Time for change: new approaches to national security

Introduction

This document summarises plenary sessions and parallel workshops that took place at the first Rethinking Security national conference, held in Friends House, London on Friday 15th July 2018.

The report provides brief summaries of the plenary sessions attended by all participants. It provides greater detail on the discussions that took place in parallel workshops, in order to give participants a flavour of conversations in those workshops they did not attend.

This report is complemented by the audio recording of the plenary sessions, which will be accessible on our website, www.rethinkingsecurity.org.uk and by the live tweets published on the day, which can be accessed on Twitter using the hashtag #RethinkSecurity.

Morning plenary: the case for rethinking security

After a welcome from Marigold Bentley of Quaker Peace & Social Witness, Celia McKeon of Rethinking Security opened the first session, explaining how the Rethinking Security initiative emerged out of a shared concern about the narrative that frames the UK's approach to national security. She stressed the importance of challenging current assumptions about and approaches to national security, citing a variety of negative impacts and consequences for people's lives. She emphasised the importance of articulating and building support for a new vision of security, and the role of the conference in exploring different dimensions of that vision.

Professor Paul Rogers gave the opening keynote address. He highlighted the major underlying causes of insecurity – climate change, inequality and marginalisation – all occurring in an interconnected world in which injustices are becoming more apparent and stark. He drew attention to the role and power of the military-industrial-academic complex in driving militarisation, and its role and vested interests in increasing insecurity.

Molly Scott Cato MEP spoke about the deterioration of multilateralism at a time of growing destabilisation caused by rapid globalisation. She noted the struggle between authoritarianism and democracy. As an economist, she highlighted the economic drivers of insecurity, and in particular the ongoing theft of wealth by international corporations. She highlighted specific mechanisms that could be used to challenge these dynamics and called on participants to defend multilateralism and defend democratic values, championing the importance of civic engagement.

Aisha Phoenix highlighted the findings of the Representing Islam on Campus project, which studied the impacts of the implementation of the government's PREVENT (counter-terrorism) duty in universities. The study identified the negative effects on Muslim university students, and the implications of this for inter-faith engagement. Key themes included the different ways in which

Muslim students felt silenced and intimidated by PREVENT, as well as the counter-productive effects of targeting Muslim students due to increased perceptions of stigmatisation and alienation. Aisha called for an independent review of PREVENT and the introduction of a different approach, based on wider consultation with communities and a commitment to avoid the targeting of a specific group.

Asad Rehman talked about the economic drivers of insecurity, highlighting the gross inequalities of global wealth and the ways in which the economic system and international development assistance perpetuate these trends. He argued that the current UK national security strategy promotes neoliberalism, which is a key driver of insecurity, and talked about the ways in which colonial attitudes and practices shapes the approach to national security, helping to determine who lives and who dies. He called for a binding commitment to addressing inequality, and highlighted the resistance and innovation happening in communities across the Global South as a sign of hope.

Patrick Corrigan spoke about the case for rethinking national security from a human rights perspective. He pointed out that global leaders have at times recognised the importance of human rights, but that these commitments and norms are currently under threat. He noted that politicians have been 'flipping' the notion of human rights as the foundation of security to security being seen as the foundation for rights. Patrick spoke about the lessons learnt in Northern Ireland: the failure to protect and uphold rights as a key driver of conflict and violence, and the importance of building equality and non-discrimination from the local level upwards as part of the response. He called for a commitment to extending the rule of law as a cornerstone of state responses to insecurity.

Parallel workshops

Putting human rights at the heart of security, with Patrick Corrigan, Amnesty international UK

Patrick introduced the session, noting that while human rights can be seen by some governments as an obstacle to national security, Amnesty International sees them as the cornerstone for security and justice. How can we better promote the argument of the centrality of human rights to national security, and get influential decision-makers to take this on board?

Participants shared a variety of experiences and perspectives on ways in which human rights are undermined in the name of national security: martial law in the Philippines, the refusal to allow refugees and migrants their rights under the UN Convention on Human Rights; the abuse of rights of Roma people; authoritarianism in Rwanda, human rights abuses in Myanmar and Egypt. With regard to the UK military, the role of armies in training their soldiers to over-ride their instinct to protect people's human rights was noted, alongside the deliberate targeting and recruitment of young people from deprived communities to join the army and the shift to remote warfare with lower levels of accountability.

In many of these cases, national security approaches are undermining actual security, through a focus on short-term interventions, counter-productive counter-terrorism strategies, etc.

Participants also discussed some of the factors underlying these examples, including the mainstreaming of hateful rhetoric and demonization, a trend towards securitisation, and fear-mongering and scape-goating to distract people from inequalities and injustice.

The workshop then considered some examples of governments choosing to uphold human rights in times of crisis. Examples include the German government's decision to welcome a million refugees, and the Norwegian government's commitment to the rule of law in 2011 when Anders Breivik killed more than 70 young people. In both instances, the government invoked shared values as the basis for a response that aimed to uphold rights.

