

POSITIVE PEACE REPORT

2017



TRACKING PEACE TRANSITIONS THROUGH
A SYSTEMS THINKING APPROACH

INSTITUTE FOR
ECONOMICS
& PEACE

INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMICS & PEACE

Quantifying Peace and its Benefits

The Institute for Economics & Peace (IEP) is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit think tank dedicated to shifting the world's focus to peace as a positive, achievable, and tangible measure of human well-being and progress.

IEP achieves its goals by developing new conceptual frameworks to define peacefulness; providing metrics for measuring peace; and uncovering the relationships between business, peace and prosperity as well as promoting a better understanding of the cultural, economic and political factors that create peace.

IEP is headquartered in Sydney, with offices in New York, The Hague, Mexico City and Brussels. It works with a wide range of partners internationally and collaborates with intergovernmental organisations on measuring and communicating the economic value of peace.

For more information visit www.economicsandpeace.org

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WHY POSITIVE PEACE IS TRANSFORMATIONAL

Humanity is now facing challenges unparalleled in its history. These problems, which include climate change, ever decreasing biodiversity, and over-population, are global in nature; they call for global solutions and require cooperation on a scale unprecedented in human history. In a globalised world, the sources of many of these challenges are multidimensional, increasingly complex and span national borders. For this reason, finding solutions fundamentally requires new ways of thinking.

Without peace it will not be possible to achieve the levels of trust, cooperation or inclusiveness necessary to solve these challenges, let alone empower the international institutions and organisations necessary to help address them. Therefore, peace is the essential prerequisite for the survival of humanity as we know it in the 21st century.

Positive Peace provides a framework to understand and then address the multiple and complex challenges the world faces. Positive Peace is transformational in that it is a cross-cutting factor for progress, making it easier for businesses to sell, entrepreneurs and scientists to innovate, individuals to produce and governments to effectively regulate.

In addition to the absence of violence, Positive Peace is also associated with many other social characteristics that are considered desirable, including stronger economic outcomes, higher resilience, better measures of well-being, levels of inclusiveness and environmental performance. Therefore, Positive Peace can be viewed as creating an optimal environment in which human potential can flourish.

Understanding what creates sustainable peace cannot be found in the study of violence alone. A parallel can be drawn with medical science. The study of pathology has led to numerous breakthroughs in our understanding of how to treat and cure disease. However, it was only when medical science turned its focus to the study of healthy human beings that we understood what we needed to do to stay healthy: the correct physical exercise, a good mental disposition and a balanced diet are some examples. This could only be learned by studying what was working. In the same way, the study of conflict is different to the study of peace, producing very different outcomes.

Positive Peace is systemic and requires new thinking to understand it. Systems thinking originated in the study of organisms, but can be extended into sociology and also into understanding countries and nations. When combined with Positive Peace, systems thinking provides new ways of conceptualising and explaining societal change. In systems thinking, the system is more than the sum of its parts and cannot be understood merely by breaking it down into its constituent parts. This distinctly contrasts to the notion of linear causality which is mainly used today in decision making. Find a problem, find its cause and tackle the root of the problem. The issue with this approach is the potential for unintended consequences when the system is poorly understood. The failure to solve some of society's fundamental problems is a testimony to this. Through understanding systems thinking new ways of understanding and operating nations can be developed.

Societies, like organisms, have intent; different societies have different intents and will therefore react differently to the same stimulus. Countries also have encoded norms which aim to maintain the system in a constant state. They regulate inputs, creating what is known as mutual feedback loops. This can be observed in many societal processes, such as when a government stimulates the economy in responses to a drop in GDP or applies more policing resources when there is a rise in crime. Tipping points also occur within systems because of lagged and non-linear relationships. In the past, societies have been understood through causality, but in the future embodying these more holistic approaches will leap-frog our ability to manage an age of unprecedented challenges.

Positive Peace shines light in the direction that a system needs to evolve toward. Interventions should nudge the system towards higher levels of Positive Peace. Importantly, viewing nations as systems provides a framework for intersecting and understanding the relationship of humanity to the broader systems upon which we depend, such as the biosphere. Systems are self-regulating and self-modifying, with each system simultaneously both encapsulating and forming a part of other systems. Understanding these interdependencies is essential to meet the global challenges of our age.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 2017 Positive Peace Report outlines a new approach to societal development through the application of Positive Peace and systems thinking. Positive Peace is defined as the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies. The same factors that create peace also lead to many other positive outcomes that societies aspire to, such as thriving economies, better inclusion, high levels of resilience and societies that are more capable of adapting to change. Therefore, Positive Peace can be described as creating an optimum environment in which human potential can flourish.

Through placing the emphasis on the positive, Positive Peace reframes our conceptualisation towards what works. The factors which create resilience are indeed very different to those needed to stop conflict.

Without a better understanding of how societies operate, it will not be possible to solve humanity's major global challenges. Positive Peace combined with systems thinking provides a unique framework from which to better manage human affairs and to relate to the broader eco-systems upon which we depend. Positive Peace in many ways is a facilitator, allowing societies more avenues for adaptation.

This report is a continuation of the prior work of IEP, and includes an updated Positive Peace Index (PPI). It provides a basis for the application of systems thinking to better understand how nations operate. A section of the report describes the fundamental concepts of national intent, encoded norms, national homeostasis, self-modification, and mutual feedback loops - associated with systems thinking. In doing so IEP provides a new interdependent framework and holistic approach to understanding peace and development.

A major contribution of this report is the development of the concept of National Intent, a research area with direct policy implications. Identifying groups of countries with similar Intent it is possible to determine where the strongest alliances are likely to form. Soft power is also more likely to be successful in countries with similar intent. Policies that have worked in one country are more likely to have comparable outcomes in similar countries. This work is still in its early stages of development and will evolve rapidly in coming

years. An interactive tool for National Intent can be found at www.nationalintent.visionofhumanity.org.

Positive Peace is also strongly linked to resilience. Countries with high Positive Peace are more likely to maintain their stability and adapt and recover from both internal and external shocks. Low Positive Peace systems are more likely to generate internal shocks, with 84 per cent of major political shocks occurring in these countries. Similarly, there are 13 times more lives lost from natural disasters in nations with low Positive Peace as opposed to those with high Positive Peace, a disproportionately high number when compared to the distribution of incidents.¹

Countries with stronger Positive Peace have restorative capacities and as such are more resilient in the face of civil resistance. Movements tend to be smaller, exist for a shorter period, have more moderate aims, be more likely to achieve their goals and are far less violent. The differences between countries can be striking: 91 per cent of all civil resistance campaigns that were primarily violent have been waged in countries with weaker Positive Peace.²

In 2016, the economic impact of containing or dealing with the consequences of violence was 12.6 per cent of the world GDP or approximately \$14 trillion, highlighting that improvements in resilience and peace have substantial economic advantages to the global economy.³

Positive Peace has been improving since 2005, with 109 of the 163 countries ranked in the PPI, or 67 per cent, having improved over this period. Six of the eight Pillars of Positive

Peace have also improved. The two Pillars that recorded a deterioration are *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* and *Low Levels of Corruption*. To further help in understanding how Positive Peace operates the rise of European populism is explained through the changes in Positive Peace, where 19 out of 36 countries in Europe recorded deteriorations in their Positive Peace levels between 2005 and 2016. The US also recorded a sharp deterioration in Positive Peace.

