

# Civil Society Promoting Sustainable Peace and a Conflict Resilient Global Community



Source: "A White Dove Carries the Olive Branch of Peace". By Warren Photographic

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# Abstract

With an economic impact of armed conflicts on the global economy exceeding \$14,76 trillion in 2017, the prospect of achieving a stable and everlasting global peace and thus a global peace culture seems too good to be true. This master thesis explores whether the global civil society has any influence on the promotion of peace within the international community. In order to approach the topic, the analysis is approached deductively, analysing the topic based on a qualitative content analysis which draws on a combination of secondary literature and interviews. Thus, it is analysed whether the global civil society promotes the right to peace and thereby promotes peace culture. The thesis concludes that social movement organisations does indeed promote peace. However, the right to peace has not yet been ratified into international law. Hence, the right to peace does not hold any legal leverage. Furthermore, it has been found that peace education may provide a plausible strategy to not only promote peacebuilding strategies and prevent future conflict, but also it might be able to teach future generations how to build a more peaceful and sustainable global community. At last, the thesis has concluded that the promotion of peace is a global responsibility, as people must show empathy towards the Other if the peace around Earth ought to become stable and sustainable.

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# 1. Problem Area

Peace as a concept continues to be one of the focal points of various discussions within the global civil society. With an economic impact of armed conflicts on the global economy being \$14,76 trillion in 2017 (Institute for Economics and Peace 2018:2), the prospect of achieving everlasting peace and thus building a global peace culture, seems too good to be true. Thus, though a state of peace is desired by many, the war industry challenges this wish.

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, peace is defined as “*freedom from war and violence*” (Cambridge Dictionary n.d.). However, this perception of peace has been challenged by a variety of scholars, such as, Immanuel Kant, Johan Galtung, Kenneth and Elise Boulding and Anatol Rapoport. Some of these argue that it is necessary to distinguish between several kinds of peace in their perceptions of the concept. For instance, Galtung, distinguishes between ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ peace, arguing that ‘negative’ peace, or the absence of war is only the first step towards a state of actual peace, or ‘positive’ peace – namely a situation in which society has achieved both cultural, structural and direct peace (Galtung & Fischer 2013: 173-178, Galtung 1996: 2-3, 28-29).

Throughout the decades, a greater and greater focus has been ascribed towards building a global peace culture. However, the strive towards peace is contested, due to a combination of national and bureaucratic interests at the national, regional and supranational level. Hence, though the right to a peaceful society is described and defined within charters, treaties and resolutions, such as the Charter of the United Nations (UN) and *UN General Assembly resolution 71/189 on the Declaration on the Right to Peace*, armed conflicts continue to rage various areas of the planet.

The problem of not having a global peace culture, is that armed conflicts continue to destroy societies, both nationally and internationally. Hence, creating disruption, alongside robbing individuals of their basic human dignity. Thereby conflict neglects various human rights besides the human right to peace, such as the human right to life, the human right to liberty and security, etc. (United Nations 1948).

## Research Question

The overall aim of this thesis is to address and investigate the extent to which the global civil society promotes the right to peace. To investigate this, I will seek to illustrate how a sample of different internationally focused non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and networks mobilise, as well as their focus on global interconnectedness in regard to achieving their goals. Thus, I will discuss the tools utilised by these global networks, by both looking at the way they promote themselves through their websites and also by conducting a small sample of interviews. Thus, seeking to address the following research question and guiding questions:

*To what extent and how does the global civil society promote the right to peace? And to what extent does this work promote a global peace culture?*

- a. How do relevant international charters and treaties live up the right to peace?*
- b. In what way does the global society promote peace culture?*
- c. Is there a peace culture and if so, to what extent is it possible to spread awareness about it?*

## 2. Methodology & Research Design

This thesis takes point of departure in qualitative content analysis, building the analysis on a data sample compiled of both interviews and secondary literature. Furthermore, the theoretical part of the thesis is based on peace studies, focusing on peace culture theory as well as the right to peace. Thus, a deductive approach has been chosen to conduct the research, that is, the thesis is based on a theoretical framework influenced by amongst others: Immanuel Kant, Johan Galtung, Kenneth Boulding, Elise Boulding and Joseph de Rivera. According to Christopher Lamont (2015:89) alongside James Drisko and Tina Maschi (2015), content analysis is regarded as a systematic procedure, used in order to review and evaluate documents, interviews or speeches. Content analysis thus requires the researcher to examine and interpret the data compiled within a dataset (Bowen 2009:27).

As it has been mentioned above the analysis will focus on a combination of interviews and secondary literature. The secondary literature will be derived from the websites of a variety of social movement organisations.

Analysing texts requires an understanding of how to interpret the use of language. Hence, when analysing forms of speech, whether it is texts or interviews one's focus is the interpretation of meaning. Drawing on Norman Fairclough's (2003) ontological and epistemological stance to text analysis, one must divide one's analysis into steps. First one have to regard the text as an object, analysing to whom the text is directed; then one must analyse the vocabulary, semantic relations and latent content, seeking to understand the content of the text and the message it seeks to communicate; and third one must consider the text as a social practice, investigating the norms and social constructs that are being built or formulated by the text. Moreover, *"it is important to note that meaning is made as an interplay between all three phases of a text analysis"* (Diarra et al. 2017:20).

Though I do not seek to conduct Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, I ought to take a similar stance to his ontology and epistemology. First and foremost, this means that the approach to study social science, to a large extent is influenced by Fairclough's stance to critical realism, implying that the study is conducted from a realist ontological perspective, but with the rejection of objectivity (Diarra et al. 2017: 18-19). In order to elaborate, Fairclough is of the perception that there is no such thing as an objective analysis, due to the fact that one as an analyst cannot be completely unbiased. Thus, he argues that every move

conducted by the researcher is conducted on the foundation of his or her bias. In other words, he argues that there is a reality which can be studied, but that the analysis of texts and other empirical objects will hold the bias of the creator. Hence, the realist ontology distinguishes between the actual reality, the potential and the empirical reality (ibid.).

Besides drawing on critical realism, this study moreover draws on constructivist international relations theory. This becomes possible due to Fairclough's epistemological stance on social constructivism. As Fairclough argues that social constructivism to some extent becomes relevant, due to the fact that social constructivists believe that representations of physical and biological reality, in the first place, are socially constructed. However, once they become recognised, they become part of reality, thus affecting the textual construction of the social world. In order to sum up, Fairclough finds importance in the way that the construction of institutions alongside other phenomena influence the construction of reality through empirical objects, such as for instance texts or speech. Furthermore, constructivism recognises the importance of social construction within the world of politics, seeking to understand the ideas behind the usage and organisation of for instance armed conflicts, alliances and systems of security and defence (Ibid.: 19).

By combining critical realism and constructivism, I set out to study the constructed through the analysis of texts, which again construct reality. Thus, one seeks to investigate social constructs through analysing that which have become reality through textual objects (ibid.).

## Interview

Brooke Ackerly and Jaqui True (2010: 168-171) illustrates how interviews can be applied in one's research to produce oral history. However, they argue that one must conduct a sample of interviews, as a single interview does not hold the power to account for every aspect of a constructed narrative. Therefore, this report builds on the knowledge of not only secondary literature, but also includes four interviews, two of which have been conducted with influential individuals, working within different international and cross continental NGOs. These two interviews have been conducted with Petter Ölmunger (2020) from *Democracy Without Borders*, and Roger Kotila (2020) from the *Democratic World Federalists*. Whereas the third interview has been conducted with Isabel Bramsen (2021), an associate professor in



international relations, diplomacy. Furthermore, she works for RIKO, also known as *Rådet for International Konflikt Løsning*. And at last, we have Morten Kjaerum (2021), director at the *Raoul Wallenberg Institute* in Sweden, an institute that focuses on human rights and international humanitarian law.

The four interviews are all semi-structured, which means that they are pre-structured interviews, however they do provide space for the interviewee to speak freely, as long as she or he keeps to the topic of interest (Lamont 2015: 83-84).

When conducting the interviews, a guideline by William C. Adams (2015) was followed. This guide guides one through the steps of creating an interview guide, practicing one's interview questions and staying somewhat objective throughout the interviews. The main reason for following the guidelines of Adams, lies in his informal structure, arguing for the interviewer to strive towards building an informal atmosphere between herself and the interviewee through creating a safe space for both to discuss their topics. He describes how interviewers must be smart, while still being sensitive, posed and nimble, being able to change her interview guide mid-interview. Moreover, Adams puts a large focus on the preparation for the interviews. He states that the pre-interview process is as important as the interview itself. During both the pre-interview process as well as during the interviews, these words were taken to heart, thus time was spent doing research, not only about peace as a topic, but also into the people that was going to be interviewed - looking into who they are, their work and their publications, if they had any. During the interviews follow-up questions were asked, hence giving space to the respondent (ibid.).

## Interview Sample and Analysis Process

Previously, it has been mentioned that the sample of interviews which is applied in this thesis, is composed of four interviews. This was however not the initial intention, as initially it had been planned that the thesis would include a sample of minimum six interviews. However, due to the fact that we are currently in the midst of a pandemic, some of the offices that I sought to contact had been sent home, these included Amnesty international and Human Rights Watch, as well as the Nonviolent Peaceforce, Pathfinders and the Initiatives for International Dialogue, all of which did not reply to the interview invitation. Thus, the strategy behind the project had to conform, bringing in the perspectives of two scholars,

alongside the two interviews with Petter Ölmunger from Democracy Without Borders and Roger Kotila from Democratic World Federalists.

With regards to the process of conducting the interviews, each interview was conducted online, on either Zoom or Skype. During each interview, the interviewee agreed to having their interview recorded, for transcription purposes. This moreover made the interview and transcription process easier, as I could provide all my attention towards the interviewee during the interview. The transcription's have been conducted using the computer software *NVivo Transcription*, which lets the researcher slow down the recording, for an easier transcription process.

## Strategy of Analysis

This section of the thesis aims towards developing a model for the analysis, thereby seeking to answer the research question, alongside the guiding questions. The strategy of analysis is primarily based on qualitative content analysis and is supported by the four interviews that have been mentioned above. The section will furthermore explain the reasons behind the structure of the analysis.

Taking point of departure in qualitative content analysis, the analysis ought to uncover and investigate the ways in which international social movement organisations promote the right to peace and peace culture.

The analysis is divided into three sections, the first section investigates whether the right to peace has any power within international law, as well as the ways in which the right to peace is being promoted by the global civil society. The second part of the analysis dives into the global civil society's promotion of peace culture. This section of the analysis is divided into four smaller sections, each section focusing on one of four categories, built on a sample of 10 NGOs. The four categories include: NGOs promoting peace; NGOs promoting *UN Sustainable Development Goal 16+*; NGOs promoting human rights; and NGOs promoting global governance. The final part of the analysis analyses the civil society's influence on global peace culture, in this part of the analysis, the four interviews are applied as the primary resource of knowledge, supported by the knowledge that has been gathered in the theory chapter.