What is the future we would like to see? What changes would be needed in the UK government to promote national security for all? What should be done differently, or what should there be more of? Action needs to happen at multiple levels. Individuals can start by asserting and fighting for their rights, raising awareness, joining trade unions. We can also challenge untrue assertions, drawing on useful resources provided by fact-checking websites. We can lobby MPs and support organisations who push for the UK to uphold international standards – and learn from recent successful grassroots campaigns in Ireland on equal marriage and abortion.

It was suggested that there needs to be a radical change in the government's approach. A future government needs to be genuinely committed to human rights and inspire the public to put human rights at the heart of policy. Can we redefine 'Great' in Great Britain? There is also a need to get away from the notion of national security – it is a term that leads us down a path that puts our security ahead of others. Perhaps there is a need for a universally agreed notion about what security strategies look like – as well as a more bottom-up approach to understanding what needs to happen in communities to help people feel more secure. These real conversations need to take place between communities and politicians.

Climate change and security, with Richard Reeve, Oxford Research Group

Richard introduced the theme, and covered the following main points in his presentation:

➢ 'Environmental justice' is a fundamental pre-requisite for sustainable peace and security.
➢ We know that climate change has a major impact as a driver of destructive conflict, but it is more problematic 'measuring' its impact compared with other drivers such as resource competition. Oxford Research Group have been working on this issue.
➢ The core problematic is that we have known we are over-burdening the planet for decades, and we know it will continue … so what has stopped us developing appropriate responses? (Richard cited a figure that the global expenditure on armaments is twelve times that devoted to addressing climate change.)

The discussion touched on a number of points:

➢ The importance of community-based and regional initiatives in addition to top-down legislation.
➢ We have such a short 'window of opportunity' to act before the situation becomes irredeemable.
➢ Obstacles to change/action include: greed; consumerist lifestyle as indicator of 'success' and status; the commitment to 'growth' driven by financial and industrial capital interests.
➢ The importance of using financial instruments to fund appropriate developments.
➢ Climate change is one of the drivers of global inequality, and with the new communications technology people in the 'global south' increasingly conscious and aware of the injustices that they endure.

PREVENT, anti-racism and community relations, with Aisha Phoenix, SOAS

Participants cited the following reasons for and interests in joining this workshop: having a military background, an interest in security; being Involved in the evaluation of (negative) impact of "Preventing Violent Extremism" and "Countering Violent Extremism" activities on young people in other countries; interest in the Impact on humanitarian organisations and charities, when banks implement counter-terrorism legislation; issues coming up from young people in UK, including at Iftars and social events related to Ramadan where everyone there seemed to be involved in

PREVENT in some way or another, and saw it as a badge of honour; military involvement in education, including in the delivery of teacher training on PREVENT; intersection with ideas of British values; work in Higher Education where students feel under surveillance.

Aisha's presentation covered the following points:

➢ Key criticisms of PREVENT are that it stigmatises Muslims, limits freedom of speech, is divisive and creates anxiety, curtails freedom of research and affects relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims. It also appears counter-productive in instances when young Muslim children are referred to PREVENT for tenuous reasons, when religiosity is criminalised and when it shuts down debate.

➢ Support for PREVENT tends to be based on beliefs that, implicitly, there is a problem of terrorism on university campuses, it helps to keep people safe, it's also focused on right-wing extremists and it prevent inappropriate speakers through an additional vetting process.

➢ Alternatives to PREVENT could include an Awareness Day thinking about the issue of radicalisation, interfaith dialogue, referral to a Muslim scholar.

The presentation was followed by a Q&A which explored issues such as the relationship between PREVENT and safeguarding, the problematisating of the term 'radical', the relationship between UK foreign policy and what happens in the UK, young people's concerns that their everyday activities are being scrutinised, the difficulty of gathering quantitative data, comparisons with France; variation in the ways in which the media portrays different terrorist threats (Muslims as a group, right-wing terrorists as 'lone wolf'), the ways in which school culture has facilitated adoption of PREVENT (see this research), and ideas of extremism, fundamentalism, radicalisation becoming substitutes for violence.

Other concerns included risk aversion, the problem of university ethics committees who are wary of research involving talking to armed groups, and organisations that have felt impact of banks closing accounts or preventing transfers. There was concern that silencing dissent may be part of policy, as it is convenient to have a way to silence dissent rather than there be criticism of foreign policy, e.g. the UK's approach to Israel and Palestine. There is also experience elsewhere in Europe of counter-terror legislation being used to prosecute cartoonists, satirists, and journalists.

In terms of other approaches, it was suggested that if the programme were called INCLUDE rather than PREVENT, then there would no premise of cultural racism and it would be possible to prove success. There were no easy answers in terms of enabling different discussions on campus. Inter-faith dialogue again frames the issue in terms of religion.