Positive Peace is systemic and interdependent. As a simple example, *High Levels of Human Capital* can act as a driver of economic growth, while a *Strong Business Environment* can be a driver of improved education and both are influenced by *Well-Functioning Government*. Analysis of corruption demonstrates that 80 per cent of countries scoring poorly in *Low Levels of Corruption* also score poorly in *High Levels of Human Capital*, again highlighting the interconnected nature of the Pillars.

The criticality of peace to global development is underscored by the inclusion of Goal 16, the peace, justice and governance goal, in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). However, there is little prevailing guidance about the type of environments that are conducive to the achievement of the SDGs. Positive Peace describes this and is statistically linked to better outcomes for the Millennium Development Goals. When comparing the factors of Positive Peace to all the SDGs, it is clear that two Pillars of Positive Peace are under-represented in the SDG framework: *Low Levels of Corruption* and *Free Flow of Information*. These two areas should not be forgotten as they are important to achieving higher levels of peace and better developmental outcomes.

The report offers recommendations for enhancing Positive Peace. A systems view of Positive Peace appropriately recognizes complexity, but that complexity itself can make policy interventions seem difficult. IEP has identified two approaches for catalysing systemic change – one which emphasizes depth and one which emphasizes breadth. The first approach is to focus on society's weakest Pillar. The second approach involves stimulating the entire system. This approach looks at each of the eight Pillars with actions for each that are substantial, can be achieved in the current political environment, and will have impact within a reasonable amount of time.

IEP has now conducted a number of workshops, including for Libya, Zimbabwe, Uganda and Mexico with the aim of helping to build Positive Peace in these countries. The report contains a brief summary of these workshops.

Each Pillar of Positive Peace represents a complex set of social dynamics. Overhauling all aspects of corruption or governance, for example, may prove to be problematic and in fact break the system. Countries, like systems, evolve, therefore the unique factors which constitute the make-up of a country need to be understood and then practical steps taken to continually nudge the system towards its ideal state, Positive Peace. Once started, improvements in the Pillars make more improvements more likely, thereby starting a virtuous reinforcing cycle.

KEY FINDINGS

POSITIVE PEACE FUNDAMENTALS

- Positive Peace is defined as the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies.
- These same factors also lead to many other positive outcomes which society feels are important.
- Therefore Positive Peace is described as creating the optimum environment for human potential to flourish.
- Countries where the Positive Peace is lower than the actual peace are twice as likely to have substantial falls in peace.
- Countries which are improving in Positive Peace compared to countries that are deteriorating in Positive Peace had 2 per cent per annum higher growth rate in per capita income from 2005 to 2016.
- High Positive Peace countries are more likely to maintain stability, adapt, and recover from shocks as they overcome their challenges.
- Countries that are high in Positive Peace are more likely to maintain high levels of peace.
- Twice as many high Positive Peace countries improved in peace between 2008 and 2016 when compared to countries with low Positive Peace.
- The level of Positive Peace is a country's best long-term indicator of how peaceful a country is likely to be.
- The most peaceful countries in the world perform strongly on all eight Pillars of Positive Peace.

TRENDS

- Over the past decade Positive Peace has improved by 1.86 per cent globally.
- However, Positive Peace has plateaued since 2013 due to deteriorations in *Sound Business Environment*, *Free Flow of Information*, *High Levels of Human Capital* and *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, offsetting gains in other Pillars.
- The three regions of Russia and Eurasia, Asia-Pacific and South Asia had the largest improvements at 4.7 per cent 3.3 per cent and 3.2 per cent respectively.
- MENA is notably lagging behind the rest of the world in Positive Peace improvements with large deteriorations in *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, *Low Levels of Corruption* and *Free Flow of Information*.
- Between 2005 and 2016, 19 out of 36 European countries experienced deteriorations in their overall PPI scores.

- The deterioration of Positive Peace in several European countries occurred while populist political parties gained significant electoral traction.

SYSTEMS THINKING

- To understand transitions from one level of peace to another requires an understanding of how the Pillars of Peace work together in the system.
- Development interventions are less likely to succeed unless the systemic nature of the nation is taken into consideration.
- *Well-Functioning Government*, *Low Levels of Corruption*, *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* and *Good Relations with Neighbours* are more important in countries suffering from high levels of violence.
- *Free Flow of Information* and *Sound Business Environment* become more important when a country is approaching the global average level of peacefulness, also described as the Mid-Peace level.
- Countries that transitioned to lower levels of peace tended to have higher levels of availability of small arms, higher numbers of police and higher group grievances than their peers.
- Countries that transitioned to higher levels of peace had lower levels of availability of small arms, better economic environments and higher levels of Positive Peace.
- Security forces can be a key force for both greater peace and greater violence; the broader performance on Positive Peace is the key factor that determines the outcome.
- In certain circumstances, improving *Sound Business Environment*, *High Levels of Human Capital* and *Equitable Distribution of Resources* without improvements in corruption or governance can create the dynamics that cause peace to deteriorate.
- National Intent is an important macro characteristic that is needed to fully understand transitions.
- IEP has developed an intent framework using four dimensions: political system, economic system, social system and international relations.
- Countries with similar intent are more likely to form meaningful alliances.
- Highly developed nations are very similar to other highly developed nations.
- Less developed countries tend to be more unique in that they are similar to a smaller number of countries.

WHAT IS POSITIVE PEACE?

NEGATIVE PEACE

... is the absence of violence or fear of violence

POSITIVE PEACE

... is the presence of the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies.

- Positive Peace is defined as *the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies*. These same factors also lead to many other positive outcomes which society feels are important. Therefore Positive Peace creates the optimum environment for human potential to flourish.
- Positive Peace has been empirically derived by IEP via the statistical analysis of thousands of cross-country measures of economic and social progress to determine what factors have a statistically significant association with Negative Peace.
- Positive Peace is measured by the Positive Peace Index (PPI) which consists of eight domains, each containing three indicators, totalling 24. This provides a baseline measure of the effectiveness of a country's capabilities to build and maintain peace. It also provides a measure for policymakers, researchers and corporations to use for effective monitoring and evaluation.
- Positive Peace can be used as the basis for empirically measuring a country's resilience, or ability to absorb and recover from shocks. It can also be used to measure fragility and to help predict the likelihood of conflict, violence and instability.
- There is a close relationship between Positive Peace and violence as measured by the internal peace score of the GPI.

THE PILLARS OF POSITIVE PEACE

The Pillars of Positive Peace describe the attitudes, institutions and structures that underpin peaceful societies.



“ Positive Peace creates the optimum environment for human potential to flourish.

