[15]

pally as a counterterrorism strategy, given the justifiable concerns that excessively harsh security measures often backfire and drive communities away from cooperation with state authorities. It is also critical to tailor strategies to the local context of each situation given the complex array of grievances driving radicalization.

- **Engage all sectors, including the media, to fight extremism:** All parts of democratic societies have a role to play in minimizing the opportunities for terrorists to wage deadly violence. Media outlets should avoid exaggerated and sensationalized coverage of attacks, which amplify fear and inflate the apparent power of violent extremist groups. This is not to argue

- Factors associated with family, parenting, and social systems have emerged in other studies. In Mauritania, many young people involved in al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) were found to be from divorced families.[16] While this in itself likely can be managed with strong family support, the lack of parental supervision and care for orphaned or abandoned children has been increasingly linked to radicalization in communities in northern Nigeria.[17] A further parallel among recruits is what researchers have referred to as "absent father syndrome." There appears to be a link between abandonment or abuse by fathers during childhood and entry into violence in later years. Moreover, the propensity of youth to be strongly influenced by charismatic, (typically) male leaders or recruiters appears to be greater in cases where the father was absent from a child's life.[18] In Somalia, the absence of father figures among men and boys that have joined al-Shabab is also significant. A study by Ferguson found that the years of war in Somalia have destroyed multi-generational family connections that serve to nurture and guide young people.[19]

- These issues relating to identity and belonging reverberate in other empirical studies, especially where the attractiveness of ISIS is considered. Taşpınar describes ISIS as a "pseudo-state in search of citizens," and those that join as searching for belonging and acceptance.[20] This finding is echoed in a study of ISIS defectors carried out by the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence.[21] Issues around identity must be understood in a global context of young people who, for different reasons, are struggling to find a place of belonging and acceptance.

Many recommendations for addressing young people's attraction to or direct involvement in extremist groups echo the obligations already embedded in international policy frameworks, and those in other research produced in the Democracy and Security Dialogue:

- Local drivers demand local responses. Policy responses should be tailored to the complex local conditions faced by young people, and recognize that no single factor (e.g., economics, religion, or ideology) sufficiently explains why young people become involved in extremist groups.

- Tailor strategies to the varied roles of young men and women. Young people play multiple roles in their communities—as caregivers as well as students and workers. Differences in how young men and women's roles in society are determined, as well as their choices in relation to associations with extremist groups, are also important to understand. Policies should rely on the best available interdisciplinary research and practices to understand these dynamics.

- Include youth in politics. Creating avenues and reducing barriers for young people's political and economic participation and leadership are central to addressing the factors associated with violent extremism.

- Stop abuses and seek accountability for youth victims. Eliminating state-sponsored violence against young people and promoting the means to seek redress where victimization is perceived or experienced should also be central objectives in addressing violent extremism.

in favor of blanket surveillance or bans on freedom of the media, online and offline, to report the news. Fear of surveillance alone has a chilling effect on journalists and civil society and undermines the freedom of expression that is the lifeblood of healthy democracies. But more could be done to build on steps now underway by companies like Twitter and Facebook to monitor extremist, hate-filled speech online and block such messages when they amount to threats of violence.

"Community-based approaches, including education and outreach to religious leaders, youth, and women, are critical to effective strategies to deal with grievances before they mushroom into violent causes."

- **Adopt tailored, community-based approaches:** We must also remember that extremist ideologies thrive as much, if not more, offline as online. Their leaders exploit the grievances that derive from security strategies that target individuals solely on the basis of their specific ethnic and religious identity. A sense of injustice and humiliation that comes from harassment of a Muslim woman wearing a hijab can deter cooperation with legitimate efforts of security services, or even fuel a desire for revenge. Community-based approaches, including education and outreach to religious leaders, youth, and women, are critical to effective strategies to deal with grievances before they mushroom into violent causes.

- **Empower women to counter radicalization:** Gender stereotypes play a particularly nefarious role in how extremists operate. Patriarchal attitudes and practices serve both as a recruitment tool for men desiring to subjugate women and as a means for minimizing the role of women in preventing extremism. Responses to violent extremism must, therefore, empower women as political, economic, and security actors willing and able to counter the messages of violence espoused by extremists. This includes expanding education opportunities for women and girls and hiring more women in law enforcement and other security agencies. A key indicator for measuring the effectiveness of strategies to prevent violent extremism should be to what extent gender equality is factored into the design, implementation, and reporting of policy and programming.

- **Protect core democratic values:** The phenomenon of terrorist and extremist violence can only be controlled if democracies take the lead in adopting strategies that align with their core values. This means adopting a rights-based criminal justice strategy to hold perpetrators to account. It also means expanding a prevention agenda that addresses the underlying drivers of extremism relating to governance and works closely with community groups to derail radicalization and recruitment. We must hold true to our core identity as rules-based societies dedicated to human dignity and well-being.