Moving beyond weapons-based deterrence, with Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute and ICAN, and Ann Feltham, Campaign Against Arms Trade

After quick introductions, Rebecca set out new challenges and opportunities, followed by questions:

Challenges: 1) The quasi-magical seductiveness of 'deterrence'; 2) The risk of getting stuck in theories about nuclear deterrence and ignore what the weapons are designed to do; 3) 'Tailored deterrence' pretends to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons but actually justifies all kinds of new weapons in addition to the ultimate 'nuclear deterrents'; 4) These are all systems of dominance.

Opportunities: 1) These military-industrial-bureaucratic systems of dominance don't work and are being challenged on all sides by new forms of activism; 2) A recent example from the humanitarian

disarmament side is how feminism and the global South were mobilized to bring about the UN Treaty banning nuclear weapons; 3) Growing awareness that when the major security threats and problems are global and transnational (climate and environmental destruction, poverty, trafficking in arms, women, drugs etc) weapons do not deter and just add to the problems; 4) Growing successes of "move the money" approaches based on demonstrating that defence industries contribute to repression and insecurity, including unemployment not sustainable jobs, and that investing in arms is not only immoral but imprudent in the long term

Questions: 1) How to counter arguments without military framing? 2) How to reassure so that the price of ending US extended deterrence, for instance in North-East Asia or Europe would not result in more states wanting nuclear weapons? 3) How can we reframe ideas of deterrence and defence, including roles for the "defence services" that provide more convincing security? 4) What would non-weaponised deterrence and defence look like?

Participant responses included the following ideas and questions:

➤ Nuclear deterrence doesn't prevent fighting, e.g. between India and Pakistan, two nuclear weapons states and seeking security through arms is a sign of insecurity.
➤ How do we talk about alternatives without using the language of militarism? Does using the word 'security' play into the narrative? We must reclaim it as human, common security.
➤ The systemic nature of militarism is embedded in our economy and affects our prosperity. It affects our civil liberties through surveillance and is designed for control, not safety. Also, the subsidised arms industry is risky. We need expose the myth that this work is secure and use the skills it employs in other sectors which would create new jobs in new spheres, e.g. alternative energy.
➤ We need to undermine the myth that not having weapons leaves a country insecure - the real insecurity comes climate change and lack of sustainable energy
➤ We should therefore challenge the idea of 'the national interest'. Most problems are international and call for international cooperation. Hence the ideas and humanitarian appeal coming from countries that are not militarily powerful, e.g. to nuclear weapons states who initiated the UN Treaty banning nuclear weapons.
➤ Countries need to help each other with mutual and balanced force reduction and we all need to engage in respectful dialogue, in particular with people in the military.
➤ This is a moral issue, related to fear and humanitarian values. Socrates, when he took the hemlock, felt he would die intact because he had retained his integrity.
➤ We should challenge the way the idea of 'remembrance' is used and put militarism on a level with racism.

After this broad discussion specific ideas for getting across our arguments were as follows:

➤ Train peacemakers/ activists to promote human security
➤ Bring different viewpoints together
➤ Get more High Street companies (like Lush) to highlight alternatives to militarism and war
➤ Challenge and expose nationalism
➤ Use feminist approaches to expose patriarchy and militarism
➤ 'Show don't tell', e.g. alternatives to military production
➤ Demonstrate 'blow-back', e.g. Iraq and Twin Towers
➤ Connect security military spending with everyday reality and alternatives

➢ Provide public information to show that weaponry is about protecting power - we should be talking about human security for all
➢ We need to engage with the military, even though it may be difficult as they speak a different language.

The final question was 'How to get all this out there?'

Gender and national security, with Marissa Conway, Emily Deckers and Nina Sofie Pedersen, Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy

The workshop began with an opening question to the participants: 'How can we use a feminist lens to open up a wider discussion on national security?' A concise and useful power point offered some key points for response and ideas from the group. For example, a feminist analysis offers a lived morality as an alternative to extreme detached rationality. The latter can cloud feelings when it comes to facing contemporary situations of mass murder (as in war) and destruction of the planet (as in climate change). This is not a binary choice of approach, as indeed there is a spectrum of useful thinking and tools for understanding and response to challenges. It is more to do with an examination of how language and framing shapes both our perceptions and our positions in society. If security discourse is dominated by the role of the state and military defence, the citizen feels disempowered and secondary. If the citizenry and society are understood as central to the very definition of the state - then government and governance should represent and serve rather than dominating in militarised ways. Similarly, compassion should not be seen as weakness, but rather as a just response to those with vulnerability or need. The understanding and experience of power are central.