ABOUT POSITIVE PEACE AND SYSTEMS THINKING

The distinguishing feature of IEP's work on Positive Peace is that it is empirically derived. There are few known empirical and quantitative frameworks available to analyse Positive Peace. Historically, it has largely been understood qualitatively and based on idealistic concepts of a peaceful society. Instead, IEP's Positive Peace framework is based on the quantitatively identifiable common characteristics of the world's most peaceful countries. In order to address the gap in this kind of quantitative research, IEP utilises the time series data contained in the GPI, in combination with existing peace and development literature to statistically analyse the characteristics peaceful countries have in common. An important aspect of this approach is to avoid value judgement and allow statistical analysis to explain the key drivers of peace.

Human beings encounter conflict regularly – whether at home, at work, among friends, or on a more systemic level between ethnic, religious or political groups. But the majority of these conflicts do not result in violence. Conflict provides the opportunity to negotiate or renegotiate to improve mutual outcomes, and as such can be constructive, providing it is nonviolent.⁴ There are aspects of society that enable this, such as attitudes that discourage violence or legal structures designed to reconcile grievances.

This report describes how Positive Peace can reinforce and build the *attitudes, institutions and structures* that either pre-empt conflict or help societies channel disagreements productively. Thus, the Positive Peace framework draws out the aspects of societies that prevent these breakdowns, based on their statistical association with the absence of violence.

“ Positive Peace can reinforce and build the attitudes, institutions and structures that either pre-empt conflict or help societies channel disagreements productively.

MEASURING PEACE: THE POSITIVE PEACE INDEX & THE GLOBAL PEACE INDEX

The Global Peace Index (GPI), produced annually by IEP, ranks 163 independent states and territories according to their level of peacefulness and stands as the world's leading measure of global peacefulness. The GPI is composed of 23 qualitative and quantitative indicators from highly respected sources, covering 99.7 per cent of the world's population. The index gauges global peace using three broad themes: the level of safety and security in society; the extent of domestic or international conflict; and the degree of militarisation. For the full 2017 report and to explore the interactive map of global peace, visit www.visionofhumanity.org.

The Positive Peace Index (PPI) measures the level of Positive Peace in 163 countries. The PPI is composed of 24 indicators to capture the eight Pillars of Positive Peace. Each of the indicators was selected based on the strength of its statistically significant relationship with the GPI. For more information and the latest results of the PPI, refer to Section 1 of this report.

PILLARS OF POSITIVE PEACE

IEP has identified eight key domains, or Pillars, that comprise Positive Peace:



Well-Functioning Government

A well-functioning government delivers high-quality public and civil services, engenders trust and participation, demonstrates political stability, and upholds the rule of law.



Sound Business Environment

The strength of economic conditions as well as the formal institutions that support the operation of the private sector and determine the soundness of the business environment. Business competitiveness and economic productivity are both associated with the most peaceful countries, as is the presence of regulatory systems that are conducive to business operations.



Equitable Distribution of Resources

Peaceful countries tend to ensure equity in access to resources such as education and health, as well as, although to a lesser extent, equity in income distribution.



Acceptance of the Rights of Others

Formal laws guaranteeing basic human rights and freedoms and the informal social and cultural norms that relate to behaviours of citizens serve as proxies for the level of tolerance between different ethnic, linguistic, religious, and socio-economic groups within the country. Similarly, gender equality and worker's rights are important components of societies that uphold acceptance of the rights of others.



Good Relations with Neighbours

Peaceful relations with other countries are as important as good relations between groups within a country. Countries with positive external relations are more peaceful and tend to be more politically stable, have better functioning governments, are regionally integrated and have lower levels of organised internal conflict. This factor is also beneficial for business and supports foreign direct investment, tourism and human capital inflows.



Free Flow of Information

Free and independent media disseminates information in a way that leads to greater openness and helps individuals and civil society work together. This is reflected in the extent to which citizens can gain access to information, whether the media is free and independent, and how well-informed citizens are. This leads to better decision-making and more rational responses in times of crisis.



High levels of Human Capital

A skilled human capital base reflects the extent to which societies educate citizens and promote the development of knowledge, thereby improving economic productivity, care for the young, enabling political participation and increasing social capital. Education is a fundamental building block through which societies can build resilience and develop mechanisms to learn and adapt.



Low levels of Corruption

In societies with high corruption, resources are inefficiently allocated, often leading to a lack of funding for essential services. The resulting inequities can lead to civil unrest and in extreme situations can be the catalyst for more serious violence. Low corruption can enhance confidence and trust in institutions.

Positive Peace can be described as the *attitudes, institutions and structures* that create and sustain peaceful societies. IEP does not specifically describe them, as these will very much be dependent on cultural norms and specific situations. What is appropriate in one country may not be appropriate in another. The ways in which *High Levels of Human Capital* or *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, for example, manifest in each society will be unique to some degree. However, the composite scores for each Pillar capture the dynamics at play in each society. The indicators chosen to measure each Pillar are based on the factors with the strongest statistically significant relationship with peacefulness and as such form both a holistic and empiric framework.⁵

“ The indicators chosen to measure each Pillar are based on the factors with the strongest statistically significant relationship with peacefulness and as such form both a holistic and empiric framework.

CHARACTERISTICS OF POSITIVE PEACE

- **Systemic and complex**
It is complex; progress occurs in non-linear ways and can be better understood through systems thinking.
- **Virtuous or vicious**
It works as a process where negative feedback loops or vicious cycles of violence can be created and perpetuated or, alternatively, positive feedback loops where virtuous cycles of peace are created and perpetuated.
- **Preventative**
Though overall Positive Peace levels tend to change slowly over time, building strength in relevant pillars can prevent violence and violent conflict.
- **Underpins resilience and nonviolence**
Positive Peace builds the capacity for resilience and the possibility and incentives for non-violent alternatives to conflict resolution. It provides an empirical framework to measure an otherwise amorphous concept, resilience.
- **Informal and formal**
It includes both formal and informal societal factors. This implies that societal and attitudinal factors are equally as important as state institutions.
- **Supports development goals**
Positive Peace provides an environment where development goals are more likely to be achieved.

POSITIVE PEACE INDEX, RESULTS & TRENDS

KEY FINDINGS

- Over the past decade Positive Peace has improved by 1.86 per cent globally.
- Positive Peace has plateaued since 2013 due to deteriorations in *Sound Business Environments*, *Free Flow of Information*, *High Levels of Human Capital* and *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, offsetting gains in other Pillars.
- The three regions of Russia and Eurasia, Asia-Pacific, and South Asia had the largest improvements at 4.7 per cent, 3.3 per cent and 3.2 per cent respectively.
- MENA is notably lagging behind the rest of the world in Positive Peace improvements with large deteriorations in *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, *Low Levels of Corruption* and *Free Flow of Information*.
- The largest improvements in Positive Peace occurred in Cote d'Ivoire, Georgia, Rwanda, Kyrgyz Republic, and Saudi Arabia. These countries however began from low levels of Positive Peace in 2005.
- The largest deteriorations in Positive Peace occurred in Central African Republic, Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Greece, and Syria.
- This report finds that when press freedoms deteriorate, combined with increases in corruption and group grievances, then the onset of violent organised conflict is more likely.