VIOLENT CRIME

The prevalence of violent crime in both democratic and nondemocratic societies is one of the more alarming challenges to public security, as it induces fear and a desire to take the law into one's own hands, a direct threat to human rights and the rule of law. While reliable data collection is limited mainly to homicides in developed countries of the West, Asia, and parts of Latin America, the available evidence

follows a pattern similar to that of internal armed conflict: murder rates are lower in strong democracies and strong autocracies, and higher in countries with a mix of democratic and autocratic characteristics. As countries progress beyond a threshold level of democratization, average homicide rates and their volatility dramatically decline.

"As countries progress beyond a threshold level of democratization, average homicide rates and their volatility dramatically decline."

Strong democracies have built-in methods and values that favor settling disputes through nonviolent means, particularly where effective law enforcement and criminal justice systems are in place. A significant reliance on cultural values of pluralism and individual equality prevalent in democratic societies is another factor that tends to limit interpersonal violence. Strong autocracies, on the other hand, employ more repressive techniques of law enforcement and feature cultural values that deny individual rights in favor of national or dominant group identity. Both sets of values limit violence, but the democratic ones generally promote peaceful means of settling disagreements while the autocratic ones promote violent means.

Hybrid regimes, particularly those in transition from autocracy to democracy, face contested allocations of power and a weakening of state institutions that undermine state control of violence. As democracies mature, they tend to establish institutions that yield fairer court systems and more humane penal systems that are seen as legitimate by their citizens. Government policies, on the other hand, that allow police violence, solitary confinement, and chaotic prison conditions may set a bad example for citizens and encourage violence.

Researchers have identified many other factors associated with higher rates of violent crime—high income inequality, divorce and poverty rates, for example, though precise causal relationships are unclear. Some evidence suggests that robust welfare programs, strong workers' rights, and poverty reduction initiatives are associated with lower murder rates.

One region of the world, however, stands out for its chronically high levels of violent crime. Latin America, despite experiencing significant democratic progress over the last few decades, suffers the highest murder rates in the world. Women and girls are victimized by violent crime in the region due to high rates of domestic violence, organized crime, and trafficking. One explanation for these trends is the high rates of impunity and of lethal violence by police in many countries of the region, which only reinforces the importance of building strong and effective criminal justice systems. Latin American countries also have some of the highest rates of inequality in the world, including gender inequality, further underscoring the general finding regarding this factor as a driver of violence.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

Given the important relationship between aspects of democracy and violent crime, democratic states should adopt policies that address both the root causes of inequality and poverty, and the means by which crime is controlled.

- **Align criminal justice with human rights norms:** It is critical that democratic governments, working closely with civil society, establish and strengthen effective criminal justice systems that uphold due process, combat impunity, and balance retribution with reha-

bilitation. They should also strengthen transparent and accountable law enforcement and rule of law institutions, particularly at local levels.

- **Work with local communities in high-risk places:** Working cooperatively with communities most affected by crime is critical to establishing the trust that law enforcement agencies need to keep neighborhoods safe. This includes focusing deterrence strategies in the highest risk places by combining law enforcement, social services, and community resources for targeted interventions against the most violent actors. Strategies should include reducing the stigma attached to high-crime neighborhoods and democratizing government-community relations at the local level.

- **Avoid harsh tactics and promote nonviolence:** It is particularly important that more vulnerable democracies, where violent crime tends to be higher, take an evidence-based rather than a heavy-handed approach to public security, with due concern for civil liberties and human rights, particularly in direct actions in at-risk neighborhoods. But all democracies have a responsibility to model nonviolent behavior by abandoning harsh crime control tactics such as torture, cruel and unusual punishment, solitary confinement, disappearances and extra-judicial killings. A generalized culture that promotes democratic values of individual rights and responsibilities, nonviolence and nondiscrimination, disseminated through public education campaigns, will create a better environment for public security in accordance with the rule of law and human rights.

HUMAN SECURITY

Of the four freedoms famously articulated in the aftermath of World War II, freedom from want has posed perhaps the most complex challenge for democracies and nondemocracies alike. Traditional national security doctrines, which undervalue the individual human dimensions of security, have proven time and again to be inadequate to securing sustainable peace, as seen in conflicts driven by competition for scarce resources like food and water. Although the contentious debate for primacy between promoters of civil and political rights on the one hand, and economic, social, and cultural rights on the other, has largely subsided with the end of the Cold War, the international community is still a long ways from reaching consensus on a rights-based approach to human development.

The Sustainable Development Goals, particularly Goal 5 on gender equality and Goal 16 on justice and strong institutions, are a step in the right direction of convergence toward a more holistic approach to putting human beings at the center of security and development strategies. Goal 16's emphasis on accountable and transparent institutions, inclusive and participatory decisionmaking, the rule of law, nondiscrimination, and other fundamental freedoms as key elements of sustainable development is particularly welcome.