Drawing on the earlier remarks by Paul Rogers on how nuclear powers should be re-branded as rogue states, the issue of nuclear disarmament was used as an example for applying a feminist analysis to national security. The politics of nuclear weapons remain heavily intersected by gendered hierarchies, identities, and symbols. Internationally these hierarchies of power extend to whole peoples, as per the 60 sites where nuclear tests have been conducted, many of which are on lands of minority and indigenous groups. We broke into three small working groups to examine how improved analysis could be applied for effective action, subsequently reporting back to plenary for a summing up. Among the considerations arising were: 1) both the currency of the UN Treaty on Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and the acute under representation of women in multilateral forums and disarmament policy forums; 2) the need to make visible clear information which will shift perceptions, for example domestic violence is a far greater and immediate threat to women than a nuclear attack, and needs addressing through resources, education and preventative measures; 3) Decision making on the massive budgets for nuclear weapons is grossly unaccountable and 'over our heads'. Pictorial accounts of amounts of money and what this could buy, i.e. comparable sums if spent on health, social care, education and housing would increase public awareness, and: 4) Although over forty years have passed since the ground-breaking Lucas Plan on arms conversion, trades unions and economic (jobs) arguments too often remain politically fixed in opposition to change. There are shifts underway to be supported, as in calls for defence diversification and job creation by adapting to 21st century needs in renewal energy or advanced integrated transport technologies.

Clear focus and concerted action based on a feminist lens could thus help shift the rethinking of security, for a safer and healthier social future.

***Migration and national security, with Bridget Walker, Crystal Dickinson and Citanya Sinclair,
Quaker Asylum and Refugee Network***

Bridget introduced the session, noting that people have moved, for different reasons, since the
human race emerged. Key points from her presentation included:

➢ There are estimated to be 244 million international migrants globally. It sounds a large number
but represents just 3.3% of the population of the whole world.

➢ Work is the major reason for migration while others on the move are fleeing war and violence,
and disaster in their own countries. The UN estimates that 65.6 million people are currently
forcibly displaced around the world. Seeking asylum is a risk and many die in the attempt.

➢ There are daily stories in the UK of ways in which people have suffered under the current
immigration system.

➢ Generally speaking, people on the move are seen by the state as a potential security risk. States
have borders and while there are open borders for the movement of capital, borders are
increasingly closed for the movement of people. Outsiders are perceived as dangerous and
possibly criminal, with these perceptions reinforced by a toxic media. The framing of asylum and
migration as a threat to national security has led to policy measures and practices that are about
control and containment, with an impact on individuals that is inhuman and often a violation of
their rights.

➢ Borders are both symbols and facts of security policies.   Borders move and are increasingly
militarised - the UK border is now in France with a £12 million fence. Borders are found in
multiple locations - consulates issuing visas, the airline passengers act which places
responsibility for immigration checks on the carrier, statutory bodies in education, health,
banking, housing and employment.

➢ There are serious errors in the application of the rules. The 'Docs not Cops' group has said that
these rules destroy the founding principle of the NHS, as a health service free at the point of
delivery. The Home Office flies in the face of common sense, human decency and its own rules.

The 'hostile environment' is national policy and translates into divisions between the citizen and the
migrant, the refugee and the 'economic migrant', the good immigrant and those who have arrived
irregularly. The latter may be accused on the one hand of being benefit scroungers and on the other
of taking jobs from native born Brits, of not integrating, when, in fact, they are actively excluded, and
not allowed to work while their status is under review.

These policies also provide a commercial opportunity. Private companies are responsible for border
enforcement – Mitie, the largest provider of immigration detention in the UK, has a contract for
escorts (for removing people) and for border controls in Northern France

Perhaps the most outward and visible signs of the security apparatus of the state are the 8
immigration removal centres where nearly 30,000 people a year are held, in administrative
detention. There has been no judicial oversight of the decision to detain and they do not know how
long they will be there.

Following this presentation, the focus shifted to the current situation at Yarlswood Immigration
Removal Centre which Crystal described from the perspective of a long-standing visitor. Citanya then
shared her personal experience of life inside. Healthcare is poor, and depression is rife, alongside
social unrest and bullying. The usual sanction of prison life (longer sentence) doesn't apply. People
do not know how long they will be detained. Accountability is lacking. Each Immigration Removal
Centre has an Independent Monitoring Board but their powers are limited. Detention centres like
these were described as an aspect of a state asylum and migration policy which is out of control

What might be alternative progressive model? One way to start would be with the principles outlined in the UN's 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants: respect for human rights and protection for all, no criminalisation, establishment of fair migration pathways. National security policy should not violate the security of the person. Citanya pointed out that when people leave detention and still do not have a decision, they need to have some way to self- reliance. Currently the lack of resources for them arguably leads to criminality. How about the right to work for a limited period, with no access to benefits?

There is a need to address the drivers of migration also: inequality and climate change being among the most important. There is a need to assist those areas from where migration is coming.

There are many possible human rights-consistent solutions to this poor state of affairs, available in academia, journalism and civil society. These need to be explored and used as a basis from which to advocate for change.