### 3. Discussing Theoretical Perspectives on Peace

Peace studies as a field of research has been discussed and analysed by a broad variety of scholars, who have conceptualised and investigated peace differently. During the following paragraphs, the primary stands and arguments of seven selected scholars will be presented, six of whom are peace scholars in the formal sense, while number seven may be regarded as one of the grandfathers of peace studies. The presentations will be followed by a short introduction to global networks and social movements.

#### The Foundation of Peace studies

Peace Studies as an academic field emerged during the 1950s and 1960s, however individual scholars, such as the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), recognised the importance and centrality of peace centuries prior to the formal establishment of the academic area. Although Kant did not propose a theory of peace, one may regard him as the father of perpetual peace which he coined in the essay *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795), in which he discussed the necessary conditions for the possibility of perpetual peace, outlined as a possible peace program.

According to the reproduction of Kant's essay by Nicholas M. Butler (1939) perpetual peace refers to the state in which peace is permanently established among states. The book is important, due to the way in which it resembles the modern democratic peace theory, albeit tentatively. Kant describes the possibility for republican states, rather than democratic states, to acquire perpetual peace. This choice was conducted due to the comprehension that republican states according to Kant are built on the foundation of representative governments, in which the legislative power is separated from the executive power. His choice of republican states is derived from the perception that republican states are less aggressive than other forms of government and thus they will tend towards peace rather than armed conflict. Kant believed that republican states would be able to enter into perpetual peace as long as they formed a federation of free states. Though the federation would not include a combined legislative body higher than the independent sovereign states, it would however be more valid than a treaty as it would be permanent.

Even though Kant conducted research on the field of peace. His research did not form a school of thought, nor did anyone else's until the aftermath of World War II, with the founding of the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in 1959.

When peace studies formed into an academic field, it was scholars such as Johan Galtung, Kenneth Boulding and Anatol Rapoport who paved the way. Starting in 1959 with the founding of PRIO, a number of peace research institutes began to appear, thereby giving peace scholars a platform from which to publish their research.

In contrast to Kant, Galtung does not restrict peace culture to only exist amongst republican states. Instead, he focuses on peace for all despite their political orientation.

Galtung's main argument focuses on two types of peace. One is 'negative' peace while the other is 'positive' peace. Galtung argues that the absence of armed violence, 'negative' peace, does not necessarily indicate that the society is well-functioning and prosperous. Thus, he argues for 'positive' peace. That is, building direct, structural and cultural peace. In order to elaborate, the society ought to achieve the goal of becoming sustainable, with a culture based on reciprocity, equality, rights and dignity (Galtung & Fischer 2013: 173-178, Galtung 1996: 2-3, 28-29). Furthermore, Galtung regards peace studies as a triangle, drawing parallels to the triangle of diagnosis, that is: diagnosis – prognosis – therapy. Hence, he looks at conflict resolution in three stages, namely: data – theory – values, as he seeks to not only solve the conflict, but also to rebuild society on a path towards achieving 'positive' peace.

Alongside Galtung, Kenneth Boulding (1978) conducted peace research as well. However, his ideas regarding peace theory differentiates from Galtung's, even though Boulding's concept of peace, like Galtung's, focus on both positive and negative aspects of peace. Boulding argues that the positive state of peace seeks to attain a state of good management, orderly resolution of conflict and mature relationships. Whereas the negative site of peace focuses on the absence of turmoil, tension or conflict. Though Boulding's concept of peace draws parallels to Galtung's, he does not speak of the same concepts of peace as Galtung, but rather the strive towards a 'stable' peace, that is a situation in which the probability of war is close to non-existent. Moreover, Boulding points out that one must be aware of the difference between the distinction of war and peace, and the distinction between conflict and non-conflict. This awareness is caused by the fact that all non-conflicts are peaceful, whereas not all conflicts are conflicts of war.

In his article *Is Peace Researchable* from 1963, K. Boulding states that the problem of armed conflict is a problem in social systems. A problem which we continue to try and solve “*as if it was a problem in physical systems*” (Boulding 1963), that is: weapons, armament, genocide, and direct armed conflict, things which according to Boulding are merely parameters of social systems. However, these systems have been changing too quickly for us to grasp, hence leaving us without the wisdom to conquer them (ibid.). Thus, there is a need to investigate and analyse these systems of peace as they are intertwined in the discourse and also the systems of conflict.

Rapoport (1974) takes a different stance towards the understanding of peace, though he too describes stages. However, instead of arguing for a positive peace, Rapoport distinguishes between two perceptions of a *culture of war*. One is war as a disturbance of peace, while the other views war as a state of normality, at times active and at times dormant. His main argument describes how armed conflicts will continue to reoccur as long as there is a culture of war, that is as long as there are institutions entrusted with the task of preparing for and planning future wars. Instead, he argues for disarmament and a culture where armed conflict is not only looked down upon but is removed from the picture as a possibility.

In order to sum up, Galtung, K. Boulding and Rapoport all argue in favour of a culture of peace. A culture where armed conflict is looked ill upon, and where peace is prioritised, not only through discourse but also through actions such as cooperation.

## Peace Culture

Whether there is a global peace culture is contested, however several scholars argue that there are a variety of peace cultures at both the national and regional level. The next paragraphs set out to define and discuss the question: What is peace culture? The foundation on which this concept is drawn, is derived from the works of Joseph de Rivera and Elise Boulding.

According to Rivera (2009: 1-2), the idea of building a global peace culture was contrived at the 1989 UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisations (UNESCO) International Congress. At the congress it was recommended that UNESCO should aid in building “*a new*

*vision of peace by developing a peace culture based on the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights, and equality between men and women*" (ibid). Thus, resolution 52/13 was formed, urging states and civil societies alike, to work towards promoting a culture of peace. However, he argues that the primary distortion to the resolution proved to be the contrasting of peace culture versus military or war culture. Rivera builds his argument, by stating that the implication lies in the fact that the world is currently living in a global military culture. Thus, the powerful states argue for maintaining their military power, as they argue that showing power through military strength is actively preserving peace. Nonetheless, one must remember that war, like slavery, is a societal institution, and thus it can be changed towards a culture of peace. Though as long as states continue to rearm rather than trusting one another to disarm, Rivera argues against the possibility of creating a global peace culture (ibid: 3-5).

Elise Boulding (2008) agrees with Rivera, however her analysis focuses on peace cultures at the local level rather than the supranational level. To her peace culture refers to a variety of attributes that enables peaceful behaviour in a society. She argues that these attributes include a mosaic of identities, attitudes, beliefs, values and institutional patterns, all of which lead people to live life together in peace. Moreover, arguing that peace cultures can be identified in societies that adhere to a culture of nonviolence. In order to elaborate, a peace culture may be built in communities within which the inhabitants live in positive peace. Hence it is not synonymous with civil society, however it is closely related to it. As the difference lies in the fact that civil society does not entail or presuppose positive peace. When investigating the traits of peace culture during everyday life, E. Boulding found that there is a general human predisposition to be responsive to the actions of other humans. Thus, if we take the example of problem solving within familial relations, every family or household develops its own way of solving problems. So does each social group, whether local, national, regional or global, by conforming to both written and unwritten norms and rules (ibid.: 1453, 1461-1462).

Several examples are proposed by Rivera (2009: 11-20) when it comes to illustrating current or previous cultures of peace, the most prominent being the European Union (EU), which according to Rivera in its essence is built on the principles of a regional peace culture. His example focuses on the way in which the EU has made its member states economically interdependent of one another. He describes how the European economic 'spill-over effect'

alongside the open borders to European inhabitants have led the states to have a greater integration with the other countries. Moreover, the European Parliament, European Commission, and European Court of Justice, are providing a supranational level of governance among the member states, which alongside the common currency, the European flag and the anthem, have created greater interdependence within the continent, than any other region on Earth. He also draws on the fact that younger Europeans often think of themselves as 'citizens of Europe' as well as citizens of their respective countries. And last but not least, the European promotion of peace may be the primary achievement of the EU. Rivera argues that armed conflicts occurring among EU member states seem highly unlikely, and thus, due to the variety of achievements acquired by the EU and mentioned above, he argues that the EU is a regional peace culture (ibid: 19-20).

### Critical perspectives in peace theory literature

Elise Boulding was a peace scholar, like her husband. The primary focus of her work was on the idea of peace as a daily process. Thus, she challenges the idea of peace as a static process, and her theory involves the shaping and reshaping of understandings and behaviours to adapt to the constantly changing social world. In her article *Peace Culture*, E. Boulding (2008) describes different conceptual dimensions of peace culture. She states that peace culture can be identified in communities that follow the religious teachings of nonviolence. Moreover, she argues that peace culture cannot be said to present solely the absence of armed conflict. Instead, she argues that peace culture is a continuous process of nonviolent problem solving as well as creating a foundation on which institutions meet the wants and needs of its members. Though one must be aware that peace culture is not equivalent to civil society, the two share components (ibid.: 1453). In the article she views peace in relation to or as a continuation of armed conflict, investigating the cultures of peace in relation to the historical record. Moreover, she examines the use of peace culture in relation to utopian thought, religion and social movements. Being a feminist scholar, Boulding also regards peace culture through the lens of women and children, amongst others finding that there is a general human predisposition to be responsive to other humans, exemplifying the teachings of learning how to smile and the effect of a smile. Hence her focus and interest in peace culture during everyday life comes to include both peace culture through world history and the history of a human being (Boulding 2008).

Even though E. Boulding like the fathers of Peace Studies investigate a culture of peace, she does so through the lens of feminist theory. Thus, bringing the feminist school of philosophy into the field of peace research, alongside other feminists such as Carol Cohn (2004a, 2011) and Claire Duncanson (2016).

Gleditsch et al. (2014) describes how peace research was derived from the intersection of peace activism and the emergence of modern social science. Like Elise Boulding the authors take a feminist stance to peace research. However, instead of proposing a new concept of peace, Gleditsch et al. choose to review Galtung's and K. Boulding's conceptualisations. They describe how Galtung's theory of peace evolved from solely focusing on 'positive' and 'negative' peace, to instead include the negations of 'structural', 'cultural' and 'direct' violence and peace. In other words, structural, cultural and actor-oriented violence and peace. Furthermore, they argue that K. Boulding critiqued Galtung's concept of 'positive' peace. As they argue that K. Boulding was of the conviction that Galtung's concept of 'positive' peace in fact has very little to do with the actuality of society. They argue that Galtung underestimated the costs of inequality. Instead, they argue for a more feminist oriented stance towards peace research, saying that the focus of peace must be shifted from focusing on Galtung's concepts of 'positive' peace, to focus on a 'positive' peace that includes the understanding of inequality within its strategy (ibid.).

Gleditsch et al. (ibid) argue that peace research has come to focus on peace as derived from the termination of war. They state that instead, peace scholars should be focusing on peace as a culture on its own. Thus, if one was to include armed conflict into one's work on peace, it should merely be as a breach of peace and not as a focal point.