THE POSITIVE PEACE INDEX

The Positive Peace Index (PPI) measures the Positive Peace of 163 countries, covering 99.6 per cent of the world's population. The PPI is the only known global quantitative approach to defining and measuring Positive Peace. This body of work provides an actionable platform for societal development and can help to improve social factors, governance, economic development as well as peace. It can also provide the foundation for researchers to further deepen their understanding of the empirical relationships between peace and development. It stands as one of the few holistic and empirical studies to identify the positive factors which create and sustain peaceful societies.

IEP takes a systems approach to peace, drawing on a range of recent research. In order to construct the PPI, IEP has analysed over 4,700 different indices, datasets and attitudinal surveys in conjunction with current thinking about the drivers of violent conflict, resilience and peacefulness. The result of this research is an eight-part taxonomy of the factors associated with peaceful societies. These eight Pillars were derived from the datasets which had the strongest correlation with internal peacefulness as measured by the Global Peace Index, an index of negative peace. The PPI measures the eight Pillars using three indicators for each. The indicators represent the best available globally-comparable data with the strongest statistically significant relationship to internal peace levels of a country. The 24 indicators that make up the PPI are listed in table 1.1.

TABLE 1.1 POSITIVE PEACE INDEX PILLARS AND INDICATORS

IEP uses 24 indicators in the PPI which have been statistically derived to reflect the best available measurements of Positive Peace.

POSITIVE PEACE FACTORS	INDICATOR	DESCRIPTION	SOURCE
Well-functioning Government	Democratic political culture	Measures whether the electoral process, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation and culture support secular democracy.	EIU
	Government effectiveness	Reflects perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies.	World Bank
	Rule of law	Reflects perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence.	World Bank
Sound Business Environment	Business environment	Measures a country's entrepreneurial environment, its business infrastructure, barriers to innovation, and labour market flexibility.	Legatum Institute
	Index of Economic Freedom	Measures individual freedoms to and protection of freedoms to work, produce, consume, and invest unconstrained by the state.	Heritage Foundation
	GDP per capita	GDP per capita	World Bank
Low Levels of Corruption	Factionalised elites	Measures the fragmentation of ruling elites and state institutions along ethnic, class, clan, racial or religious lines.	Fragile States Index, Fund for Peace
	Corruption Perceptions Index	Scores countries based on how corrupt the public sector is perceived to be.	Transparency International
	Control of corruption	Captures perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption.	World Bank
High Levels of Human Capital	Secondary school enrolment	The ratio of children of official school age who are enrolled in school to the population of the corresponding official school age.	World Bank
	Global Innovation Index	The Global Innovation Index (GII) aims to capture the multi-dimensional facets of innovation and provide the tools that can assist in tailoring policies to promote long-term output growth, improved productivity, and job growth.	Cornell University
	Youth Development Index	YDI measures the status of 15-29 year-olds in according to five key Pillars: Education, Health and Well-being, Employment, Civic Participation and Political Participation.	Commonwealth Secretariat
Free Flow of Information	Freedom of the Press Index	A composite measure of the degree of print, broadcast, and internet freedom.	Freedom House
	Mobile Phone Subscription Rate	Number of mobile phone subscriptions per 100 inhabitants.	ITU
	World Press Freedom Index	Ranks countries based on media pluralism and independence, respect for the safety and freedom of journalists, and the legislative, institutional and Infrastructural environment in which the media operate.	Reporters Without Borders
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	Measures social attitudes toward foreigners and private property.	EIU
	Number of visitors	Number of visitors as per cent of the domestic population.	EIU
	Regional integration	Measures the extent of a nation's trade-based integration with other states.	EIU
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Inequality-adjusted life expectancy	The HDI life expectancy index adjusted for inequality scores countries based on both average life expectancy and the degree of inequality in life expectancy between groups.	UNDP HDI
	Social mobility	Measures the potential for upward social mobility based on the degree to which either merit or social networks determine an individual's success.	IDP
	Poverty gap	The mean shortfall from the poverty line at \$2 per day PPP (counting the non-poor as having zero shortfall), expressed as a % of the poverty line.	World Bank
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Empowerment Index	An additive index using indicators of freedom of movement, freedom of speech, workers' rights, political participation, and freedom of religion.	CIRI
	Group grievance rating	Measures the extent and severity of grievances between groups in society, including religious, ethnic, sectarian and political discrimination and division.	Fund For Peace
	Gender Inequality Index	The Gender Inequality Index (GII) reflects women's disadvantage in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market.	UNDP HDI

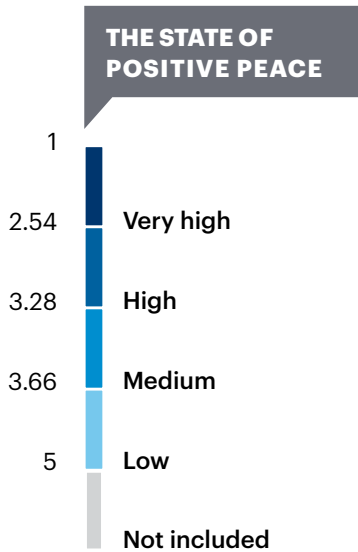
RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE
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1	Sweden	1.26
2	Switzerland	1.27
3	Finland	1.27
4	Norway	1.29
5	Denmark	1.34
5	Ireland	1.34
7	Netherlands	1.38
8	New Zealand	1.43
9	Germany	1.44
10	Iceland	1.44

11	Austria	1.46
12	Canada	1.48
12	United Kingdom	1.48
14	Australia	1.49
15	Belgium	1.58
16	Singapore	1.67
17	United States	1.72
18	France	1.74
19	Japan	1.77
20	Portugal	1.83

21	Estonia	1.85
22	Slovenia	1.91
23	Spain	1.94
24	Czech Republic	1.99
25	Chile	2
26	Lithuania	2.05
26	Uruguay	2.05
28	Cyprus	2.08
29	Israel	2.09
29	Korea	2.09

31	Italy	2.11
32	Poland	2.12
33	Costa Rica	2.16
34	Latvia	2.18
35	Mauritius	2.2
35	Slovakia	2.2
37	United Arab Emirates	2.29
38	Hungary	2.3
39	Qatar	2.32