Afternoon plenary: rethinking security in practice: opportunities and entry points, with Professor Mary Kaldor, London School of Economics

Ivan Campbell of Saferworld introduced and chaired the afternoon plenary. Professor Mary Kaldor began by posing the question of why the current mainstream approach to national security continues, despite some of the high-profile failures of the last two decades. She cited the recent US-UK-France bombing of Eastern Ghoutta as an example of this failed approach. She offered the concept of 'security cultures' as a way of understanding the persistence of the current paradigm and cited and described three examples of influential security cultures: geopolitics, liberal peace, and the 'war on terror'. She noted that these security cultures are often in competition with each other, and also that when the out-workings of these cultures become inconsistent, there are opportunities for change.

Focusing on the liberal peace culture, she argued that there is an opportunity to push this culture to adapt. There has been too much focus on processes involving elite powerbrokers at the expense of addressing social conditions. Mary suggested that in future there should be greater emphasis on using peace talks to try to change the situation on the ground, greater focus on political legitimacy and the roles of civil society, and greater attention to questions of justice, as well as economic, social and environmental concerns.

She concluded by arguing that a better approach to security would extend the 'inside' world of law and order and rights to the management of conflict and violence in the global arena.

Parallel workshops

Envisioning a new agenda for security with Celia McKeon and David Gee, Rethinking Security

Celia introduced a participatory visioning exercise, encouraging everyone to identify, share and discuss key principles, priority actions and dilemmas with regard to a new agenda for security.

The following suggestions were shared with the group:

Principles: Respect for human rights and dignity of all regardless of their status and happiness and well-being, justice, equality (not equally poor), subsidiarity (making decisions at lowest level), working in partnerships with others, collaboration.

Priority practical actions: economic redistribution, fair access to natural resources, building community, non-weapons-based security, and using the framework of the UN Sustainable Development Goals.

Dilemmas: varied perceptions of what makes people feel safe, how to make it fair, how to balance the need for a long-term approach with the urgency of short-term change on issues such as climate change, finding ways of responding to violence in its different forms.

David then gave a summary of Rethinking Security's proposals regarding a new agenda. He emphasised that whatever you think security is, it has to be grounded in the well-being of the public. He suggested four principles:

➢ Rather than the simple absence of threat, we encourage a conception of security which is based on a kind of freedom that everyone shares in, a freedom to live free of fear, free of want. This implies social health, social wellbeing.
➢ Second principle, security is a common right., something to which everyone has a right. In particular we cannot build security here, at others' expense.
➢ The third principle is the patience that is required to build it. Security takes a long time to build. It is about the conditions in which people can meet their needs effectively.
➢ Fourthly, it is collective responsibility. Security has to be democratized, should not be left to vigilante politics at international level.

In terms of priority actions, he picked up Mary Kaldor's suggestion that security could be understood as a social condition; whether we are secure or not depends on our ecology, whether everyone can be fed, empowered. How could those conditions be built? If you think of security as a social condition, you would approach policy in a very different way, perceiving insecurity as a function of food insecurity, climate change, economic and political inequality, lack of opportunities for political participation. Despite the ostensible purpose of military expenditure, militarism is one of the underlying drivers of insecurity. Violent conflict is thought of as a problem to be solved by external forces, who will try to impose a solution. Rather than dealing with violent conflict in that coercive manner, policy-makers should engage with those forces that can be supported from the bottom up, taking a peacebuilding approach to violent conflicts around the world.

Participants were asked to share their thoughts in response to this agenda outline. Points that were covered included the importance of addressing underlying drivers of insecurity; the necessity of distinguishing between conflict and violence; the importance of appreciating the role of internal dynamics as well as outside interventions in Syria, the power of corporations and the trend to privatisation, the destruction of social fabric and the difficulty of healing the resulting psychological trauma, a massive lack of religious literacy, and the importance of understanding conflict as a contestation of power, rather than seeing it as tribal or social in nature.

At the end of the session, participants were given Rethinking Security's parliamentary briefing, which provides details of specific practical steps that a progressive government could take to begin a shift towards a different approach to security.

Influencing the media with Andrew Smith, Campaign Against Arms Trade

Andrew began by highlighting the purpose of engaging with the media:

➢ Politicians and parliamentarians will pick up issues in the media

- ➢ You can reach a mass audience – e.g. spark politicians' interest via media stories/coverage
- ➢ You can raise profile of the organisation – if you appear in media, it is picked up followers

He noted how the media is changing. Social media and Twitter hasn't changed what we are reading – just how we access news. The landscape still dominated by small number of outlets. Regional media is in decline – much is highly centralised – although many people trust their local papers more and are more likely to pick up or talk about stories in local papers. However, it can be hard in some cases to get interest from local papers in political or social issues beyond sport, horse shows, etc. In other cases, stories, e.g. about refugees can spark debate in a letters page.