## The Right to Peace

Mary Ellen O'Connell (2010:39) writes that human rights require peace for peace to flourish. However, due to the global military culture, the human right to peace is being challenged time and time again. This section of the thesis ought to define and discuss the 'human right to peace'.



According to Iryna Ivankiv (2020: 338), the basic human rights include: the right to a healthy environment; sustainable development; and the right to peace, to mention a few. She argues that the modern understanding of the right to peace, is based on the relationship between the right to live and human rights, peace and development, and the notion of human dignity on the one hand, and on the other hand “*the importance of prevention of armed conflicts in accordance with the UN Charter*” (ibid.: 339). Peace is a prerequisite for the right to life and thus weighs heavily with regards to basic human rights. Her main argument being that human rights and peace are interconnected, due to the fact that human right violations often become the catalysator for armed conflicts, which in turn cause violations of human rights. (ibid.: 339-340).

Carlos Villán Durán (2013: 130) agrees with Ivankiv, stating that:

*“Everyone has the right to human security, which includes freedom from fear and from want, all constituent elements of positive peace [...] Freedom from want implies the enjoyment of the right to sustainable development and economic, social and cultural rights”.*

Thus, drawing on Galtung’s concept of positive peace, Durán describes how the perseverance of human security is important with regards to both human rights and when building a peace culture. In the article he offers a legal analysis of the right to peace, reviewing the right to peace by investigating the 2012 UN Advisory Committee's draft declaration on the right to peace (ibid.).

The standpoints shared by Ivankiv and Duran, is moreover shared by Christian G. Fernandez and David F. Puyana (2017) who too argues that peace is a basic need in order to live life. That is, one may live by solely being alive, however that does not mean that one *lives*.

Drawing on a variety of UN declarations and resolutions, Fernandez and Puyana describes the UN’s involvement in the work towards creating a peace culture. They mainly focus on the international guidelines put forward by the UN in order to spread awareness with regards to the right to peace. In the article, Fernandez and Puyana review the *1984 Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace*, alongside the *2016 Declaration on the Right to Peace*. Moreover, they review the two declarations in relation to other UN initiatives to spread awareness and

information on the right to peace. In the article, Fernandes and Puyana describe how the *2016 Declaration on the Right to Peace* created a balance between the principles of international law captured in the *Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Corporations Among States*, in accordance with the *UN Charter*. In their definition of the right to peace, they stress article 1 of the *1984 Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace*, stating that all peoples have a sacred right to live life in peace (Fernandez & Puyana 2017: 282). Furthermore, they draw on the words proclaimed article 1 of the *Universal Declaration of Human rights*. Namely, “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” (ibid.: 283). On the same page, they describe their understanding of the concept of *human dignity*. Arguing that the concept is rooted in article 2 of the *Declaration on the Right to Peace*, and that the concept is rooted in the three components: Intrinsic values; autonomy; and community value. In other words, they argue that in order to create a culture built on the right to peace, one must honour basic human dignity. Which in turn is built on the three components intrinsic values, autonomy and community value. This entails a focus on honouring and accepting the human rights of every person as equal and accepting that the free individual has the right and power to pursue his or her own idea of a good life.

## Operationalisation

As we have seen above, the field of peace studies has been broadly researched and discussed from various stances to conducting research. Based on the sample of theories put forth, the concept of peace that is applied throughout the remainder of this thesis, is derived from a combination of the theories. The foundation for the concept of peace that is applied in the thesis builds on the theory posed by Galtung (1996), namely that peace can be divided into ‘negative’ peace and ‘positive’ peace. However, the concept differs from Galtung’s due to that it acknowledges the concepts of peace culture and military culture, posed by Rivera (2009), E. Boulding (2008), Duran (2013) and Fernandez and Puyana (2017). In order to elaborate, the concept of peace used in the paper acknowledges that peace culture can only occur in a society where positive peace is stable. Whereas military culture occurs in societies that participate in armed conflict, or other acts in violation of basic human rights.

Furthermore, the concept of peace that is applied throughout the thesis takes a different stance to positive peace than Galtung, as the argument presented by Gleditsch et al. (2014), describing how Galtung’s concept of positive peace has little to do with the actuality of

society, is agreed upon. Thus, the concept chooses to acknowledge that costs of inequality and social imbalance impacts all societies and may not cease to exist. Hence, the concept of peace that is utilised in the thesis, argues that positive peace may occur in societies that actively chooses to solve its issues non-violently, as well as building structural, cultural and direct peace.

## Global Civil Society

Global civil society is a contested concept, which according to Mary Kaldor (2003) often is being misinterpreted. The concept of global civil society was coined during the 1970s to 1990s, hence, globalising the concept of civil society. Moreover, it is a normative ideal, as the ethic or main idea of a global civil society lies in building a plausible and desirable society in which the voices of the individual may be heard alongside those of governments, thereby enabling for instance athletes, campaigners, musicians or religious believers to speak their minds and share their world views (Keane 2003: 4, 7). This chapter ought to define and conceptualise the understanding of the concept of global civil society that is applied throughout the paper.

According to Kaldor (ibid.: 5-11) the concept of global civil society was derived from the growing interconnectedness between states, occurring during the twentieth century. Kaldor argues that global civil society ought to be understood in terms of widening the concept of civil society, hence moving away from the purely state-centred approaches that once was the primary focus of the concept, in order to take a more global understanding to the concept of civil society.

She defines five different versions of the concept of civil society, two of which are visions drawn from the past, while the last three are contemporary understandings of the term. The five conceptualisations include: *Societas Civilis*, which refers to the original terminology of civil society. This conceptualisation regards civil society as a political community built on a rule of law, based on a peaceful order-based society that focuses on implicit or explicit consent of individuals. Unlike the later conceptualisations of the concept, this stance towards civil society, requires a fixed state, as according to this conceptualisation, “*civil society is distinguished not from the state but from non-civil societies*” (ibid.: 7); the second variation of the concept of global civil society, is that of the *bourgeois society*. A civil society which draws on the thoughts and theories of Georg W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) and Karl Marx (1818-

1883). This conceptualisation of the term may be said to be divided into two, as for Marx the civil society was the ‘theatre of history’, whilst for Hegel it was the ‘achievement of the modern age’. In order to elaborate, civil society in the Bourgeois sense, was the arena of ethical life, placed in between the state and the family. In order to take a global stance to the terminology of the bourgeois society, the global civil society would focus on bottom-up policy making as well as focusing on bottom-up initiatives to drive globalisation (ibid.:8); the third stance to civil society is the activist stance to the concept, also known as the *post-Marxist* or *Utopian* version of the concept. Like *Societas Civilis*, this terminology of the concept presupposes a state or rule of law. What is important when regarding this definition at the transnational or global level is the existence of a global public sphere. That is, a global space where non-institutional communication can take place through global social movements and transnational advocacy networks (ibid.); the last two versions of the concept, include the neoliberal version, which may also be described as *laissez-faire politics*. This version of civil society argues that civil society consists of associational life. That is, it focuses on a non-profit, voluntary ‘third sector’, which not only restricts state power, but also provides a substitute for many of the functions performed by the state. This version of civil society may be the easiest to transform into a global concept, as it is regarded as the political and social counterpart of the process of globalisation, understood as economic globalisation, liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation. Instead, the *laissez-faire* civil society focuses on bottom-up approaches through the work of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and social movements; last is the *postmodern civil society*, which departs from the universalism of the activist and neoliberal conceptualisations (ibid.: 10). Kaldor describes this version of civil society in the following words:

*“Civil society is an arena of pluralism and contestation, a source of incivility as well as civility (...) In particular, postmodernists emphasize the importance of national and religious identities as well as multiple identities as a precondition for civil society (...) From this perspective, it is possible to talk about global civil society in the sense of the global spread of fields of contestation”* (ibid.).

Drawing on these five concepts of civil society, my conceptualisation of the term is aligned with the activist version. That is, the global civil society is about political emancipation, and the empowerment of individuals as an extension of democracy. Thus, when bringing civil society to a global scale, it focuses on the possibilities for emancipation at a global scale, it is

about ‘civilising’ or democratising globalisation as well as the process through which groups, social movements and individuals have the power to demand a global rule of law, global justice and empowerment (ibid.: 12).

## Global Responsibility

Since global responsibility has an immense influence on whether we will be able to build a global peace culture or not, this section of the thesis ought to develop a framework of guidelines in which the conditions for a global peace culture will flourish. This framework is based on a report by Isabel Bramsen (2012) who bases her framework on theories of conflict transformation, global ethics and moral cosmopolitanism. The concept of global responsibility applied in the thesis is a compilation of her two concepts *global responsibility* and *empathy beyond borders*.

Bramsen describes how our actions affect others when we enter global networks, hence expanding our circle of responsibility, through global interconnectedness. In order to elaborate, she argues that it is not sufficient merely to live up to one’s national duties, as instead one must consider the normative norms and rules of the broader global society (ibid). In the report Bramsen draws on a variety of scholars, amongst them are Thomas Pogge (2008) who argues that the rich should allocate their money towards reforming the international system, alongside Kwame A. Appiah (2006) and Peter Singer (2009), both of whom advocate for a positive responsibility and a negative responsibility. In order to elaborate, a positive responsibility is a responsibility where one is responsible to support others, whereas a negative responsibility is one’s responsibility not to harm another human being. This perception of the concept of responsibility thus follows the guidelines posed by Galtung’s concepts of negative peace and positive peace, where negative peace focuses on the absence of armed conflict, and positive peace focuses on building a sustainable peace culture. Later Bramsen (2012) draws on Iris Young (2011), whose argument is that everyone who becomes engaged in unjust structures also holds the power to change these structures. Thus, rather than focusing on the international order, Young focuses her attention on how the individual can influence structures at all levels, as she argues that our responsibility comes from belonging together in a system of interdependent processes (ibid.).

The second dimension is empathy beyond borders. Empathy beyond borders influences our global culture as well, because without empathy, no one would think to stop the suffering occurring within another state. Concurrently with the growing global interconnectedness, empathy beyond one's borders are growing too. According to Bramsen (ibid.: 17) empathy *“adds to the dimension of awareness since the realization of the connection between oneself and the suffering of others might give rise to empathy beyond borders”*. In order to elaborate, she describes how empathy is the social glue that glues the global network of billions of people together, as it is the ability to imagine oneself in the place of another.

In order to sum up, the way in which the concept of global responsibility is applied in this thesis is as an umbrella term, combining the concepts of global responsibility and empathy beyond borders, posed by Bramsen (2012). Thus, global responsibility is a combination of the responsibility that one feels towards his or her country and the responsibility that one feels towards the global community, whereas empathy implies putting yourself in the shoes of another individual. The concept of global responsibility used in the thesis combines this empathy with the responsibility that one feels towards helping and protecting other human beings, hence looking past the ‘othering’ that often arises among people, states, cultures and religions, in order to instead live in a global culture of diversity, requiring *“a sense of openness, nonjudgmental point of view, an appreciation of cultural differences, and desire to continually find common ground among people”* (Bramsen 2012: 18).