If we take freedom from want as a rough definition of human security (including access to a minimum threshold of food, water, health care, shelter, education, and work), and relate it to indicators of liberal democracy, we find only a weak overall correlation between the strength of a country's democracy and its levels of human security. The data do reveal, however, a strong correlation between bureaucratic and institutionally strong forms of democracy and higher levels of human security. Autocracies

based on strong patronage systems, on the other hand, exhibit low levels of human security. Results for institutionally weak or patronage democracies and strong autocracies are more mixed.

"[T]he key to improved levels of human security is to build democracies with strong state capacity and accountable institutions, in effect to ensure 'democracy delivers.'"

This data strongly suggest that the key to improved levels of human security is to build democracies with strong state capacity and accountable institutions, in effect to ensure "democracy delivers." Higher quality of governance centered on meritocratic, impartial bureaucracies with low corruption is highly correlated with a host of positive human development outcomes, including in developing democracies. Such strong democracies typically feature auditing and oversight mechanisms, social welfare organizations, anti-corruption tools, conditional grant assistance to low-income families, and strong schools, all embedded in a transparent and accountable framework. Where corruption is high, on the other hand, low levels of human security are more likely. Weak democracies tend to feature political parties that rely on patronage to garner support for short-term electoral gains, which in turn promotes clientelist public services and weaker rule of law.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

Though democracy per se is not strongly correlated to human security, there is compelling evidence that strong democratic institutions coupled with competent meritocratic bureaucracies lead to better human security outcomes. The international community should take these findings to heart when they consider how to support capacity-building of state institutions in their own and other countries.

- **Invest early in state capacity:** For democracies in earlier stages of development or emerging from conflict, sequencing and prioritization matters, e.g., heavy early investments in competitive politics may not bear fruit unless there are simultaneous investments in building strong and accountable state institutions.

- **Expand public participation in social services:** Specific actions to integrate the supply and demand components of meeting basic human needs should include increasing transparency and participation in public budgeting, establishing anti-corruption mechanisms, and improving rights-based public education on availability of social services at the local level, especially for women, children, and other sectors of society. Assistance to local communities with lower levels of human security should follow a bottom-up, demand-driven methodology. And to prevent the typical drops in human security in localities suffering from natural disasters or emergencies, states, working closely with civil society, need to invest in crisis prevention to promote resilience and quick recovery.

GENDER EQUALITY AND SECURITY

Over 70 years ago, the U.N. Charter declared equal rights for women and men, yet women continue to experience profound discrimination in political, economic, and social affairs around the world. Worse, they are horribly victimized by physical and psychological violence, threatened and real. Researchers are making progress in identifying the contributing factors for this persistent phenome-

non. It should not come as a surprise they are concluding that higher quality democratic systems, which are founded on the core principle of equality before the law, are a necessary though insufficient condition for higher levels of both gender equality and physical security of women. Autocracies, on the other hand, show inconsistent or wider gender gaps.

"[H]igher quality democratic systems ... [with] equality before the law are a necessary though insufficient condition for higher levels of both gender equality and physical security of women."

If we look specifically at political and economic equality between women and men, we find a positive correlation among middle and higher quality democracies, and a non-existent correlation among autocratic countries. Empirical evidence also provides a link between greater participation of women in politics, particularly as legislators and cabinet officials, and more targeted social, political, and economic policies that support gender equality. India's positive experience with gender quotas—which make it possible for large numbers of women to serve on *panchayats*, or local government councils—have improved public service provisions in primary education and water sanitation. Where women are fully participating economically, such societies are likely to be more economically competitive, according to the World Economic Forum's 2016 Global Gender Gap Report. And better conditions for women contribute directly to improving the fortunes of their children.

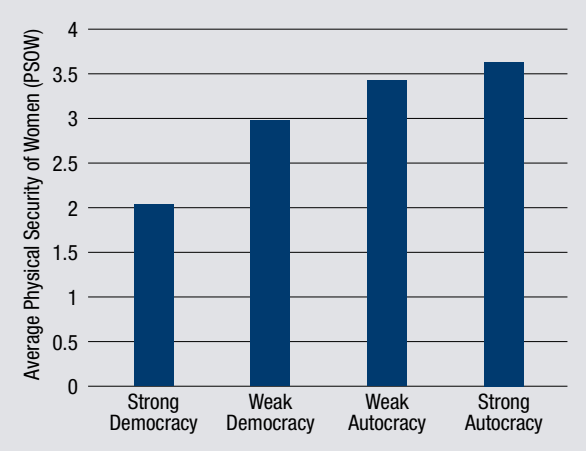
It appears that a threshold state of strong democratic practices and values, with ample civic space for women and capable institutions for designing and enforcing nondiscrimination rules, provides the optimum conditions for strengthening both democracy and gender equality. Countries below that threshold exhibit widely varying levels of gender equality, suggesting that other factors—political ideology, institutional capacity, or cultural and religious norms and heritage—are more important.