Andrew encouraged participants to think about what constitutes news and how it is different to events. News is a 'new' story - which can be an issue if you work long term on something. It can be hard to keep things sounding 'new'. News is also time-sensitive. The media is a supply and demand industry – news outlets will tune into what they think people want to read.

Two tests of 'newsworthiness':

- ➢ *Pub test* – can you imagine two people mentioning a story to their friend in a pub or café? Snappy title / stats can help prompt this.
- ➢ Can you imagine reading it in a paper?

Other considerations/tests:

- ➢ Can you sum up the story in a sentence / nutshell?
- ➢ Who has written about this before – has a journalist looked at this in the past? It can be worth ringing round individual journalists to see if there is interest
- ➢ What are the key messages we want to get in the media (what would we say if we wrote it ourselves?) If a story associated with a visit to Thailand – we might want to get the human rights situation and arms sales into the story.
- ➢ Who are the journalists most likely to cover it?
- ➢ Sympathetic vs less like-minded media outlet (e.g. Guardian vs Daily Mail) – sometimes if you get a story in a more sympathetic broad sheet it can get wider coverage as it is picked up by supporters who will disseminate it. E.g. 60 hits on story in Daily Mail vs 500 in Independent.
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Andrew gave a case study of CAAT media coverage of the visit of Saudi Crown Prince, which involved high level meetings and prospects of an arms deal. Firstly, CAAT prepared for the visit. When it was initially announced, CAAT issued statement denouncing the visit. They then worked with others to plan actions for when the Crown Prince arrived – working with anti-war groups and Yemeni groups to plan a demonstration. They obtained a date for the visit early via an accidental police announcement and provided a piece for the Independent on the date for visit - picked up by the Express and Times Business News, warning that the Prince would be visited by angry protesters. They also looked at different angles on the story: the amount claimed by MPs for hospitality received by Saudi regime, which they pitched to The **i** who ran it; and they did a story with the Times on the increase in open licence use – all timed around the visit. They focused on repeated press stories citing statistics about arms sales and lack of public support for them, and reinforced the message about pending protests, as well as news pieces – including in the broadcast media (Sky, BBC, AL Jazeera). The result: mostly negative press coverage of the arms trade during the visit.

Questions about the experience included:

- ➢ What was the result / the next step? CAAT has a long-term strategy but didn't have defined objectives for this activity. They are currently working on a Theory of Change. Quite a lot of work

is reactive. Amnesty link the media to the policy / public engagement approach. They regularly put out reports, but also react to news.

➢ The value of a good photo and photo opportunities – these can be powerful and are often retweeted much more than text. A photo can make the difference between a small piece vs a larger piece in a newspaper.
➢ Should you work with 'opinion formers' in the media –yes, some will be influential – but some stories, if strong, can get a wider pick-up than those written by such figures.

Conclusions / lessons

➢ The media is not perfect. You need to be putting stuff out yourself - 2/3 of all media coverage of CAAT is CAAT initiated output
➢ Share good media material with journalists – make it profitable for news outlets to run stories.
➢ Media also does good work – most major injustices have been covered in media first. The media needs to be funded. Act now: Buy a newspaper! The best news is by journalists who are paid to do it.

Rethinking security in practice: working with young people and schools with Rhianna Louise, Forces Watch and Ellis Brooks, Quaker Peace & Social Witness

After initial introductions, Ellis and Rhianna opened up the question of how to make the ideas of Rethinking Security accessible to children and young people. If you are asking young people to think about security 'out there' in the world you need to also explore what safety and security means to them in their life. One way of doing that might be to create a safe space through RADIO: R- respect; A-active listening; D-dialogue not debate; I – statements; O- ouch/oops – ouch that made me feel something, oops I didn't quite mean that.

The facilitators then introduced some of the activities designed so far for use with children and young people. The first was based on A Fable for the Nations, which highlighted the two paradigms of security referenced in the previous session.

Pedagogical issues were discussed as follows:

➢ Young people are deciding for themselves – critical thinking.
➢ This is held in tension with the values and the normative – it's not possible to be a teacher and not have normative values, we share lots of normative values already e.g. lying is wrong.
➢ Peaceful pedagogy – nonviolent, non-coercive, inclusive teaching – we need to teach in a nonviolent way.
➢ 3 key ingredients: **fact, empathy, values** e.g. human rights, love & friendship.
➢ Learning styles: visual, aural/verbal, kinaesthetic.

A second activity was an image sort. This aimed to get participants thinking about what makes them secure. People split into three small groups & were given sets of the printed images. They were asked to find the images that make them feel most and least secure, and sort them for importance, choosing the most important from each pile. Participants then explained their choices and explored any differences of opinion – each group asked to share two images - one that makes them feel most safe and another that makes them feel least safe. The facilitator explained that there is no correct choice here; the aim is to elicit and build on thinking about what creates security. The facilitator also outlined that many of the images are purposefully ambiguous and that different images can mean different things for different people.