2017 POSITIVE PEACE INDEX

GLOBAL LEVELS OF POSITIVE PEACE

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE
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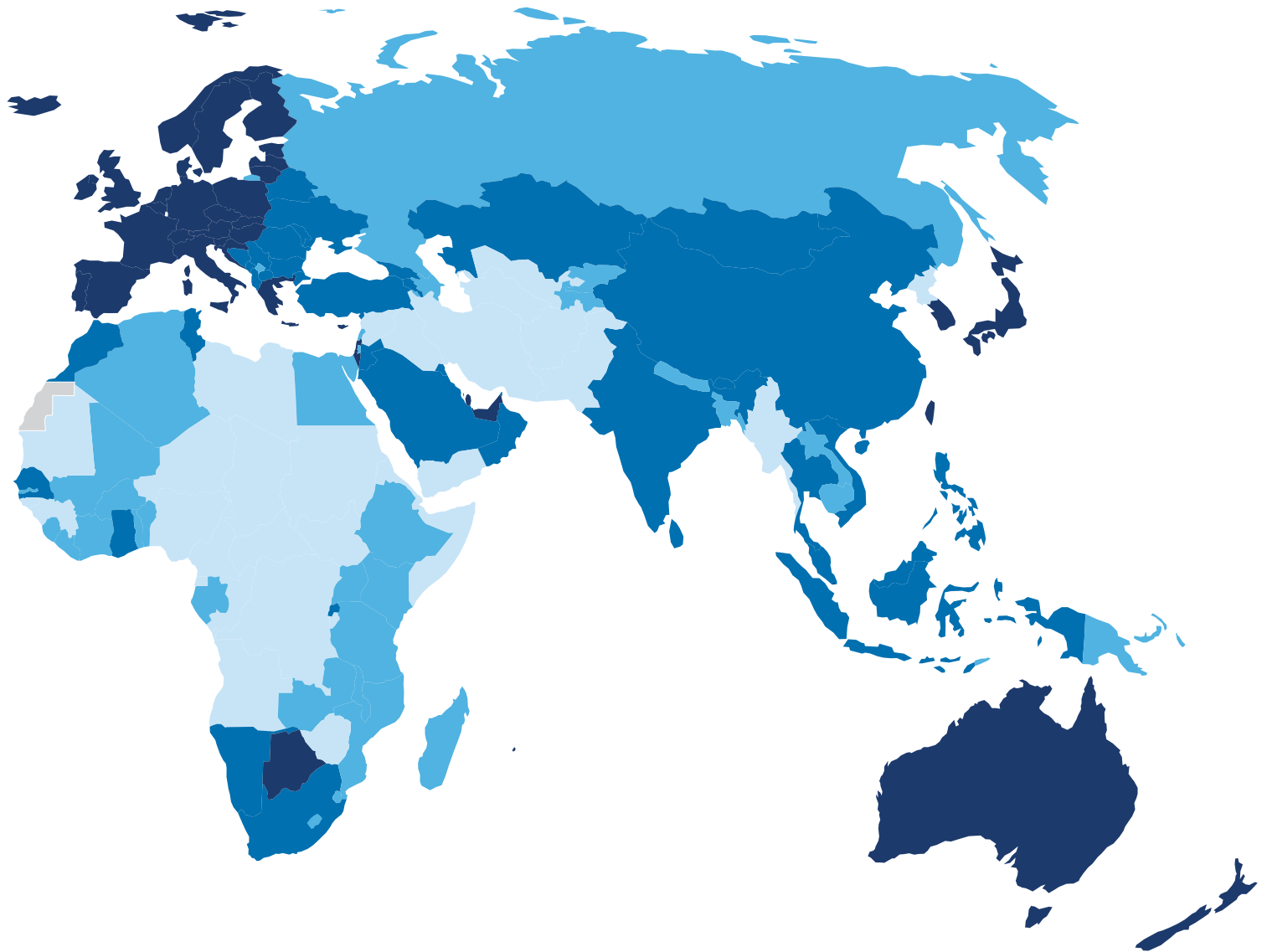
79	Armenia	3.11
79	Guyana	3.11
81	Turkey	3.13
82	Belarus	3.14
83	Ukraine	3.17
84	Sri Lanka	3.18
84	Moldova	3.18
86	Viet Nam	3.22
87	Senegal	3.24
88	Indonesia	3.25
88	Philippines	3.25

89	Rwanda	3.27
90	India	3.28
91	Guatemala	3.29
92	Ecuador	3.3
93	Azerbaijan	3.31
93	Kyrgyz Republic	3.31
93	Nicaragua	3.31
96	Honduras	3.32
96	Paraguay	3.32
96	Swaziland	3.32
99	Lesotho	3.34

100	Benin	3.36
100	Gabon	3.36
102	Burkina Faso	3.37
102	Cuba	3.37
104	Zambia	3.4
105	Bolivia	3.42
105	Cote d'Ivoire	3.42
107	Russia	3.45
107	Tanzania	3.45
109	Lebanon	3.46
110	Malawi	3.46

111	The Gambia	3.47
112	Timor-Leste	3.48
113	Uganda	3.49
114	Egypt	3.53
115	Algeria	3.54
116	Kenya	3.57
116	Cambodia	3.57
118	Madagascar	3.58
119	Nepal	3.58
120	Mali	3.59
120	Papua New Guinea	3.59

40	■ Greece	2.37	50	■ Montenegro	2.72	59	■ South Africa	2.9	69	■ Dominican Republic	3.02
41	■ Croatia	2.43	51	■ Oman	2.74	61	■ Albania	2.837	69	■ Peru	3.02
42	■ Taiwan	2.46	52	■ Bahrain	2.75	62	■ Georgia	2.91	72	■ Mongolia	3.03
43	■ Botswana	2.51	53	■ Albania	2.79	63	■ El Salvador	2.92	73	■ Jordan	3.05
44	■ Bulgaria	2.56	53	■ Kuwait	2.79	64	■ Ghana	2.93	73	■ Morocco	3.05
44	■ Jamaica	2.56	55	■ Namibia	2.81	65	■ Tunisia	2.97	75	■ Bosnia and Herzegovina	3.06
46	■ Malaysia	2.57	56	■ Argentina	2.84	66	■ Brazil	2.98	75	■ China	3.06
47	■ Romania	2.62	57	■ Macedonia	2.88	67	■ Saudi Arabia	2.99	77	■ Kazakhstan	3.1
48	■ Panama	2.65	57	■ Serbia	2.88	68	■ Colombia	3	77	■ Thailand	3.1
49	■ Trinidad and Tobago	2.71	59	■ Mexico	2.9	69	■ Bhutan	3.02			