When we look at gender equality in terms of the physical security of women and girls, the evidence is even stronger that higher quality democracies are associated with lower levels of violence against women, particularly in states with higher levels of GDP per capita. The relationship between these two factors is weak to non-existent among autocratic and hybrid democratic regimes. This could be due in part to poor data collection, underreporting by victims for fear of reprisals, or stronger values of gender equality in some nondemocratic societies. Regardless, much more needs to be understood about how gains in relation to gender equality in the public domain can be translated into the private domain of homes. But the fact remains that the countries with the highest levels of freedom also have very low levels of violence against women. Countries suffering from high levels of trafficking for sexual exploitation—roughly 98 percent of trafficking victims are female—are also likely to be associated with higher levels of corruption and impunity, a toxic recipe for trafficking networks to flourish.

Another key finding in this field is that more gender equal societies are less likely to engage in both internal and external violence. Foreign policy, after all, generally reflects a society's values and practices at home. Societies in which women are more secure physically score higher on a number of scales of relative peacefulness. Higher rates of female representation in parliament, female literacy, and female-male higher education attainment ratios are three additional indicators clearly

Figure 3.1

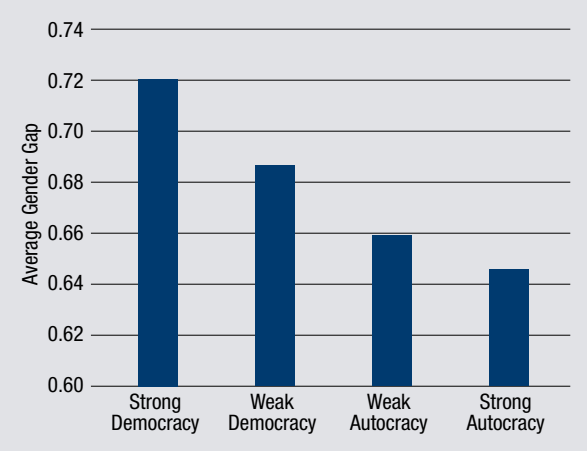
Democracy and violence against women, 2007-2017[22]



Note: A lower score represents higher levels of physical security for women.

Figure 3.2

Democracy and the gender gap, 2006-2015[23]



Note: A higher score represents higher levels of gender equality.

associated with lower levels of intrastate conflict. When women participate meaningfully in negotiations between warring parties, they help ensure better implementation of peace agreements.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

As in other categories of security, democracies that score highest on scales of democratic governance and freedom exhibit better results in terms of gender equality and women's security, while hybrid regimes and autocracies score worse. Strong democracies place a higher value on gender equality and human rights and have the laws and institutions needed to enforce those values. They also benefit from higher levels of gender equality in other ways—more economic productivity, healthier families, and greater domestic and external peace.

The clarion call from the Beijing Women's Conference in 1997 that women's rights are human rights and human rights are women's rights is now well ensconced in international law and politics. The U.N. General Assembly reaffirmed in 2011, for example, that women's equal political participation is central to strengthening democratic processes, attaining gender equality, and achieving sustainable development. U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 on women's role in peace and security and Goal 5 on gender equality of the Sustainable Development Goals further underscore the widespread global consensus on these linkages. But much more progress is needed to translate these gains into tangible improvements for women in both the public and private domains. The Community of Democracies should be in the vanguard of turning these promises into reality. It can do this in many ways.

- **Expand opportunities for women in politics:** Women from all walks of life must have equal opportunities to be part of national and local legislatures, with special attention to targeted support in countries where women are underrepresented in politics or where politically active women are disproportionately targeted

for violence. Women also can play a vital role in other political processes, especially security sector reform and judicial bodies.

- **Close the wage gap:** On the economic front, states should do more to close the female wage gap relative to men; expand opportunities for women's access to business, labor, and land; and create safe havens in markets, as well as health and legal services.

- **Protect women from violence:** Women fleeing violence in their homes or their workplaces should benefit from special measures to protect them and help them find sustainable livelihoods for them and their families. Human trafficking is particularly pernicious and demands integrated approaches composed of laws criminalizing gender violence, proper gender-sensitive police training, resources to protect women and girls from repeat offenders, and transnational cooperation to break up cross-border trafficking organizations. Civil society groups working in this field are essential pillars of support and deserve public recognition.

"We know from experience what women leaders and diplomats can do to mainstream gender equality in the realm of national security. ... It's time to scale that up."

- **Mainstream gender equality in security affairs:** We know from experience what women leaders and diplomats can do to mainstream gender equality in the realm of national security, military affairs, and foreign policy. It's time to scale that up. Community of Democracies states can lead by example by giving women a much greater role in conflict prevention, peace negotiations, and post-conflict recovery mechanisms like transitional justice and constitution drafting. They can also lead by implementing and auditing gender mainstreaming policies in ministries responsible for security, defense, and foreign policy; expanding opportunities for female diplomats inside and outside their organizations; and providing specialized training and networking.