## 4. Context Chapter

This context chapter seeks to outline and investigate a sample of declarations and constitutions that play a role throughout the thesis.

Through the years the UN General Assembly (UNGA) has proposed guidelines regarding the right to peace in the form of UNGA declarations, the first part of the chapter ought to present these declarations, they include *the 1984 Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace; the 1999 Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace; and the 2016 Declaration on the right to Peace*. The second part of the chapter will look at the Earth constitution, seeking to acquire a greater understanding regarding why the idea may aid in building a more stable and peaceful global culture.

### 1984 Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace

*The Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace* was adopted on 12 November 1984, during the 57-plenary meeting at the UNGA (General Assembly resolution 39/11). The declaration was devoted to the relationship among states and the condemnation of armed conflict. In order to elaborate, the declaration was adopted with the vision to promote and protect the right of peoples to peace, arguing that the states must implement and respect the following set of principles contained in art. 2 of the UN Charter, that is:

*“prohibition of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, the prohibition to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, the cooperation among States, the self-determination of peoples and the sovereign equality of States”* (Fernandez and Puyana 2017: 277).

Moreover, it was stated that disarmament, alongside the economic and social development of states, the limitation of the arms race and the attainment of social progress and justice were of vital importance to promoting the right of peoples to peace. Fernandez and Puyana (2017: 279) argues that the declaration was not linked to international human rights law, nor does it refer to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* or other human rights instruments, as

instead there is solemnly a general reference to human rights in accordance with the following citation:

*“...life without war serves as the primary international prerequisite for the material well-being, development and progress of countries, and for the full implementation of the rights and fundamental human freedoms proclaimed by the United Nations”*  
(General Assembly resolution 39/11).

As a consequence, the UN Member States have traditionally understood that the right of peoples to peace should be linked to the guidelines and principles proclaimed in art. 2 of the UN Charter (Fernandez and Puyana 2017: 279).

## 1999 Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace

The 1999 Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace differs from the previous declaration due to that it focuses on building a sustainable peace culture, rather than focusing on the right to peace. It recognised the equality between men and women, moreover, focusing on the importance of non-discrimination, seeking to ensure that:

*“children [...] benefit from education on values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life to enable them to resolve any dispute peacefully and in a spirit of respect for human dignity and of tolerance and non-discrimination”* (Fernandes and Puyana 2017: 285).

Furthermore, the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace recognised the importance of fundamental freedoms as part of a culture of peace:

*“a culture of peace is a set of values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviour and ways of life based on...: (c) Full respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and ... (i) Adherence to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding at all levels of society and among nations”* (ibid: 286).



Justice too was a focal point of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, stating that principles of justice are of importance if the national and international environment are to build a society that follows the principles of peace culture.

## 2016 Declaration on the Right to Peace

This declaration was the second declaration adopted by the UNGA, which was directed directly towards the right to peace. *The Declaration on the Right to Peace* was adopted on 19 December 2016, during the 65-plenary meeting, and updates the 1984 Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace, by including a human rights and human dignity perspective. The new elements included in the 2016 Declaration on the Right to peace included the phenomenon of terrorism, the recognition that promotion of the rights of persons belonging to minorities is an integral part of the development of a society and the recognition that racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia are among the root causes of many armed conflicts. For this reason, the Declaration recalls for the necessity to promote and implement internationally esteemed policies and programs, to further national, regional and international measures, with regards to furthering equal and peaceful behaviour (Fernandez and Puyana 2017, General Assembly resolution 71/189).

The vision of the Declaration was based on the notion of human dignity, recognising that in order to build a peace culture, we must recognise that all members of the human race have a basic right to human dignity. In order to elaborate, article 2 of the Declaration on the right to peace is rooted in human dignity, and can be divided into three components:

*“intrinsic values, which identify the special status of human beings in the world; autonomy, which expresses the right of every person, as a moral being and as free and equal individual, to make decisions and pursue his own idea of the good life; and community value, conventionally defined as the legitimate state and social interference in the determination of the boundaries of personal autonomy”* (Fernandez and Puyana 2017).

Respect towards the integrity and intrinsic values of a person requires the state to protect the right to life, thus prohibiting the use of torture, armed conflict and other forms of ill treatment. The right to integrity is thus of utmost importance in order to build a peaceful

society. Secondly autonomy, as contained in art. 2 of the declaration, is the concept of existential minimum. That is, the basic right to the provision of adequate living conditions, hence requiring access to essential utilities, such as education, health services and food, water, clothing and shelter. Furthermore, autonomy includes the ability to individual decision making. The third and last component of human dignity as applied in art. 2, refers to community value. Which refers to the social dimension of dignity. It focuses on the role of the state and the community in establishing collective normative roles and restrictions (ibid).

## Earth Constitution

*“When people live within a framework that recognizes them all as world citizens first, prior to their race, religion, or nationality, and demands of them global civic responsibilities, then their worldcentric consciousness will rapidly emerge, along with a hitherto unrealized capacity for objectivity and reason”* (Martin 2019: 5).

According to Glen T. Martin (ibid.) as well as the rest of the world federalist movement, the UN is based on outdated premises. Instead, Martin argues that if we are to overcome the chaos of armed conflicts, climate change and other forms of planetary chaos, our best option is to turn away from UN resolutions and declarations, in order to instead start operating from the ‘*a priori*’ status of a holistic world government, such as for instance posed by the *Constitution for the Federation of Earth*. He argues that the great realisation that came out of the 20th century is that law, alongside justice, human rights and human dignity, all are inherently universal at their core. Hence, he argues that the premises of global capitalism and sovereign nation states are not able to provide the foundation for an evolution towards a sustainable and peaceful global community (Martin 2015). Instead, Martin argues for a world federalist state system, centring on the idea of a democratic world government, under which the human population is morally required to live according to universal laws, protecting and promoting the freedom, equality and liberty of every individual (Martin 2019).

The Earth Constitution was drafted in 1968 by the *Earth Constitution Institute*, which had been formed ten years earlier in 1958. With its 19 articles following the Preambulatory clauses, the Earth Constitution propounds the establishment of a world government on the principles of unity in diversity, with a focus on integrity (Martin 2019, Earth Constitution

Institute n.d.). The Constitution for the Federation of Earth builds on the principle of creating a universal free republic, derived from the idea of embracing all peoples of Earth, as the World Federalist Movement believes that our current system of fragmentation and divisiveness defeats human freedom (World Parliament n.d.).

## 5. Data sample

As it has been mentioned previously, the sample that is applied in the analysis, is based on a sample of 10 social movement organisations, that focuses on four different aspects of peace culture. Moreover, the sample will be grouped according to their primary focus points. The groups include: Peace, SDG16+, human rights, and the focus on introducing a world parliament. This part of the thesis ought to present the data sample, seeking to build a foundation of knowledge regarding the variety of social movement organisations, prior to digging into the analysis. The 10 social movement organisations include:

Figure 1



### NGOs Promoting Peace

This group of NGOs are composed of three NGOs that focus on the promotion of peace. The first NGO is the *West Africa Network for Peacebuilding* (WANEP), a regional peacebuilding organisation founded in 1998 to respond to the civil wars that plagued West Africa during the 1990s. Since then, WANEP has grown to become an influential voice on the African continent, moreover it has succeeded in establishing national networks with every member state of the *Economic Community of West African States* (ECOWAS). WANEP focuses on building collaborative approaches towards preventing conflicts, furthermore, aiding in the

peacebuilding process if armed conflicts are to occur in the West African region. Hence, the mission that WANEP has set out to accomplish is focusing on enabling, as well as being the driving force behind the mechanisms for cooperation among civil society-based peacebuilding practitioners and organisations in West Africa (WANEP 2021).

Like WANEP, the *Nonviolent Peaceforce* (2020) has a primary focus on conflict response and the promotion of peace, however it has a global focus rather than focusing on a region such as Africa. With a mission to break the cycle of repeating violence, the Nonviolent Peaceforce prevents violence, protects civilians and promotes peace through mediation and the unique tool of unarmed civilian protection (UCP). In order to explain, UCP refers to the use of unarmed civilians, protecting civilians in conflict torn areas. They argue that protection is about preventing, reducing and stopping violence, moreover, mentioning how it is a common assumption that only armed military or police hold the power to conduct the work of peacekeeping. Instead, they believe that unarmed civilians have the same power, and have proved this to be true during various conflict situations around the world. In order to sum up, the Nonviolent Peaceforce is a global civilian protection agency that builds peace on the ground, side by side with local communities, furthermore, advocating to safeguard human lives and human dignity. Envisioning a global peace culture, the Nonviolent Peaceforce often responds to invitations by credible local organisations in order to help build sustainable peace. They also tend to be contacted by civilians under threat, which provides even more credibility to the NGO. Their activities span from entering conflict zones to remove civilians, to providing opposing factions with a safe space to negotiate. Hence, the NGO is inspired by the vision of peaceful mediation and peacebuilding that followed Gandhi, Maude Roydon, Badshah Khan and many others fighting for a global peace culture (Nonviolent Peaceforce 2020).

The third NGO in this category, is based in the Philippines. Established in 1988 the *Initiatives for International Dialogue* (IID) is an advocacy institution that promotes human security, democratisation and people-to-people solidarity. Today the NGO conducts policy advocacy and campaigns in Burma, Mindanao, Southern Thailand, West Papua and East Timor, alongside the Philippines, thus the NGO is a regional organisation like WANEP. Having engagement in various levels and arenas, the IID is thus an organisation that influences both the local, national, regional and global levels. It influences policies both within and outside the ASEAN member states. The peace process program posed by IID aims to highlight the

various initiatives of both formal and community-based peace processes (Initiatives for International Dialogue n.d.).

The IID has three programs, two of which focus on peace processes, human security and human rights. The first program is called *Human Security and Peace Building (HSPB)* and is intended to strengthen human security, as a first step towards building sustainable peace. During their work IID focuses on partnering with grassroots communities, civil society organisations, non-state actors and state bodies. They tackle situations of armed conflict, impunity, identity-based marginalisation, as well as other forms of conflict situations. The second program of interest is their *Solidarity Building Program (SBP)*. This program aims towards developing, expanding and strengthening solidarity. The SBP contributes to the promotion of democracy, human rights and peace. These campaigns have been relevant in issues regarding democracy, human security, self-determination, human rights and gender-based issues (Devex 2020).

## Social Movement Networks Promoting SDG16+

The second category of social movement organisations are compiled of a group that focuses on Sustainable Development Goal 16 which again focuses on promoting “*peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels*” (United Nations n.d.). Like the previous group this group is composed of three networks.