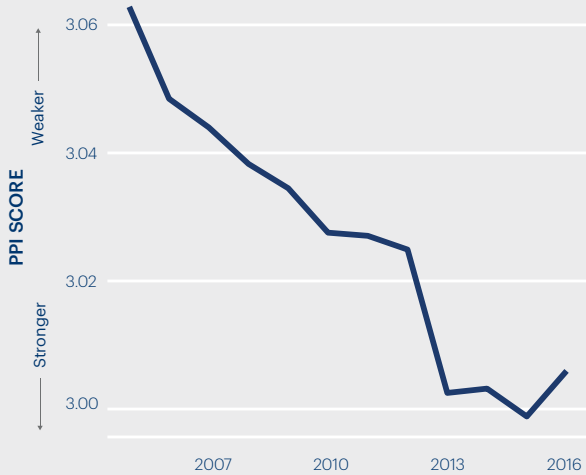


120	■ Tajikistan	3.59	133	■ Uzbekistan	3.72	145	■ Pakistan	3.92	155	■ Chad	4.19
123	■ Palestine	3.6	135	■ Djibouti	3.73	146	■ Guinea-Bissau	3.96	156	■ South Sudan	4.2
124	■ Kosovo	3.61	136	■ Myanmar	3.74	147	■ Angola	4	157	■ Afghanistan	4.21
124	■ Liberia	3.61	137	■ Iran	3.79	147	■ Guinea	4	158	■ Iraq	4.22
126	■ Bangladesh	3.62	138	■ Burundi	3.82	149	■ Turkmenistan	4.04	159	■ North Korea	4.23
127	■ Ethiopia	3.64	139	■ Libya	3.84	149	■ Zimbabwe	4.04	160	■ Eritrea	4.25
127	■ Laos	3.64	140	■ Republic of the Congo	3.85	151	■ Syria	4.12	161	■ Yemen	4.28
129	■ Sierra Leone	3.65	141	■ Niger	3.86	152	■ Equatorial Guinea	4.16	162	■ Central African Republic	4.39
130	■ Mozambique	3.66	141	■ Nigeria	3.86	152	■ Sudan	4.16	163	■ Somalia	4.62
130	■ Togo	3.66	143	■ Cameroon	3.9	154	■ Democratic Republic of the Congo	4.17			
132	■ Venezuela	3.67	144	■ Mauritania	3.91						
133	■ Haiti	3.72									

GLOBAL TRENDS IN POSITIVE PEACE

FIGURE 1.1 IMPROVEMENT IN THE GLOBAL AVERAGE PPI SCORE

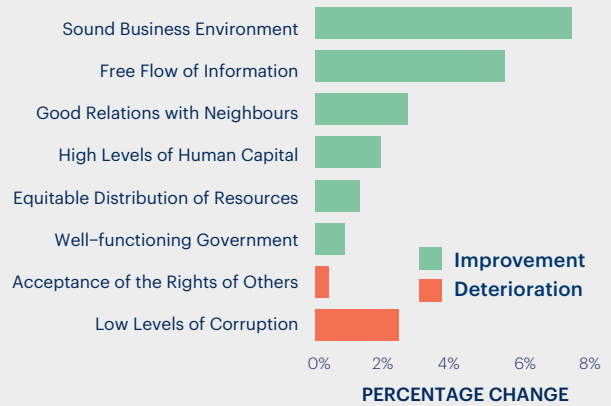
Positive Peace improved between 2005 and 2013 but has remained steady since.



Source: IEP

FIGURE 1.2 PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN POSITIVE PEACE PILLARS

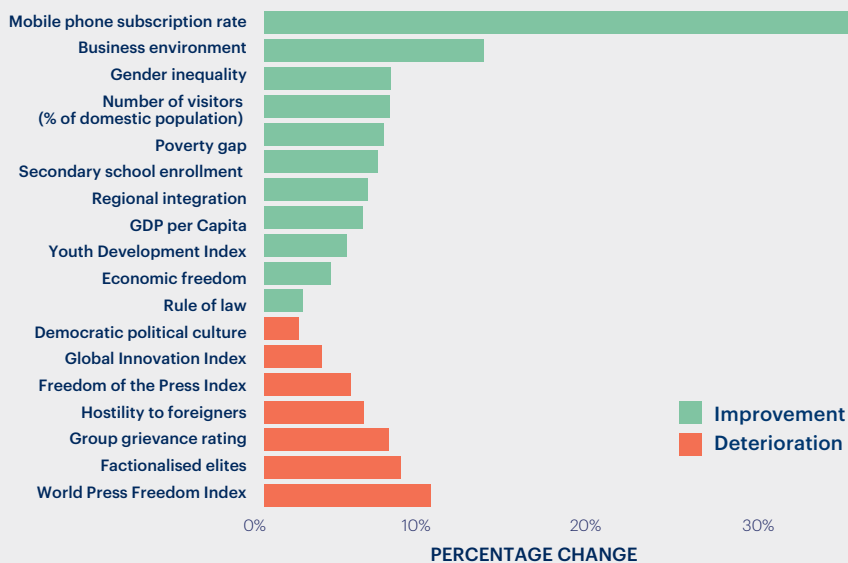
Six of the eight Pillars improved in the decade. The only Pillar to deteriorate was *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* and *Low Levels of Corruption* have deteriorated since 2005.



Source: IEP

FIGURE 1.3 PERCENT CHANGE IN PPI INDICATORS

The indicators with the greatest improvements since 2005 are mobile phone subscriptions and business environment, while the largest declines were group grievances, factionalised elites and press freedom.

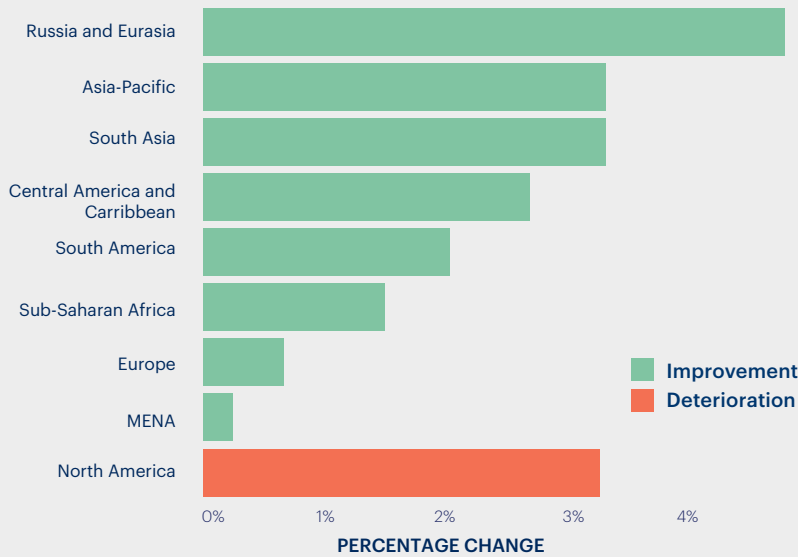


Source: IEP

Figure 1.1 highlights that improvements in Positive Peace since 2005 have not been uniform over time. While Positive Peace has been improving since 2005, since 2013 it has plateaued with a slight deterioration in 2016. To explore this more deeply, figure 1.5 shows the changes in PPI score in the 2013 to 2016 period compared to the 2005 to 2012.

FIGURE 1.4 IMPROVEMENTS BY REGION

North America is the only region to have not improved in Positive Peace between 2006 and 2016.