CYBERSECURITY AND AN OPEN INTERNET

Digitization and the internet have revolutionized global communications at lightning speed. New technologies have also expanded opportunities for economic development, including among low-income communities. The golden age of instant and highly mobile connections with neighbors near and far, however, is entering a dark period of weaponization and exploitation that directly undermines fundamental principles of democratic governance, human rights, and the rule of law. This more negative side of the digital phenomenon is both disorienting and clarifying for democrats. The intoxicating explosion of information at our fingertips has numbed us to the malicious forces working to manipulate these networks for undemocratic and criminal ends; more recently, revelations of direct interference in free and fair election processes are waking us up to the scope of the problem and the need for workable solutions in accordance with liberal democratic values.

The vast expansion of personal data in the hands of corporations and governments is another complicating factor that calls for a more coherent and rights-based approach to digital governance. Who determines the standards and practices for governance of the internet and on the internet, and how it is exercised and monitored, have become critical

questions for the future health of liberal democracy and universal human rights.

The geopolitical environment is not ideal for organizing a rules-based and rights-friendly regime designed to maximize the upsides of the internet and mitigate the downsides. The players on the field are diverse and have multiple and conflicting interests and values ranging from zero to total regulation of cyberspace. The fragmentation of the global internet into domains bound by restrictive national laws that contravene the "freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers"[24] is growing.

This is both a problem and an opportunity. If leaders of the Community of Democracies organize themselves into a coherent coalition to negotiate guidelines for protecting an open, neutral, and stable internet where rights to expression, privacy, and civil democratic discourse are properly protected, they would at least provide a brake on the lawlessness that is encroaching on the internet. We could then move with some confidence toward an international regime that would properly facilitate the best uses of the internet as an instrument for advancing democratic development, freedom of expression, and human dignity.

We are particularly troubled by the increasingly aggressive attacks from some authoritarian governments and so-called "patriot hackers" to interfere directly and indirectly in the conduct of free and fair elections. Through the use of propaganda, fake news, anti-democratic trolling, and disinformation permeating conventional and social media, these forces are manipulating how citizens participate in politics in democratic countries. Worse, they have attempted to hack into the critical infrastructure that protects the sacred integrity of the secret ballot and the public's trust in electoral results. This is not to mention the strenuous efforts they have made in their own countries to censor free expression, restrict freedom of association, and ensure their own compromised elections result in perpetual one-party rule.

> "The intoxicating explosion of information at our fingertips has numbed us to the malicious forces working to manipulate these networks for undemocratic and criminal ends."

Authoritarians are threatened by an open and accessible internet because it has contributed to the diffusion of power, freer flow of information, and more reporting of human rights violations that would otherwise go unnoticed and unpunished. Victims now post videos of atrocities on YouTube, in hopes they eventually may be used as evidence in accountability proceedings. Human rights investigators, for example, used satellite imagery to expose abuses in North Korean political prisons and potential mass graves in Burundi that otherwise may have gone undiscovered. The internet is also empowering democracy advocates to organize effectively and communicate in mass movements.

This diffusion of digital technology, particularly under the current dominant model of control by private companies, is raising major concerns regarding fundamental rights to privacy of individuals, family, correspondence, and home protected under international law. Government sponsorship of mass internet surveillance, including in more established democracies, in response to threats, real and perceived, of violent extremism and crime, is a direct breach of such privacy.

As governments and hackers become more adept at monitoring citizens' activities online, they can tar-

get their political opponents and human rights defenders more effectively, including attacks on their physical security. But more generalized tactics have been deployed too: internet restrictions by governments on their own populaces are becoming widespread, with more than 40 documented shutdowns in 2016 alone, justified on grounds of either "national security" or "public order."[25] Such interferences chill free speech, disrupt other fundamental rights, cause panic, and disrupt public safety and emergency services, endangering the physical safety of all citizens.

"Given its inherently borderless nature, we advocate treating the internet as a global public good, like the environment, which needs common rules to keep it healthy and strong."

International efforts to establish basic norms and protocols to govern the infrastructure of the internet and its global interoperability are way behind where they should be, given the ever accelerating penetration of the network in our daily lives. Given its inherently borderless nature, we advocate treating the internet as a global public good, like the environment, which needs common rules to keep it healthy and strong. This means establishing governing authorities that involve multiple stakeholders, from private corporations and technologists to government officials, legislators, and civil society. The International Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), which has adopted such a multi-stakeholder system of governance for the technical assignment of internet names and domains, is one model, as is the U.N.-sponsored Internet Governance Forum. The real danger is posed by states that want a state-led multilateral approach that would give countries which do not share the same interests in an open and neutral internet a greater say in controlling the web.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

If democracies committed to transparent, accountable, and rights-based approaches to governance do not get moving, the internet will soon fall prey either to further pollution by fake news, disinformation, and harassment, or patchworked lowest common denominator regimes that impair human rights. The Community of Democracies, collectively and individually, should aim for three main objectives:

- **Protect electoral processes:** Democratic governments must quickly modernize the security of critical electoral machinery (this may involve low technology solutions); detect and punish state-sponsored and non-state attempts to hack into such systems; cooperate in cross-border prosecutions of such hackers; and draft a code of conduct with pledges of non-interference in each other's elections.