*Pathfinders* (n.d.) is the first social movement network which has been categorised under this group. It is a group of 38 UN member states, international organisations, global partnerships, civil society organisations and agents from the private sector. Starting in September 2017 it launched the *Roadmap for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies*. They aim towards achieving measurable change in accordance with SDG16+ by the second summit in 2023, by basing their transformative strategy on three strategies, namely, prevention, renovation and involvement. In order to elaborate, Pathfinders focuses on investment into the area of prevention so that the societies on Earth as well as its peoples, get the possibility to reach their full potential; secondly, they work towards transforming institutions so that they can meet the aspirations for a more prosperous and inclusive sustainable future; and last they

focus on inclusion, seeking to include and empower people to fulfil their full potential and work towards building a better future for all (ibid.).

Moreover, Pathfinders work towards halving global violence by 2030. They argue that violence is not inevitable, but instead it is a “*preventable epidemic because solutions are known and are an investment with exponential returns*” (ibid.). Thus, we have the means and tools to reduce violence, with smart policies, programs and financing (ibid.).

The second social movement network is the *Civil Society Platform for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding* (CSPPS), a member led international network, composed of civil society actors, practitioners, experts and academics from all over the world. Together they have worked towards preventing conflicts, peacebuilding and statebuilding in more than 27 fragile states and conflict torn areas. CSPPS was formed in 2011 as a central platform for the civil society to generate ideas, and where agents could discuss and act towards building a peaceful global community. Its mission is to strengthen the voices of societies to effectively engage in, and influence peacebuilding as a contribution towards the prevention of armed conflicts and other forms of crisis. The reason behind the CSPPS’ placement in this group of social movement networks, is based on their focus on acting according to SDG16+, by shaping and infusing the SDGs into their processes (Civil Society Platform for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding n.d.).

The third and last social movement network in this category is the *Transparency, Accountability and Participation Network* (TAP Network), which is an international coalition of civil society organisations who work together to achieve the goals of SDG16+. The goal of the TAP Network is hence to promote peace, justice and inclusiveness, furthermore, seeking to aid in enhancing the accountability for the *2030 Agenda* for the SDGs. Composed of hundreds of NGOs and other forms of civil society organisations, the TAP networks work includes the coordination of collective global advocacy, alongside its work with the SDGs and especially SDG16+. Their vision is to “*Transform people, institutions, and societies to support lasting change for a more peaceful, just, inclusive, accountable and sustainable world at all levels*” (TAP Network n.d.), with their mission being to empower communities and aid in achieving the goals of the 17 SDGs. The TAP Network targets three primary goals: 1) Empowering national and local civil society to foster an active vibrant and engaged global network to advance SDG16+ and SDG accountability. 2) Improve SDG localisation and

capacity building. 3) Strengthen monitoring, data and accountability for SDG16+ and the 2030 Agenda (ibid.).

## NGOs Promoting Human Rights

Composed of two NGOs the third category focuses on promoting and strengthening the human rights of all peoples on Earth. The first NGO in this category is *Amnesty International* (n.d.), a global NGO and social movement, composed of more than 10 million people worldwide. Amnesty International is campaigning for a world where human rights are enjoyed by all peoples. Founded by neutral citizens, Amnesty international is an NGO that regards itself as being independent from any political ideology, economic interest or specific religion. Instead, Amnesty speaks on the behalf of everyone, through the voices and actions of the peoples of Earth. The mission of Amnesty International is to investigate and expose the fact that arises whenever abuse occurs. Their work is conducted through peaceful lobbying, and they do so through research and storytelling, as well as through mobilising people through campaigns to gather signatures and showing one's support through SMS campaigns. Founded in 1961, Amnesty has been achieving ground-breaking goals through the years, and has today grown to become one of the most influential NGOs within the global community (Amnesty International n.d.).

The second human rights-based NGO is the *Human Rights Watch*, who like Amnesty investigates and acts on abuses occurring all over the world. Composed of roughly 450 people from 70-plus nations, the Human Rights Watch (2021) works to protect those who are most at risk. Directing their advocacy towards governments, armed groups and businesses, the Human Rights Watch lobby agents and organisations to change and or enforce their laws, policies and practices, to ensure safety. In order to ensure independence, they thrive on donations alone, all of which are undergoing careful review, according to their website. The Human Rights watch was formed in 1978 as the 'Helsinki Watch', when a group of people began investigating human rights abuses in countries that had signed the Helsinki Accords. Since then, the work of the Human Rights Watch has expanded to include five continents, where they during the decades have participated in the investigations of massacres, genocides, government takeovers and many other forms of abuse and human rights violations. Like Amnesty International, the Human Rights Watch conducts a majority of its



research on-the-ground, their researchers building the foundations on which they conduct their work. They push towards change by partnering with human rights groups, making detailed recommendations to governments, international institutions, rebel groups and corporations. Their efforts focus on the legal and moral groundwork that provides massive changes in policy, law and public opinions. Moreover, the Human Rights Watch work to strike a balance between working in areas where the most conflicts and human rights violations occur, and nations where they can bring about the most change, as they believe that the “*more tyrants we bring to justice, the more potential abusers will reconsider committing human rights violations*” (Human Rights Watch 2021).

## NGOs Promoting a Democratic World Order

The fourth category of NGOs focuses on building a democratic world order. This category is composed of two NGOs, the first of which is *Democracy Without Borders*, while the second is *Democratic World Federalists*. Democracy Without Borders (n.d.) advocates for what they call an integrated approach to the promotion of democracy. That is, according to their website, the promotion of global democratic institutions, as they argue that the many major key decisions, made among the states, are conducted beyond the nation-state. In order to elaborate, they describe how the government is “*of the people, by the people, for the people*” (ibid.), and that within the era of globalisation, public decisions have come to transcend democracy at the national level. Thus, they lobby global democracy, alongside a holistic approach to democracy promotion that spans from the local level, through the national and regional levels, to the global level, while at the same time embracing the dimensions of representation, deliberation and participation, in its abilities of co-decision (ibid.).

In company with Democracy Without Borders, we find the Democratic World Federalists (2005), a group of activists who lobbies for the implementation of global governance as well. Focusing on introducing a democratic federal government at the global level, while allowing the states to keep their sovereignty, the Democratic World Federalists lobby to solve the toughest challenges that arise on the Earth. The World Federalist Movement was formed in the aftermath of World War II to prevent and solve conflicts non-violently. Over the decades they have come to understand that the major problems arising on Earth are global,

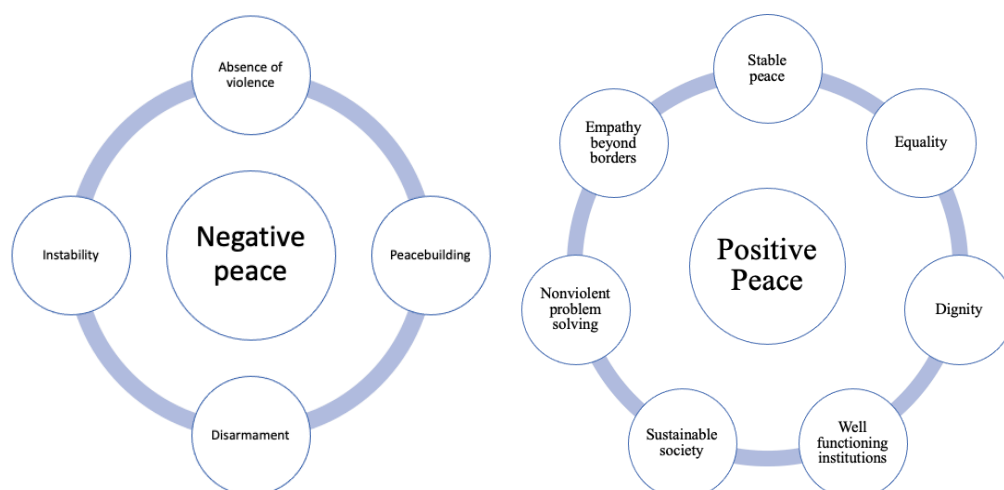
however the institutions and laws are inadequate to solve them. Hence, they regard a World Federation as the ideal structure to ensure a just and peaceful international community. A world federation according to the Democratic world Federalists, addresses problems within a state. Whether it is structured as a parliamentary system or a presidential system, it will hold the power to push global legislative decisions as well as taking actions against abuse and other forms of conflict. The Democratic World Federalists are currently working on three core projects, these include the Democratic World Federalist Network, the ratification of the Earth Constitution and the transformation of the UN into a real governmental body (Democratic World Federalists 2005).

## 7. Analysis

This chapter ought to collect and analyse the knowledge that has been gathered during the two chapters *Discussing Theoretical Perspectives on Peace* and *Context Chapter*, in order to analyse the extent to which as well as how the 10 NGOs, which have been presented in the data sample, promote peace.

With the knowledge that has been collected during this initial phase, it has become clear that the concepts of negative peace and positive peace build on a variety of different focus points. Thus, the two illustrations below, seeks to uncover their complexities:

Figure 2



As one can read from the two illustrations, one can argue that positive peace is a more stable and sustainable prolongation of negative peace. The different areas of each type of peace will be included in the analysis, as each 'area', whether it is instability or stable peace, influences whether it is possible to not only respect and comply with human rights, but also whether it will be possible to build a sustainable peace culture. Thus these 'areas' will be analysed in relation to each NGO as well as whether the NGOs promote peace.

The analysis hence takes a deductive approach to conducting research, thus basing the analysis on already existing theoretical framework, rather than building the research on theories that has resulted from observations which has been gathered by the researcher.

## Promotion of the Right to Peace

*“Albert Einstein wrote in 1945 that, history showed that when one prepares oneself for war, one always finishes by making it” (Alston 1980: 324).*

Horribly enough Einstein’s observation still is pertinent today. With the world’s military expenditure reaching \$14,76 trillion in 2017, the world’s military expenditure has grown massively since it was at \$M 500,000 in 1980 (Institute for Economics and Peace 2018: 2, Alston 1980: 324). Even though peace for centuries has been cited as a preeminent goal within the international community, the large number of international armed conflicts and the extensive number of human rights violations continue to thrive within Earth’s global military culture (Kotila 2020). The purpose of this section of the analysis is to consider the extent to which the right to peace has obtained formal recognition in international law, as well as investigating and analysing whether the sample of NGOs promote the right to peace.

### Is the Human Right to Peace Recognised within International Law?

*“Let us start with the UN Charter, which when I read it, I started underlining the word peace and I found out that in the UN Charter they use the word peace 43 times. The problem is that since 1945 there has not been any peace, there has been perpetual war” (ibid).*

It is clear, from a human rights perspective, that such a right, as the human right to peace, may be agreed upon in theoretical terms (Alston 1980: 319), as both negative peace and positive peace affect the possibility of the human being to *live* life, in accordance with the argument put forth by Fernandez and Puyana (2017). They argue that one may live by solely being alive, though that does not entail that one *lives*. The theory behind a human right to peace has not only been discussed by scholars, but it has also entered the policy discussions within the UN. According to Philip Alston (1980) the human right to peace is not solely a theory. Instead, he argues that the right to peace has been drawn upon ever since the introduction of the UN Charter in 1945. Since then, the right to peace has gained foothold in

the final report of the *UNESCO Expert Meeting on Human Rights, Human Needs and the Establishment of a New International Economic Order*, which states:

*“By virtue of the proclamation contained in the United Nations Charter to effect that human rights and freedoms shall be respected and the use of force prohibited, one of the basic rights of each individual is embodied in international law, namely, the right to peace”* (ibid: 323).