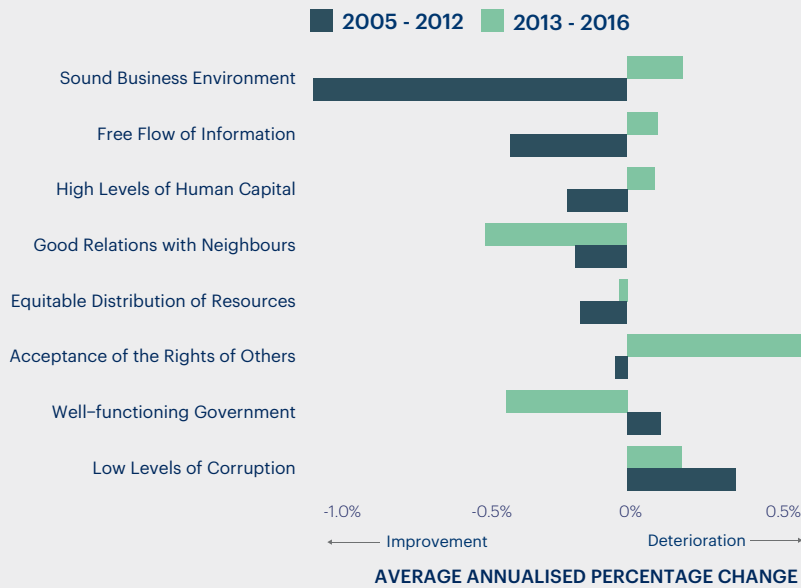


Source: IEP

Figure 1.4 shows that all regions, with the exception of North America, improved in Positive Peace since 2005, with Russia and Eurasia showing the largest improvements. North America was particularly affected by declines in the Positive Peace score for the US. MENA on the other hand has experienced large deteriorations in *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, *Low Levels of Corruption* and *Free Flow of Information*

FIGURE 1.5 PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN POSITIVE PEACE PILLARS

Improvements in *Sound Business Environment*, *Free Flow of Information* and *High Levels of Human Capital* between 2005 and 2012 made significant contributions to global improvements in Positive Peace. However, these improvements reversed in the post 2013 period. Further, *Acceptance of Rights of Others* experiencing a large deterioration



Source: IEP

In the period from 2005 to 2012 most Pillars of Positive Peace either improved or remained stable:

- **Sound Business Environment** had annual growth of one percent.
- **Free Flow of Information** had annual growth of 0.4 per cent.
- Significant improvements were also recorded in **Equitable Distribution of Resources** and **High Levels of Human Capital**.

However, in the post 2013 period four Pillars reversed the trends of the previous eight years and began to deteriorate:

- The largest deterioration was in **Acceptance of the Rights of Others**, deteriorating by 0.6 per cent annually.
- **Sound Business Environment** deteriorated by 0.2 per cent annually.

Both *Free Flow of Information* and *High Levels of Human Capital* deteriorated by 0.1 per cent annually.

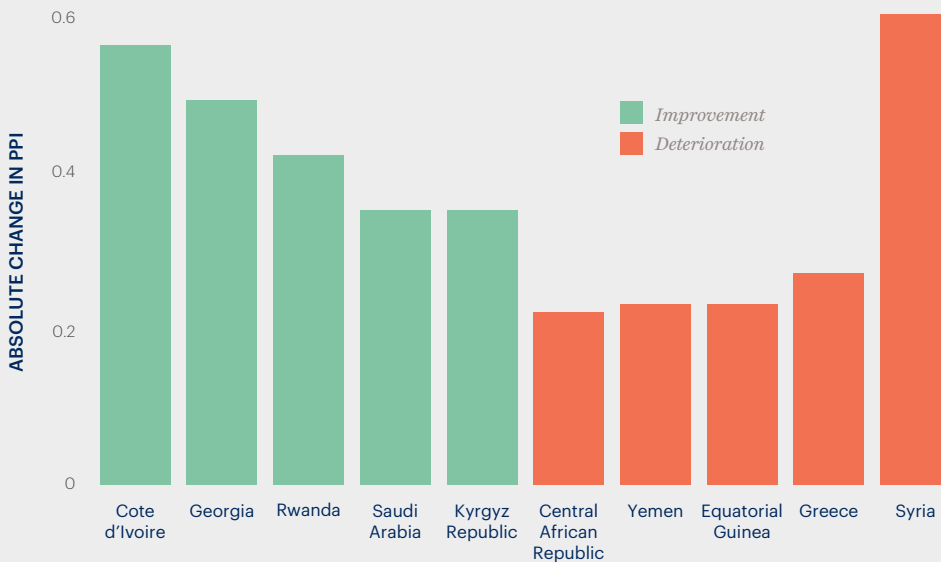
The majority of countries in the PPI — 109 out of 163 countries, or 67 per cent — demonstrated an improvement in Positive Peace from 2005 to 2016. The countries that experienced the greatest shifts in PPI scores, either positively or negatively, were spread across many regions, income groups and baseline levels of Positive Peace.

Figure 1.6 shows the countries that experienced the largest improvements in PPI scores between 2005 and 2016 were Côte d'Ivoire, Georgia, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, and Kyrgyz Republic. Many of these countries rose from low levels of Positive Peace. This is quite notable given that scores in the PPI typically change slowly over time. Syria, Greece, Equatorial Guinea, Yemen, and Central African Republic were the countries with the largest deteriorations.

“ The majority of countries in the PPI — 109 out of 163 countries, or 67 per cent — demonstrated an improvement in Positive Peace from 2005 to 2016.

FIGURE 1.6 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE

Cote d'Ivoire and Georgia recorded the largest percentage of improvement in PPI between 2005 and 2016, while Syria had the largest deterioration.



Source: IEP

FIVE LARGEST IMPROVEMENTS IN POSITIVE PEACE

CÔTE D'IVOIRE

TABLE 1.2 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Côte d'Ivoire improved in *hostility to foreigners*, *mobile phone subscription* and *business environment*. It deteriorated in respect for human rights.

PILLAR	INDICATOR	VALUE IN 2005	VALUE IN 2016	CHANGE	SOURCE
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Hostility to foreigners	5.000	1.000	-4	Economist Intelligence Unit
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.737	2.486	-2.25	Fund For Peace
SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	Business environment	4.288	3.111	-1.18	Heritage Foundation
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	Empowerment Index	3.571	3.857	0.29	UNDP, Human Development Index



Côte d'Ivoire has recently endured two ethnic and racially charged civil wars spanning from 2002-2007 and 2011-2012. Key to both conflicts were tensions between native born nationals of Côte d'Ivoire and the country's large immigrant population largely from Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea and Senegal, which was estimated before the escalation of violence to be up to 50 per cent of the total population.⁶ The most recent civil conflict arose because of a disputed election between long-standing Ivorian President Gbagbo and newly elected President Alassane Ouattara.⁷

Since the cessation of violence, *Hostility to Foreigners* has been estimated by the EIU as having a significant improvement. *Mobile phone subscription rates* improved greatly as well, while the number of land-lines has decreased, improving the trend towards modernisation and quicker access to information and other people.⁸ However, slight deteriorations in the scores for the human rights *Empowerment Index* offset other improvements in Positive Peace. The country continues to struggle with land-related conflict, particularly in the west of the country,

and with the provision of basic services as well as security for the thousands of potential refugee returnees.⁹

“ Côte d'Ivoire has recently endured two ethnic and racially charged civil wars spanning from 2002-2007 and 2011-2012. Since the cessation of violence, hostility to foreigners has been estimated by the EIU as having a significant improvement.