- **Defend human rights online:** Democracies need to lead by example in their own domestic protection of fundamental human rights online as well as offline. Landmark legislation such as Brazil's Marco Civil de Internet, and multi-stakeholder initiatives privileging security and openness such as the Freedom Online Coalition, are examples of concrete laws and initiatives that should be expanded upon and supported. Public-private partnerships can help citizens secure more protections against trolling and harassment through networks, apps, and

"It's time for democracies to move beyond the usual laissez-faire approach to internet governance and … draft a code of good internet governance that protects democracy and human rights as a baseline approach toward a global agreement."

devices that respect their privacy and keep them safe from surveillance, hacking, and censorship.

- **Push for open internet governance:** It's time for democracies to move beyond the usual laissez-faire approach to internet governance and establish a model based on such key principles as shared leadership, the free flow of information, and protection of individual privacy and intellectual property. Toward this end, democratic governments, working closely with existing initiatives like the Internet Governance Forum, should establish a multi-stakeholder cybersecurity working group to draft a code of good internet governance that protects democracy and human rights as a baseline approach toward a global agreement.

CONCLUSION

Across a wide panoply of security challenges the world faces—from civil war to violent crime—societies that govern themselves with full respect for liberal democratic principles and universal human rights are safer, stronger, and more secure. The empirical evidence and lived experience of the last many decades prove that we can reduce the risk of war and conflict if we treat all human beings as born free and equal in dignity and rights, without distinction of any kind.[26] Liberal democratic systems of governance, which are founded on this fundamental value, achieve better security outcomes for their citizens if they adhere to it in both spirit and practice.

"[S]ocieties that govern themselves with full respect for liberal democratic principles and universal human rights are safer, stronger, and more secure."

The implications of these findings are clear. To ensure domestic peace, strong democracies must guard against erosion of the core principles of equal participation, accountability, rule of law, and transparency. Weaker states committed to the democratic path must redouble their efforts to consolidate their institutions, widen the social contract, and strengthen the rule of law. Authoritarian leaders must reexamine their obligations under international law to protect civilians from crimes against humanity, implement their human rights commitments, and subject themselves to the will of the people as expressed in periodic and genuine elections.[27]

The international community writ large, including civil society and the business sector, should work together to strengthen liberal democratic processes and values at home and support like-minded democrats around the world in order to build a safer and more peaceful world. International organizations, from the United Nations to the World Bank, together with regional organizations, from the African Union to the European Union, should adapt their approaches to security and development in light of these findings. The Community of Democracies and its participant states and civil society partners have a special responsibility to become the vanguard of these efforts. They can do so by integrating the importance of liberal democracy and human rights across the entire security spectrum.

The recommendations set forth above, in addition to those elaborated upon in the related policy briefs, offer a positive roadmap for the long journey of avoiding conflict and building peace. We must do more, for example, to move societies out of the intermediate stages of democratization toward more inclusive and effective systems of governance. We must build strong, accountable, and transparent institutions based on meritocratic bureaucracies and effective delivery of public services. We must empower women as agents of political, economic, and security reforms. We must promote open, accessible, and stable digital communications around the world. And we must embrace our youth as responsible citizens and prepare them to lead their societies in accordance with universal human rights values. This is the path to peace and security.