A primary School Assembly activity was then introduced. Children are asked to think about what security means, and then to discuss a definition: 'freedom from harm and fear'. Some simple case studies were then introduced and children were asked to score the level of security from 1-10. The children would then be asked to identify the drivers of insecurity in each case study e.g. poverty, inequality, war, a damaged planet, discrimination. This is a way of introducing to children that security means a lot of different things to lots of different people, depending on context.

Participants were invited to read out some thoughts on:

> Insecurity means…
> Security means…

The intention would be to discuss what really matters to children.

Finally, the children were invited to think about what they would spend money on to build security (giving them £10 million). They could also be introduced to the "Our Security" competition, in which they can share ideas about what the world needs to be more secure – poem, writing, poster, art etc. Find it via #OurSecurity.

In the subsequent discussion, it was noted that the primary resource is more word-based and the secondary resource is more image-based, and the question was raised as to whether the primary resource could be more image-based. Reference was made to the American Friends Service Committee tool to reimagine the US budget. It was also noted that getting take-up of the resources is the biggest challenge and this workshop is part of a call to action. Teachers' time is very pressured, but the resources have been developed to show their connection to the national curriculum, and to schools' concerns to teach values.

Movement-building: getting involved, with Diana Francis, Rethinking Security

Diana presented two flip-chart diagrams portraying contrasting models/paradigms of power – reproduced below
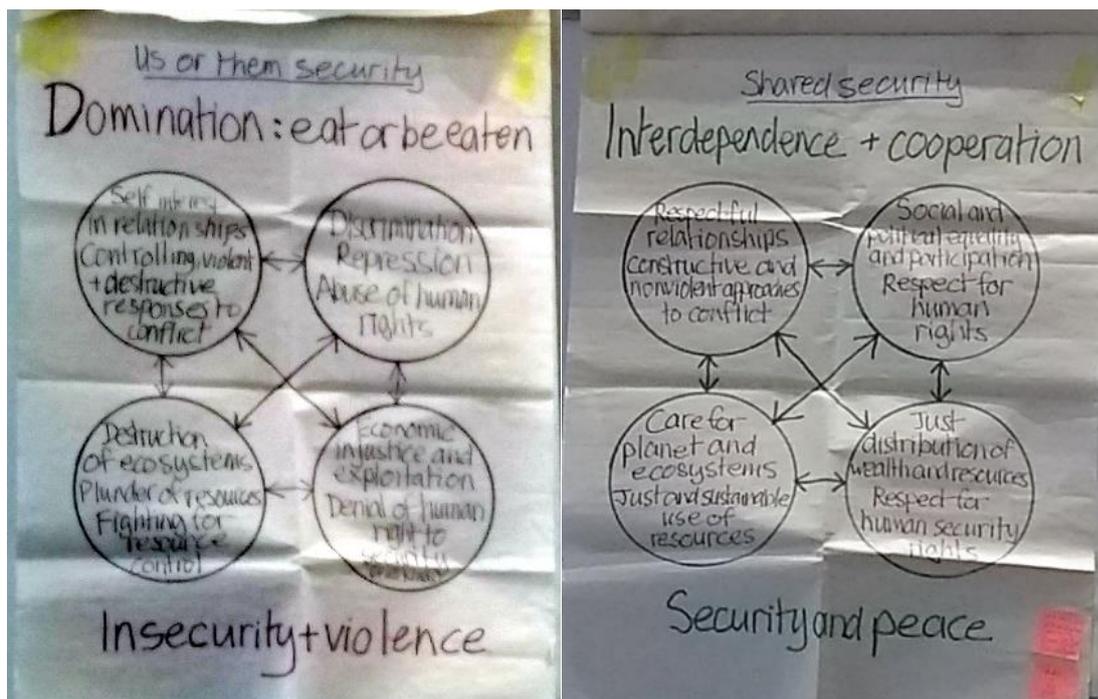
The main point that Diana drew from the diagrams/models was the manner in which they illustrated the connections between different spheres of life and issues of concern around which people campaign. The potential is there to strengthen our impact by highlighting the continuities and thereby drawing together the energies and momentum from the different issue-groups and movements once the linkages become apparent.

Points raised in discussion included:

➢ The importance of making international connections – social media as a very important means of making links across borders.
➢ Lessons from building peace organisations/movements in East Africa (QPSW) – heart has to be in it; analyse the context; team-work; encourage others to act; start small; flexibility in a changing context)
➢ Questions of agency – can you 'build' movements or do you have to 'wait for the wind to blow'? You can build strong community-based local groups whether or not the 'wind' is blowing, deepening analysis in readiness for a movement 'tipping point'.
➢ Example from CAAT were provided on how public opinion on arms sales to the Saudi regime has been aroused in the context of the war in Yemen and the UK government's commitment to the Saudi regime.
➢ Importance of safe spaces for discussion/conversation.
➢ The value of basic information sheets to equip people for discussion and conversation
➢ The importance of helping people realise that change is possible

Building political support for a new approach, with Ryvka Barnard, War on Want and Ann Feltham, CAAT

The workshop was structured as a brainstorming session about three themes: how and where is security talked about; where / who in government should be talking about it; how might political support for a new approach be built.