Similarly, the human right to peace has laid the foundation for the 1984 Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace and the 2016 Declaration on the Right to Peace. Thus, the right to peace has witnessed the focus of the UN at several points in time, both as an ‘umbrella right’ and a right on its own (General Assembly resolution 39/11 1984, General Assembly resolution 71/189 2016).

However, whether the right to peace has any legal leverage is contested, and for many, the contestation already arises with the mentioning of peace as a human right. According to Alston (1980: 325) there is no question behind whether the right to peace a human right is. However, the scope and leverage of the human right to peace has not yet reached the degree of certainty which is required for its promotion as a norm that weighs heavily enough to be capable of determining or guiding the nature and direction of the international community. Though there has been a broad number of important developments in regard to the establishment of certain principles that can be said to fall under the umbrella of the right to peace, the fact is that the full content of the human right to peace cannot yet unequivocally be identified as holding the power that comes with international law (ibid 326).

Another focal point of the critique regarding the right to peace, focuses on the fact that no effort has yet been undertaken with regards to providing a definition or operationalisation of the right (ibid). An argument which is being shared by the director of the Raoul Wallenberg Institute, Morten Kjaerum (2021), who argues that *“the right to peace, as a right, is not articulated”*. He continued by stating that when he combines all of the human rights, the influence of them holds the power to build a more stable society, *“a society with peace, or at least there is a better opportunity to build such a society”* (ibid.). However, he also questions how one can measure the right to peace, as well as who would be to blame if a breach to the peace was to occur. He asks, *“Who has invaded or insulted my right to peace?”* (ibid.) and

though he does argue that it is possible to come up with guidelines that say that the insult lies in the hands of the fighting parties, the scope to which this right would influence the international community, is an enigma. This argument is moreover shared by the Chair of the Democratic World Federalists, Roger Kotila (2020), who in his interview states that “*It is just not good enough to say, oh, we need peace. We have a right to peace. We have to explain how we can get it*”.

The human right to peace is thus surrounded by a complex discussion regarding not only its validity within international law, but also the scope of its power as well as how it should be operationalised. However, the way in which the right to peace is understood and operationalised within this analysis, builds on the concepts of negative and positive peace that has been formulated within the operationalisation section in the chapter *Discussing theoretical Perspectives on Peace* and moreover is outlined in the figure above.

### To What Extent and How Does the Civil Society Promote the Right to Peace?

With the awareness of the fact that the right to peace does not hold any legal power, the right still influences the acts of the international civil society. Though the right to peace is not mentioned by any of the NGOs, and thus is underpromoted through the means of direct promotion. One can argue that they abide by the guidelines of an individual who has the right to negative peace, while some of them even work towards building societies that live in peace cultures or positive peace. Hence, though none of the NGOs actively promotes the right to peace, they still do so through the means of activity. Thus, one can argue that the sample of NGOs does promote the right to peace indirectly. In order to elaborate, the civil society has a strong foothold within the processes of peace building, problem solving and the rebuilding of societies and individuals after the atrocities of armed conflict or other forms of peace disturbance has occurred. This section of the thesis seeks to investigate the extent to which the right to peace is promoted through the work of NGOs.

Amongst the group of NGOs which one may be said to promote the right to peace through their actions, one can find: The West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), the Nonviolent Peaceforce and the Initiatives for International Dialogue (IID), whom alongside the SDG16+ networks, works to build a more peaceful and sustainable Earth. In order to

elaborate, neither of the NGOs mentions that their work is aligned with the right to peace. However, the work they conduct and the ways in which they do so, does in fact align with promoting the right. That is, each of the NGO's lobby to resolve and end armed conflict.

The work conducted by the West African NGO WANEP (2021) builds on a set of approaches that focuses on both the prevention of conflict and conflict resolution. One of the interesting areas of their work, lies in their focus on peace education, educating not only adults, but also putting resources into their *Youth, Peace and Security Program*. A tool that has been produced to include the youth of West Africa into the process of not only conflict resolution, but also teaching them the knowledge to prevent future conflict. WANEP's peace education program includes tools such as peer mediation and policy influencing and advocacy on governance focused issues such as peace and security. Thus, WANEP expands its promotion of peace from focusing on peacebuilding and conflict prevention, to giving the West African peoples the tools to actively participate in the peace process (ibid).

What makes WANEP fascinating in relation to the human right to peace, is that they do not stop after ending a conflict. Instead, they seek to rekindle broken human relations. Thus, through their strategy to educate the peoples in West Africa, WANEP provides them with the tools to not only prevent conflict or rebuild their societies if a conflict was to occur, but also how they can rebuild the trust that breaks when a conflict or other forms of human rights violations are to occur (ibid.).

The Nonviolent Peaceforce (2020) promotes the right to peace as well. With an annual expenditure of \$14,686 million pushed towards the execution of their projects and programs the Nonviolent Peaceforce interrupts and prevents armed conflict, by deploying unarmed civilians into conflict torn areas, their aim being to protect civilians at imminent risk. One of their current cases is based in South Sudan, where the Nonviolent Peaceforce enhances the capacity of South Sudanese people to take active part in creating change within their communities, thereby taking a leading role in 'on the ground' peacebuilding and violence reduction. Launched in 2010, the program has grown to become one of the largest protection programs in the country, focusing on child protection, women's participation in peace and security, and the reduction of violence against civilians. The Nonviolent Peaceforce moreover takes active participation in the peace education process, where it, like WANEP, teaches civilians in nonviolence, self-protection and conflict management.

According to the Pathfinders (n.d.) “*Violence is not inevitable; it is a preventable epidemic because solutions are known and are an investment with exponential returns*”. The SDG16+ movement strives towards minimising global violence by 50% by 2030. Though the Pathfinders seek to achieve the same goal as the NGOs that are mentioned above, they do so by bringing together like-minded member states, international organisations, networks, the private sector and the civil society. Hence, their work does not focus on deploying people into conflict torn areas, as instead their focus is upon providing a platform for ambitious action on SDG16+. The focus point of the Pathfinders is thus to keep its partners connected and up to date regarding transformative strategies to prevent and resolve armed conflict. The work performed by the Pathfinders is shared by the Civil Society Platform for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (CSPPS) as well as the Transparency, Accountability and Participation Network (TAP), both of which seek to promote strategies to achieve the goals of SDG16+.

In order to sum up, the ways in which the right to peace is being promoted by the civil society includes a variety of strategies and action programs. Thus, showing how the right to peace does have influence on the actions conducted by the civil society, even though the right does not have any legal power. In order to elaborate, the writer of this thesis would argue that the right to peace is drawn upon within every act performed with the aim to prevent or resolve conflict, whether this is at the national, regional or global level. Hence, the work of an NGO, actively engaging in conflict prevention or peacebuilding can be argued to have a direct link to the right to peace. This does however also regard the right to peace as more of an ‘umbrella right’ rather than a right in its own terms.

Thus, the promotion of the right to peace is not visible through the text that is written down on the NGOs websites, nor their annual reports, but through their actions and goals.

## Promotion of a Peace Culture

*”I’m writing a paper, a short paper, which argues that the present global system produces paranoia between nations, and the reason the design produces paranoia is because of sovereignty [...] We are in a global war system” (Kotila 2020).*



Kotila hence agrees with the argument put forth by Rivera (2009: 3-5) in the section on peace culture, namely that we are currently living in a global military culture. That is a global culture in which one can argue that peace is the exception of conflict, rather than conflict being a breach on the culture of peace. This chapter of the analysis ought to analyse whether and how the global civil society promotes a culture of peace. The chapter will be structured into the same categories as in the chapter presenting the data sample. Furthermore, the concept of peace culture, which is applied, builds on the foundations of negative peace and positive peace, both of which are illustrated in figure 2.

### NGOs Promoting Peace

During the recent years, West African organisations such as WANEP (2021) have been introducing the voices of women into the field. They too have become warriors, alongside their masculine counterparts. Hence, large numbers of women joined the ranks in conflicts such as the wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia. *Women in Peacebuilding* is a peacebuilding strategy which alongside WANEP's peace education programs, have been well thought out and introduced by WANEP during the past couple of years. Giving women in the West African region voices to be heard, on equal terms with men. Based on bottom-up policy making and peace education, WANEP have succeeded in not only teaching West African youth about peace, but also bringing women into the process of conflict resolution. In order to elaborate, WANEP has succeeded in bringing equality to the processes of conflict prevention and peacebuilding, providing the West African populations with the tools of not only conflict resolution, but also peace education. Thus, the West African population is being thought to both avoid conflict and also end the atrocities if a conflict is to arise (WANEP 2021).

The IID is a subregional NGO like WANEP. Based in Southeast Asia and the Philippines, the IID's work focuses on people-to-people solidarity, through its programs on peacebuilding. The program is the *Peace Process* program, which implements strategies such as peace monitoring, network building, political dialogues and advocacy on transnational justice. Like WANEP, the IID focuses on providing aid at the local level, furthermore, providing a platform for local peoples to communicate and lobby for change. The aim of the program is to build a sustainable society, living not only in negative peace, but building a society in

which communication is looked greatly upon. They also focus a lot on teaching the local populations how to engage in the processes of conflict prevention, peacebuilding and self-determination (Initiatives for International Dialogue n.d.).

The Nonviolent Peaceforce (2020) lobbies for the promotion of peacebuilding, well-functioning institutions and stable peace as well. Besides their operation in South Sudan, the Nonviolent Peaceforce also has operations in the US, the Philippines, Myanmar and Iraq. Since 1987 Myanmar has been on the list of least developed countries in the world. The state is underdeveloped and impoverished, and moreover it is hunted by misinformation and lacks trustworthy sources of information. Thus, Myanmar is both weak and divided, living under the influence of five decades of military rule. Myanmar is hence one of the places on Earth where military culture is at its strongest. Having been deployed in Myanmar since 2012 the Nonviolent Peaceforce is supporting women and youth in Myanmar to become leaders, training them to act against the issues that are tearing down their communities. Through this work, the Nonviolent Peaceforce allows civilians to participate in the early stages of Myanmar's peace process, strengthening their voices with the aim of being heard. There is however still a long way left to go before Myanmar becomes a peaceful and sustainable country, as the peace process currently is facing a deadlock, according to the Peaceforce (ibid.).