ENDNOTES

1. These and related documents can be found on the websites of the Brookings Institution, the Institute for Security Studies, and the Permanent Secretariat of the Community of Democracies.
2. References to the strength or weakness of democratic governance and human rights are derived from quantitative and qualitative assessments contained in three comparable global indices of liberal and electoral democracy (V-Dem), civil liberties and political rights (Freedom House), and regime type (Polity IV). The term "hybrid regimes" refers to countries with mixed characteristics of both democracy and autocracy; they fall in the categories of weak democracy or weak autocracy depending on the blend of specific features, but without specific regard to current trends in either direction.
3. Sophie Cassel and Anna Lührmann, "Democracy and Civil War," (Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute, 2016), https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/fe/4d/fe4d7363-6f47-49c8-bfdd-518b0b36accc/v-dem_policybrief_6_2016.pdf.
4. U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR),"Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016," (Geneva: UNHCR, 2017), http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/statistics/unhcrstats/5943e8a34/global-trends-forced-displacement-2016.html, 13.
5. The three databases consulted were *Varieties of Democracy Index on Liberal Democracy*, *Freedom House*, and *Polity IV*.
6. Kelly M. Greenhill, *Weapons of mass migration: forced displacement, coercion, and foreign policy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010).
7. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Reponses to Terrorism, "Global Terrorism Database: Incidents over time between 2016-01-01 and 2016-12-31," https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?page=1&casualties_type=&casualties_max=&start_year=2016&start_month=1&start_day=1&end_year=2016&end_month=12&end_day=31&charttype=line&chart=-fatalities&expanded=no&ob=TotalNumberOfFatalities&od=desc#results-table.
8. The definition of the term "youth" differs widely, but the United Nations uses the 15 to 24 year old range, which notably overlaps with the age category defined as children in the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child (those up to the age of 18). In 2015, there were 1.2 billion youth aged 15-24 years old, making up one of every six people worldwide.
9. Lori-Anne Theroux-Benoni et al., "Mali's Young 'Jihadists': Fuelled by Faith or Circumstance?" (Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies [ISS], 2016), https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/policybrief89-eng-v3.pdf, 5; Freedom C. Onuoha, "Why do youth join Boko Haram?" (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace [USIP], 2014), https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR348-Why_do_Youth_Join_Boko_Haram.pdf.
10. Raeesah Cassim Cachalia, Uyo Salifu, and Irene Ndung'u, "Exploring the Drivers of Youth Radicalisation in Africa," (Pretoria: ISS, 2016), https://issafrica.org/research/papers/the-dynamics-of-youth-radicalisation-in-africa-reviewing-the-current-evidence
11. Anneli Botha and Mahdi Abdile, "Radicalisation and al-Shabaab recruitment in Somalia," (Pretoria: ISS, 2014), https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/184703/Paper266.pdf.
12. Raeesah Cassim Cachalia et al., "Exploring the Drivers of Youth Radicalisation in Africa."
13. Lori-Anne Théroux-Bénoni et al., "Mali's Young 'Jihadists,'" 3-4.
14. Raeesah Cassim Cachalia et al., "Exploring the Drivers of Youth Radicalisation in Africa."
15. Chris Blattman, "Exclusion, not unemployment, explains ISIS recruitment?" *Chrisblattman.com*, December 1, 2015, https://chrisblattman.com/2015/12/01/this-graph-says-the-welfare-state-is-to-blame-for-belgian-isis-recruitment/.
16. Anouar Boukhars, "The drivers of insecurity in Mauritania," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 30, 2012, http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/04/30/drivers-of-insecurity-in-mauritania-pub-47955.
17. Freedom C. Onuoha, "Why do youth join Boko Haram?"
18. Tara Kangarlou, "Imprisoned IS members open up to Lebanese social workers," *Al-Monitor*, March 10, 2015, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/terrorism-social-work-jihadist-profile-roumieh-prison.html.
19. James Fergusson, *The world's most dangerous place: inside the outlaw state of Somalia* (London: Bantam Press, 2013).
20. Ömer Taşpınar, "ISIS Recruitment and the Frustrated Achiever," *Huffington Post*, March 25, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/amer-tapaenar-/isis-relative-deprivation_b_6912460.html.
21. Peter R. Neuman., "Victims, perpetrators, assets: The narratives of Islamic State defectors," (London:

International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, 2015), http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/ICSR-Report-Victims-Perpertrators-Assets-The-Narratives-of-Islamic-State-Defectors.pdf.

22. The Womanstats Project," http://www.womanstats.org.
23. The World Economic Forum, "The Global Gender Gap Report 2016," http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/.
24. United Nations, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," December 10, 1948, http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/, Article 19.
25. These include Bangladesh, Brazil, Burundi, Tajikistan, India, Ethiopia, Congo, Pakistan, Syria, and Iraq.
26. United Nations, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," Articles 1 and 2.
27. Ibid., Article 21.

ABOUT THE PROJECT AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In June 2016, the Community of Democracies, an international forum dedicated to common action among democracies, launched the Democracy and Security Dialogue to foster greater collaboration among democracies to improve security outcomes and create a better environment for the strengthening of democracy around the world. Former prime minister of Tunisia, Mehdi Jomaa, and former U.S. secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, co-chaired the initiative, which was designed to combine top-quality research on democracy and security with a participatory consultation process.

From 2016-17, project director Ted Piccone, senior fellow in the Foreign Policy Program at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, worked closely with Cheryl Frank, director of the Transnational Threats and International Crime Programme at the Institute for Security Studies in South Africa (ISS), to coordinate the empirical research on the two key themes of the Dialogue—democratic strategies to address terrorism and violent extremism, and linkages between democracy and various facets of security. The co-leads and their teams conducted extensive research in-house and consulted with key stakeholders (policymakers, academics, and civil society leaders) across the globe, including in Brazil, India, Mexico, Poland, South Africa (Pretoria and Johannesburg), Sweden, and the United States (Washington and New York).

The results of these efforts were six Brookings policy briefs and four working papers on the relationship between democracy and security, and four ISS policy briefs on countering terrorism and violent extremism. These briefs were shared for comment with all members of the Community of Democracies Governing Council (chaired by the United States), its Civil Society Pillar (co-chaired by Morton Halperin, Robert Herman, and Douglas Rutzen), and its Academic Advisory Board chair, Wojciech Sadurski. The policy briefs were also peer reviewed by external and internal experts in their respective fields of research. The findings in this report are based on the research inputs of those policy briefs as well as the comments received from government officials, experts, and civil society through written and in-person feedback. Support for this publication was generously provided through the Permanent Secretariat of the Community of Democracies.