How and where security is talked about: it is seen as being the responsibility of the Ministry of Defence and the National Security Council, chaired by the Prime Minister. It is also talked about in the Department for International Development, the Foreign Office and the Home Office. It is also the domain of the intelligence community and the corporate world. There is also a strong lobby by backbench Conservative MPs. These conversations tend to focus on crisis response, spending on military deterrence and defeating threats. A lot of the security analysis is being done behind closed doors – needs feedback from society. Experience from engaging with government is that these settings can be quite siloed: for example, you can talk about women, peace & security with key officials in the Foreign Office but can't bring in disarmament because it's not part of their job description.

Outside of government, security is talked about in the Labour Party by the shadow minister for Peace & Security, as well as by the grassroots of the Labour and Green parties. It is also talked about in the media, which is used to sway public opinion, and as part of military recruitment efforts.

Where / who in government should be talking about it? Suggestions included: a greater role for DfiD in relation to arms exports, security and justice; the MoD should be encouraged to look at defence rather than offence – public protection rather than protection of oil rights, etc. There should also be more scrutiny of who is sitting on relevant parliamentary committees, to identify those with vested interests; the Defence committee is populated by people in the "defence orbit". Overall there is a real need to work towards genuine transparency and accountability so that the public has a

better idea of what is going on.

How?

➢ Engage with internal critical voices, including establishment insiders such as security forces and services;

➢ Disrupt the system from outside to get the change - pressure from grass roots civil society (requiring ordinary people to be informed); build coalitions to lobby MPs to ask critical questions of Ministries;

➢ Journalists could provide politicians with stories if they know about questions arising – feeding information to sympathetic MPs or ministers.

➢ Pointing out contradictions is important, such as current government policy on Yemen – massive investment in humanitarian aid as well as sales of arms. There is an opening when the contradictions become too big to ignore.

➢ Start with 'the policy change we want to see is X'; if a committee gets a letter from range of experts in that area, may treat it seriously. Identify which lines can we all agree on and where do we need softer language to get all to sign on.

➢ Push the agenda – this is how the resolution came to the Trade Unions Congress last year, calling for more resources to be put into diversification, and calling on the Labour Party to set up a shadow minister for defence diversification. But, we want this in the industrial strategy approach, not as a separate brief. It is important to talk with the relevant trade unions about job losses in defence and potential options to address this.

➢ Use social media inform the public and spread a new narrative

➢ Are there lessons to learn from the way that the public narrative about aid being wasted led to the commission on aid, to ensure it is well spent? Aid is scrutinised – can we push for this on military spending? There is little public discussion of the findings of the Chilcott enquiry – we should push for this.

➢ Need to link security issues with arguments about jobs and economics – less abstract – might engage a broader spread of MPs.

Closing plenary: Energising our movement for change – Shaista Aziz

There was a short delay prior to the closing plenary, during which a number of workshop facilitators provided a brief summary of key discussion points arising during the parallel workshops.

Simon Fisher then chaired the closing plenary address, given by Shaista Aziz. Shaista began by recounting her experience the previous evening, as she joined the silent march to mark the one-year anniversary of the Grenfell Tower fire. She highlighted the impact of the fire for the teenage girls she had spoken with, whose lives had been marked so early by such a devastating experience. She linked this to the life experiences of teenage boys she had recently met in the refugee camps in Calais and encouraged us to join the dots between these and other experiences of horrific insecurity, calling for us to centre the apparently forgotten value of compassion.

Shaista then spoke about her work founding the Intersectional Feminist Foreign Policy initiative, which aims to seek out and provide a platform for the voices of marginalised women in the UK and beyond. These women have plenty to say, but their experiences and perspectives are often missing from mainstream debates.

Shaista spoke about the importance of solidarity and collective power. She reminded us that everyone can practise solidarity, making connections between racism, sexism, detention and all human rights violations. She highlighted the upcoming visit of US President Trump as an opportunity not only to protest his policies, but also the harmful policies in operation in the UK. We need to value

the lived experiences of women, build networks of solidarity, & create spaces for amplifying marginalised voices.

Optional follow-on session: from ideas to action – next steps

Due to unexpected changes to the end of the afternoon programme, this session was significantly shorter than planned. Celia McKeon provided a brief overview of the Rethinking Security strategy and structure, highlighting current opportunities to get involved with working groups and initiatives on outreach, education and research. She encouraged people to sign up for the supporters' mailing list to find out more and get involved, via the Rethinking Security website, www.rethinkingsecurity.org.uk.

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