This section of the chapter has focused on ways in which WANEP, the IID and the Nonviolent Peaceforce apply their resources towards the three areas of negative peace and positive peace that focuses on the promotion of peacebuilding, stable peace and equality. In order to elaborate, their strategies work to both resolve conflict and build sustainable societies, hence promoting peacebuilding and stable peace. Moreover, WANEP's focus on introducing women and youth into the peace process, promotes equality. Thus, though none of the NGOs writes about how they actively promote peace culture, they do in fact do so, through their actions.

### Social Movement Networks Promoting SDG16+

Being social movement networks and platforms the three social movement networks that focus on SDG16+ promotes peace differently from the NGOs that are mentioned above. In

order to elaborate their activities, build on lobbying conducted through dialogue and networking, rather than activities on the ground. This does however not influence whether they promote peace culture or not, as the whole focus of SDG16+ is to build peaceful, just and inclusive societies. This part of the data sample is composed of the social movement networks Pathfinders, the Civil Society Platform for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (CSPPS) and the Transparency, Accountability and Participation Network (TAP Network).

Amongst others, the Pathfinders works towards scaling up violence prevention, the reduction of corruption, respect for all human rights, and equality, pulling the strings of those who work towards achieving the goals of SDG16+ 'on the ground'. Composed of a group of UN member states, international organisations, global partnerships, civil society and other stakeholders, the Pathfinders is a platform that shares knowledge regarding strategies to combat violence, as well as knowledge with regards to the global progress in regard to achieving the goals put forth by SDG16+ (Pathfinders 2019).

The CSPPS (n.d) resemble the Pathfinders to a large extent. In order to elaborate, the CSPPS is a global network that coordinates and supports the participation of civil society within the international dialogue on peacebuilding and statebuilding. Their work seeks to amplify the voices of the global civil society, by empowering civil society agents to strengthen their capacity to contribute to policy formulation as well as implementation. The second important part of the CSPPS' strategy focuses on lobbying and policy outreach. In order to elaborate, the CSPPS provides its members with a platform from which they can conduct their lobbying, thus, fostering both old and new partnerships (ibid.).

The third social movement network, TAP (2020), is also very similar to Pathfinders. The TAP Network is an international coalition of civil society organisations who in cohesion works to advance the goals of SDG16+. Like Pathfinders and CSPPS, the Tap Network provides a platform for its members to gain knowledge regarding the advancement of SDG16+ as well as communicate. Being a diverse civil society network TAP is composed of voluntary members, including grassroots groups, thematic networks, NGOs and independent think tanks. The Network benefits from the diverse ideas and strategies that come together through the cooperation of the various stances brought forth by its members, with the ambition to transform the global culture into a just, peaceful and inclusive society (ibid.).

In order to sum up, the work conducted by the three civil society networks that are mentioned above builds awareness regarding peace and peace culture through their focus on well-functioning institutions, nonviolent problem solving and stable peace. Being platforms for NGOs to communicate, gather knowledge and strategies, in order to achieve the goals of SDG16+, their power is in building knowledge for others to draw upon.

## NGOs Promoting Human Rights

If the global community is to transition from a global military culture to a global peace culture. There is a need for a broader perspective than solely focusing on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Instead, it is of high importance to maintain a focus on the rights of the individual. Though violent conflicts strongly influence the international community, it is only one way in which breaches to peace occur. Thus, NGOs who promote the rights of the individual rather than the majority of a population, are as important to the promotion of peace culture as the types of NGOs that focus on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. This section of the chapter seeks to outline and analyse the ways in which human rights focused NGOs promote peace culture.

Currently we live in a world with 70.8 million forcibly displaced people, 25.9 million of which are recognised as refugees. 842 million people are undernourished, 8.1 million of which died before reaching their fifth birthday. 76 countries criminalise sexual acts between people of the same sex, 10 of which have a death penalty if these acts get public (Amnesty International n.d.).

The work of Amnesty International (ibid.) includes many areas, all of which promotes strategies to act against violence that disturbs peace. These Areas include armed conflict, climate change, disappearances, international justice, and living life in dignity, to mention a few.

On the one hand, the NGO focuses its resources towards providing education regarding human rights violations such as those that are mentioned above, illustrating the hard numbers and asking civilians to aid others, hoping to bring dignity to the lives of all peoples on Earth. On the other hand, Amnesty International conducts strategies on the ground, lobbying for institutions at every level to comply with human rights. Their strategy includes three stages:

first they conduct research, during this stage Amnesty conducts thorough research into human right violations conducted by governments and others alike. Followed by advocacy and lobbying, at this stage Amnesty tries to pressure governments, companies and others to make the right decision, namely correcting the human rights violation, which leads to the third step there the NGO lobbies through campaigns and direct action. This may include petitions, protests and letters. Though their work, Amnesty International thus gives voices to the voiceless. Spending time and resources to protect and promote human rights (ibid.).

The work conducted by the Human Rights Watch (2021) also focuses on the violation of human rights. Though their work differs from Amnesty's, due to that their focus is on reporting human rights violations occurring around the world, through telling the stories of the people whose rights have been violated, rather than putting direct pressure on the offenders. Thus, their strategy seeks to uphold the dignity of those whose rights have been violated by giving them a space to be heard. Their research does not only focus on telling the stories of the victims however, as the Human Rights Watch also puts resources towards researching those who can and should take responsibility with regards to stopping human rights violations. Furthermore, their staff is scattered throughout five geographic divisions in order to give them as broad a range as possible, when targeting issues regarding arms; business and human rights; disability rights; children's rights; terrorism and counterterrorism, as well as other areas (ibid.).

Though the two NGOs that are mentioned in this section focus on the promotion of human rights. Their work promotes peace culture as well, namely through the promotion of positive peace. Through their work, Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch promotes dignity, equality and empathy beyond borders alongside human rights. Especially the focus on empathy beyond borders is of interest to highlight, as global responsibility has a great influence on whether it is possible to build a global peace culture. Thus, their work conducting research, and telling the stories of people whose rights have been violated, show great empathy for the broader human population.

## NGOs Promoting a Democratic World Order

The work conducted by Democracy without Borders primarily focuses on two initiatives. First, they campaign for a *UN World Citizens Initiative* (UNWCI). Their argument being that though the UN has made some effort to represent the civil society and other major groups, there are no means for neutral citizens to exert influence within the UN. They are influenced by the *European Citizen's Initiative*, an official instrument within the European Union that gives ordinary citizens the power to submit legislative proposals to the European Commission. The idea behind introducing a UNWCI is to provide global citizens with a voice at the supranational level.

Secondly, Democracy Without Borders (n.d.) lobby for the introduction of a Parliamentary Assembly at the UN. Again, their focus is to be a voice to the peoples. Their long-term vision for the UN Parliamentary Assembly is to eventually introduce a world parliament. Thus, governing Earth from a supranational level. In order to make such a parliament possible, Democracy Without Borders has a strategy to introduce a Global Voting Platform, to enhance participation during elections. The platform would be based on individual registrations but will also offer information and opportunities to non-registered citizens. Hence, building a transparent global democracy without any barriers.

*“We are our brother’s keeper; when nations fail egregiously to protect the right of their citizens it becomes the responsibility of the international community to protect those rights”*  
(Joseph E. Schwartzberg – Democratic World Federalists).

The Democratic World Federalists lobby for a world parliament as well. However, their work focuses on fully reforming the UN in accordance with the Earth Constitution rather than solely introducing a UN Parliamentary Assembly. Hence, the Democratic World Federalists call for the establishment of a democratically elected World Parliament alongside a world federalist government. Hence, their work resembles the work of Democracy Without Borders, however their strategy is directed by the Earth Constitution (Earth Federation n.d.).

Through the introduction of a world government both Democracy Without Borders and the Democratic World Federalists argue for the promotion of peace culture and positive peace. According to Petter Ölmunger (2020) *“it is very hard to develop a peaceful culture when you do not have systems of justice”*. Though he does believe that it is possible to create a global

peace culture, Ölmunger cannot see how it will be possible without the introduction of a supranational legislative power. As he argues that the interests of the nation state too often get prioritised above what is best for the global community. He said, “*the current international order, which has, you know, taken good steps forward throughout history, but still to a very high degree builds on nation state interests, is ultimately defended by military force*” (ibid.). Hence, as long as the global community continues to depend on military power to solve its conflicts, Ölmunger cannot see how the global community can build a global peace culture, without introducing world governance (ibid.).

## Civil Society’s Influence on Global Peace Culture

*“When you want to promote peace in a particular country, which is difficult enough in and of itself. If you only do top-down policy making, then it is super problematic as it never trickles down to ordinary people [...] And at the same time, if you only do bottom-up lobbying or you do not have any politicians onboard, then you are never going to have peace and so forth [...] you have to work on different tracks of diplomacy”* (Bramsen 2020).

In the quote above, Isabel Bramsen (ibid.) describes how peace ought to be promoted through top-down and bottom-up policy making simultaneously, that is in a combined effort through both formal policymaking and through civil society. In order to elaborate, she talks about the three tracks of diplomacy, track one which focuses on formal policy making and discussions amongst high-level politicians and military; track two focusing on unofficial dialogue, this track includes academics, religious agents, NGOs and other civil society actors; and track three which focuses on people-to-people diplomacy by individuals and private groups. In the quote Bramsen focuses on a fourth possibility, namely how societies ought to operate across the three tracks simultaneously, in order to build positive peace, hence including strategies of both official and nonofficial efforts to conduct peace, as well as the corporation of people-to-people diplomacy (ibid.). Her argument regarding the need for simultaneous policymaking across the three tracks of diplomacy, is shared by the three other interviewees Petter Ölmunger, Roger Kotila and Morten Kjaerum, all of whom argue for a combined policy making process across the three tracks of diplomacy as well.

Moreover, the four interviewees agreed that it is possible to build a national and even a regional peace culture, such as for instance the European Union, which Rivera (2009:11-20) argues is a regional peace culture. That is, a regional culture in which the inhabitants regard themselves as being part of a common culture, moreover, solving their conflicts in a peaceful manner, building a regional society that draws on the areas of positive peace.

However, when they were asked whether it would be possible to introduce peace at the global level their answers differed. According to Ölmunger (2020) peace culture has already been introduced in many countries and has also been introduced amongst the members of the European Union, though the processes are not always systematic. However, he does also mention how some states are vulnerable and weak, and thus does not hold the power to build positive peace on their own.

Different from Ölmunger, Kotila (2020) argues that the global community is a military culture. He argues that though countries like the US are saying that they lobby for peace and democracy, the reality is that they invade countries, overthrow governments and act brutal, all of which are acts of a military mentality, rather than a mentality of positive peace. Thus, he does not believe that it will be possible to build a global peace culture, and thus positive peace at the global level, as long as states like the US have the power and freedom to act within the guidelines of military culture, rather than act peaceful, building their connections through nonviolent mediation (Kotila 2020).

Bramsen (2021) on the other hand, argues that the concept of positive peace is too broad, she argues that *“it is too utopian to have all these things coming together in a nice way”*.