The project's co-chairs would like to thank all those who provided excellent research support and generous feedback on the policy briefs upon which this report is based. The research team at Brookings led by Ted Piccone included Hannah Bagdasar, Carlos Castillo, Caitlyn Davis, Julian Duggan, Matthew Koo, Jesse Kornbluth, Ashley Miller, and Anton Wideroth. At ISS, the team led by Cheryl Frank included Allan Ngari, Albertus Schoeman, Mothepa Shadung, Irene Ndung'u, and Denys Reva.

Expert peer reviewers included Tahir Abbas, Thomas Abt, Simon Allison, Edwin Bakker, Maciej Bartkowski, Meghan Bastick, Ingrid Bego, Daniel Byman, Raeesah Cachalia, Ignacio Cano, Brian Chang, Nicholas Charron, Tarun Chhabra, Eric Chinje, Eileen Chamberlain Donahoe, Vanda Felbab-Brown, Steven Feldstein, James J.F. Forest, H.A. Hellyer, Cheryl Hendricks, Susanne Karstedt, Catherine Kelly, Patrick Merloe, Christopher Meserole, Alistair Millar, Pippa Norris, Michael O'Hanlon, Marie O'Reilly, Eric Rosand, Matthew Schwartz, Romi Sigsworth, Harold Trinkunas,

Melanne Verveer, Leonard Weinberg, Charlie Winter, and Simone Young. The authors are also grateful for helpful comments on the briefs from members of the Community of Democracies Governing Council and its Civil Society Pillar. We also wish to thank the partners who helped organize workshops in New Delhi (George Mathew, Institute of Social Sciences), Johannesburg (Mandeep Tawana, CIVICUS), São Paulo (Camila Asano, Conectas Direitos Humanos), Gothenburg (Varieties of Democracy Institute, University of Gothenburg), New York (The Graduate Center, City University of New York), and Washington (Nancy Lindborg, U.S. Institute of Peace).

This project benefited greatly from the outstanding leadership of Maria Leissner, who served until recently as secretary general of the Community of Democracies, and the steady support of Patricia Galdamez and Jason Worlledge from the Permanent Secretariat in Warsaw. We also are grateful to Scott Busby, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor at the U.S. Department of State, and his team, including Christie Arendt, Neil DiBiase, Jason Donovan, Nicholas Miller, Doug Padgett, and Lynn Sicade for their assistance and support. Finally, we extend special thanks to Ken Wollack of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Marwa Mansouri and Jacob Freedman for their contributions to this final report.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Madeleine K. Albright (Democracy and Security Dialogue co-chair) is chair of Albright Stonebridge Group, a global strategy firm, and chair of Albright Capital Management LLC, an investment advisory firm focused on emerging markets. She was the 64th secretary of state of the United States. Dr. Albright received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, from President Barack Obama on May 29, 2012.

Dr. Albright is a professor in the practice of diplomacy at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. She chairs the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and serves as president of the Truman Scholarship Foundation. She also serves on the U.S. Department of Defense's Defense Policy Board, a group tasked with providing the secretary of defense with independent, informed advice and opinion concerning matters of defense policy.

Dr. Albright received a B.A. with honors from Wellesley College, and master's and doctorate degrees from Columbia University's Department of Public Law and Government, as well as a certificate from its Russian Institute.

Cheryl Frank (Democracy and Security Dialogue Project co-lead) is head of the Transnational Threats and International Crime Programme for the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in Pretoria, South Africa. Before joining the ISS, Frank was executive director at the children's rights organization Resources Aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (RAPCAN), director of the Criminal Justice Initiative at the Open Society Foundation for South Africa, research and programs director at the African Policing Civilian Oversight Forum (APCOF), and researcher at the Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town. She began her career as a social worker with the National Institute for Crime and the Rehabilitation of Offenders. Frank holds a Bachelor of Social Science (social work) degree from the University of Natal, and a MBA from the University of Cape Town, South Africa.

Mehdi Jomaa (Democracy and Security Dialogue co-chair) was prime minister of Tunisia from 2014-15, where he was in charge of completing the transition process with the ultimate objective of organizing the country's first general and fair elections under the new constitution. During his tenure of office, he restructured and enhanced the capabilities of the security apparatus for a more efficient response to terrorism, and launched the national economic dialogue to build national consensus around fiscal priorities and structural reforms.

Jomaa holds an engineering degree from the National Engineering Institute of Tunis, is holder of the Tunisian Order of the Republic and the German Order of Merit, and was awarded the 2014 Amadeus "Man of the Year" from Morocco.

Ted Piccone (Democracy and Security Dialogue Project director) is the Charles W. Robinson Chair and a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution. An expert in the politics and diplomacy of foreign policy, democracy, and human rights, Piccone has written extensively on rising powers and international order, the international human rights system, and Latin America. He previously served as a senior foreign policy advisor in the Clinton administration, a nonprofit organization director, a litigator, and a congressional aide. Piccone was counsel for the United Nations Truth Commission in El Salvador and holds degrees from Columbia University's School of Law and the University of Pennsylvania.

BROOKINGS
The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
brookings.edu