Furthermore, Bramsen argues that peace in accordance with the concept of an infrastructure for peace - that is, the structure in a society promotes peace and nonviolence - is possible, however, a conflict free world would not be possible, and is not wanted either.

Kjaerum (2021) takes a fourth stance to answering the question. He argues that social imbalance has a great influence regarding whether a conflict will arise in a society. In the interview he mentioned:

*“You may look at a country where everyone lives in poverty, and still, everyone lives a life in happiness and harmony. But when a smaller group arises economically, leaving a larger group behind, then that will create imbalance, which then again may create a conflict, and it does not matter where you are in the world, it is the same in our own society”* (Kjaerum 2021).



In the quote, he argues that social imbalance may be a trigger for conflict. In order to elaborate he argues that we are in need of a new social contract and a new global deal, one that focuses on minimizing global imbalance, if we want to introduce peace culture at the global level. Thus, according to Kjaerum, building a global peace culture is possible, though due to social imbalance, he does argue that there will be exceptions here and there (Kjaerum 2021).

The question regarding a possibility for a global peace culture is thus contested amongst the interviewees, but also amongst scholars such as Rivera (2009) who too argues against the possibility of creating a global peace culture, whereas E. Boulding argues that the traits of peace culture can be traced in societies that adhere to a culture of nonviolent behaviour.

In order to sum up the analysis. It has been found that the global civil society does in fact promote the right to peace and global peace culture. In the first part of the analysis, promotion of the right to peace has been examined and analysed, and it has been concluded that civil society does promote the right to peace, though this occurs solely through their strategies and actions, as none of the NGOs in the sample officially writes that they promote the right. Furthermore, the first chapter in the analysis focuses on grasping an understanding with regards to whether the right to peace has any legal power. In this regard it has been concluded that the right does in fact not, as it still has not gained enough legal recognition. Though unofficially, the right to peace has entered various UN policies as well as the UN Charter and the UN Declaration on Human Rights (Alston 1980). However, until someone creates a formal definition and operationalisation of the Right to Peace, it will not be considered as anything else than an ‘umbrella right’.

In the second part of the analysis, the extent to which the civil society promotes peace culture was analysed. The chapter systematically went through some of the ways in which the sample of 10 social movement organisations promotes peace culture, and thus negative peace and positive peace. In this chapter, it was found that though social movement organisations may not write that they promote a culture of peace on their websites and within their reports, they may in fact do so through their actions and strategies to protect and take care of the Earth. Building on the 11 areas of negative peace and positive peace this chapter described how peace is being promoted through the everyday work of the civil society. Furthermore, illustrating how the promotion of peace is interconnected with the actions conducted when an agent or social movement shows empathy beyond the borders of a nation or a region.

The final part of the analysis, sought to investigate whether the four interviewees believe that it is possible to build a global peace culture, a topic which is not only contested, but which also proves difficult to answer without a formal operationalisation of the term peace as well as the context of what a peace culture actually is. However, based on the findings above, the prospects of introducing a global peace culture seems narrow.

## 8. Discussion

Taking point of departure in the analysis, the first part of the discussion seeks to discuss the complexity of peace in relation to the ontological and epistemological stances that has been described in the methods chapter. In this section the concept of peace will be discussed, for the purpose of discussing the reason behind why the researcher operationalised her own concept of peace. Whereas the second part of the discussion takes a different stand, seeking to discuss the use of peace education in relation to the prevention of conflict as well as peacebuilding. The last section of the discussion discusses whether the promotion of peace is a global responsibility.

### The Complexity of Peace

Defining peace is not an easy task. While there is a variety of scholars that researchers draw upon when studying peace and conflict, there is no one unitary definition for peace. But it is also this complexity that surrounds the concept, which makes it so interesting to tear apart, scrutinise and analyse. If one is to regard the concept of peace from a critical realist ontological stance, then one seeks to investigate the phenomenon of peace in relation to the nature of things. That is, reality exists and operates independently of our awareness. However, taking the stance of Fairclough's ontology, the notion of objectivity is rejected (Diarra et al. 2017: 18-19). Hence, when one seeks to scrutinise and analyse the concept of peace, one may argue that the concept, due to its complexity, is not empirically quantifiable. Thus, one may argue that the concept of peace may in fact resist articulation into theory, and that that is the reason behind the various definitions and discussions that surround the concept. At the same time, the researcher who writes this thesis, takes a social constructivist epistemological stance to conducting her research. That is, the representations of physical and biological reality are socially constructed (ibid). Thus, one can argue that the concept of peace is a social construct, describing the condition of a coexistence in full respect and recognition of 'the Other'. Looking at Fairclough's stance on ontology and epistemology together, he argues that one's understanding of reality is a socially constructed observation of the nature of things, influenced by one's own bias (ibid). Hence, when looking at the various different definitions and operationalisations of the concept of peace, one can regard the

reasons behind their differing conclusions to be derived from the researchers own subjective bias.

The arguments that are mentioned above are the reasons behind the choice of introducing my own conceptualisation of the concept of peace. The concept of peace that has been applied in the thesis is influenced by Galtung's (1996) concepts of positive peace and negative peace. However different from Galtung, my concept of peace acknowledges the concepts of peace culture and military culture (Rivera 2009, E. Boulding 2008, Duran 2013, Fernandez and Puyana 2017), arguing that peace culture is a prolongation of the transitioning from negative peace to positive peace. Thus, this researcher regards peace as a fluid entity, where the achievement of building a peace culture is the goal.

## Does Peace Education Promote a Culture of Peace?

With peace being among the essential goals of the international community, knowledge becomes highly important. In order to elaborate Loreta Navarro-Castro and Jasmin Nario-Galace (2010) argue that many of the major dilemmas of our century relate to issues caused by violent conflict. Peace education is a chance for children and youth who have lived through or are living in the midst of armed conflict to be taught constructive knowledge and skills to evade and solve future conflict (INEE n.d.). According to GPPAC peace education is of importance as it holds the power to teach children and youth compassion and empathy towards the Other. That is, peace education seeks to teach children and youth global responsibility by teaching them that one does not have to fear the Other, as races, nations, genders or religions do not start wars, individuals do. Furthermore, peace education can help children and youth deal with the trauma of armed conflict, as it provides them with a platform to manage and address the horrible events that they may have experienced (GPPAC n.d.).

According to Betty Reardon peace (1988: 11) education reflects the two trends of Galtung's concept of peace. That is, peace education reflects negative peace and positive peace. Thus, on the one hand there is negative peace education, which is rooted in conflict prevention and dispute settlement. While on the other hand there is positive peace education which focuses on building sustainable and stable societies, as well as the prevention of future conflict.

Building on the argument that peace culture is a prolongation of positive peace one can argue that it promotes peace culture.

Reardon (ibid) does however mention that many peace educators tend to only focus on the achievement of negative peace. Thus, the educators solely focus their attention on negative peace education, rather than drawing their attention towards positive peace education and thus towards conflict prevention and teaching the skills to build a culture of peace (ibid.: 15). Peace education does not imply guaranteeing idealistic and utopian living conditions *a priori*. Instead, it encourages people to accept the idea of living in peaceful coexistence. It requires planning, intervention and participation, and the educational project ought to deconstruct all forms of marginalisation, racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia, if one ought to build a culture of peace (Guetta 2016: 136).

## The Promotion Peace - A Global Responsibility

*“The Twentieth Century will be remembered as a century of wars. Despite opportunities such as the end of the Cold War between the US and the former USSR, human beings have moved further away from creating a world where they can live in harmony with one another and all life on Earth. Such a world is possible, but it requires active participation and cooperation from every individual to respect life and take action to create such a world”* (Ong 2001)

According to Carah Ong (ibid) peace begins with the individual. She argues that we as individuals ought to accept the responsibility to take action in the process to end armed conflict and thereby introduce a culture of peace. Responsibility, in this sense, conceptualises the feeling of relationality, care and connectedness to the Other (Manojlovic 2018: 132). In a world where globalisation thrives, and technology has brought people closer than ever before. The events that occur in our own society is no longer our only concern, instead we have the possibility to sit in the second row, watching the events that occur around the world 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Due to this change, Ong argues that we have an ever-growing global responsibility - a responsibility to build a world where humans can live in peaceful coexistence (Ong 2001). Drawing on Emmanuel Levians (1987), Borislava Manojlovic (2018: 132) describes how the human being uncovers his or her ethics and values

through their relationship with the Other. That is “*our potential to become better human beings can be realized through opening up to the Others, and accepting the difference of the Other and her or his infinite Otherness*” (ibid.).

Such a responsibility as the one can show towards the Other, illustrates that every individual has an equal responsibility towards promoting peace and peace culture. Thus, the promotion of peace becomes a global responsibility. Because only if we choose to take active action towards maximising conflict prevention and building positive peace, then we may be able to minimise the number of armed conflicts.

## 9. Conclusion

As the topic of peace continues to be a major topic of discussion within the international community, it becomes important to explore and analyse the extent to which the concept of peace is promoted by the global civil society. Thus, conflict prevention, alongside the prevention of human rights violations and peacebuilding have grown to become integrated parts of the agenda of not only intergovernmental organisations such as the EU, the UN and the AU, but also national and international social movement organisations such as WANEP, the Pathfinders, Amnesty International and the Democratic World Federalists.

If we look at the right to peace, it has been documented in the thesis that the right has not yet been ratified within international law. Drawing on Philip Alston (1980) the reason behind why the right to peace is not accepted within international law, may be caused by the complexity that is ascribed to the concept of peace, namely due to its lack of a unitary definition well as its lack of operationalisation. This does however not hinder the civil society in promoting the right to peace, which according to Alston, has been promoted by intergovernmental organisations as well (*ibid.*).

Furthermore, if one regards the concept of peace culture in accordance with my conceptualisation of the term, then the civil society promotes a culture of peace. In order to elaborate, the analysis has shown how the 10 social movement organisations promote peace culture through their strategies.

Together the analysis and the discussion has also illustrated how peace education has become a powerful strategy to not only cease conflict, but also to evade it. Influenced by the strategy that has been posed by WANEP. The thesis describes how peace education focuses on educating children and youth with the tools and strategies to prevent armed conflict and build peace. Furthermore, the thesis has found that peace education, according to Betty Reardon (1988), holds the power to teach children and youth the tools to build positive peace, and thereby introduce a culture of peace. One of the primary focus points of peace education is to teach people not to fear or have prejudice towards the Other. Thus, seeking to build empathy and thus personal responsibility towards the unfamiliar. Hence, one may argue that positive peace can only be achieved if and when people come to regard the promotion of peace as a global responsibility.

# 10. Bibliography

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## Interviews

Zoom-interview with Petter Ölmunger, 14 December 2020. (Appendix 1)

Zoom-interview with Roger Kotila, 18 December 2020. (Appendix 2)

Zoom-interview with Isabel Bramsen, 4 January 2021. (Appendix 3)

Zoom-interview with Morten Kjaerum, 13 January 2021. (Appendix 4)