GEORGIA

TABLE 1.3 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE IN GEORGIA

Georgia has seen a substantial improvement in *mobile phone subscriptions*, *regional integration*, and *number of visitors*. It has deteriorated slightly in *Free Flow of Information* and in *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*.

PILLAR	INDICATOR	VALUE IN 2005	VALUE IN 2016	CHANGE	SOURCE
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Number of visitors	4.205	1.088	3.11	Economist Intelligence Unit
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.466	2.281	-2.19	ITU
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Regional integration	4.000	2.000	-2	Economist Intelligence Unit
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	World Press Freedom Index	1.999	2.183	0.18	Reporters without Borders
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	Empowerment Index	3.286	3.571	0.29	CIRI Human Rights
LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	Factionalised Elites	3.711	4.6	0.89	Fund for Peace



Georgia's largest gain in Positive Peace comes from the increase in the *mobile phone subscription rate*, allowing more Georgians access to the internet and thus overall quicker access to information. E-procurement became widespread in Georgia in 2015 and is considered to be one of the most important improvements the country has made in decades, resulting in increased transparency within government and a boost in efficiency for Georgian business.¹⁰

Georgia has also boosted its Positive Peace rankings with an improved score in Regional Integration. In the past decade, the former Soviet nation has cultivated a strong trade partnership with the Chinese, a trade relationship with the West through an Association Agreement with the EU, as well as joining the EU's Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area, while also committing itself to the NATO Response Force.¹¹

Deteriorations in Positive Peace within Georgia, though lesser in magnitude than improvements, still had an impact. Reporters Without Borders states that it is relatively common for Georgian journalists to receive threats or fall victim to violence, while the media in general is quite polarized

and dependent on individual owners.¹² Human Rights Watch notes the problematic monitoring of the public by the country's security forces as well as lack of accountability for certain government officials which are all indicative factors that have contributed to Georgia's deterioration in *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*.¹³

“ Georgia has also boosted its Positive Peace rankings with an improved score in Regional Integration.

RWANDA

TABLE 1.4 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE IN RWANDA

Rwanda has seen a notable improvement in its scores for *Sound Business Environment*, *control of corruption*, as well as *mobile phone subscription rate*. The country has however taken backwards steps in regards to its *group grievance rating*, *democratic political culture*, and *press freedom*.

PILLAR	INDICATOR	VALUE IN 2005	VALUE IN 2016	CHANGE	SOURCE
SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	Business environment	3.857	2.161	-1.7	Legatum Institute
LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	Control of corruption	3.925	2.411	-1.51	World Bank
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.974	3.525	-1.45	ITU
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	Group grievance rating	4.556	4.600	0.04	Fund For Peace
WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT	Democratic political culture	3.167	3.500	0.33	Economist Intelligence Unit
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	World Press Freedom Index	2.509	3.246	0.74	Reporters without Borders



Positive Peace in Rwanda has seen large improvements over the past 11 years since the genocide in 1994, and the Rwandan recovery continues to be held as a positive example within the broader international community,¹⁴ although problems still persist.



Improvements in Positive Peace notably stem from a major increase in the *mobile phone subscription rate*, granting more Rwandans access to information and the greater world. Rwanda’s strong improvement in *business environment* come thanks to increased regulation aimed at assisting the private sector, combined with increasing economic diversity, propelling it to what the Legatum Institute considers Africa’s 8th “most prosperous” nation¹⁵. Vision 2020, a government-led initiative to spur Rwanda’s sustainable development and green business sector, has helped guide businesses and fosters a prosperous economy that can withstand new challenges.¹⁶ Importantly, Rwanda’s efforts toward curbing corruption have stemmed from President Kagame who insists on longer prison sentences for offenders, while ratifying treaties such as the UN Convention against Corruption and similar regional commitments. Several upper-level government officials have been

arrested and jailed for corruption, including the President’s Finance Director in 2009. The government insists that anti-corruption contributes to a sound and sustainable business environment.¹⁷

In 2015, Rwanda went to the polls to amend the constitution and allow President Paul Kagame to run for a third term in office in 2017. On the 4th of August 2017, Kagame won the Presidential election with over 99 per cent of votes, potentially extending his tenure in office until at 2034.¹⁸

Positive Peace is set back by the Rwandan government’s alleged control of the media and the limits on freedom of speech within the country.¹⁹ The deterioration in the *World Press Freedom Index* can partially be attributed to fleeing journalists and censorship of media outlets, while the *group grievances* remain high.

SAUDI ARABIA

TABLE 1.5 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE IN SAUDI ARABIA

Saudi Arabia made large improvements in *mobile phone subscription rate*, *gender inequality*, and *hostility to foreigners*. It deteriorated in already weak scores in *freedom of the press* and *democratic political culture*.

PILLAR	INDICATOR	VALUE IN 2005	VALUE IN 2016	CHANGE	SOURCE
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Mobile phone subscription rate	3.804	1.268	-2.54	ITU
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	Gender inequality	4.665	2.564	-2.1	UNDP, Human Development Index
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Hostility to foreigners	4.200	3.000	-1.2	Economist Intelligence Unit
LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	Factionalised Elites	3.888	4.2	0.31	Fund for Peace
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Freedom of the Press Index	4.146	4.416	0.27	Freedom House
WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT	Democratic political culture	3.833	4.167	0.33	Economist Intelligence unit



Although Saudi Arabia ranks poorly when compared to the global average in gender inequality, this decade has seen some positive reforms in this area, albeit from a very low base. Some notable progress includes a 2011 ruling allowing women the right to vote and run in municipal elections and a 2012 decision by King Abdullah allowing female athletes to participate in the Olympics.²⁰ In 2013, 30 women were named to the Shura Consultative Council, while in 2015, 20 women were elected to municipal positions in local elections. Most recently, in September 2017 women were granted the right to obtain a driver's licence without asking permission from a male guardian and to drive unaccompanied.²¹

Additional progress in Positive Peace comes from an improved *hostility to foreigners* score. From 2006 to 2010, Saudi Arabia issued over 25,000 tourist visas; in 2016 the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage moved to expand on its tourism program to invite select visitors, encourage foreign investment, and to develop a profitable tourism industry.²² Despite this, the *hostility to foreigners* remains high by global standards and the country has been in the spotlight recently because of complaints about working conditions for foreign workers.²³ Mobile phone

subscriptions have also improved after the introduction of various market competitors, lowering the cost for cell phone service and making technology and the internet more accessible. Saudi Arabia has the highest rate of smart phone users in the Gulf region, conducive to increasing social media activity.²⁴

Saudi Arabia continues to deteriorate, however, in the *Freedom of the Press Index* and democratic political culture. According to Freedom House, the nation is home to one of the least free media in the world. The law of the land is subject to mixed interpretation and bans reporting considered to be anti-Islamic or anti-religious leaders, supportive of foreign interests, critical of national security, encouraging of protests, or disrupting of society.²⁵ The journalism industry has become partly criminalised, with dozens of websites being blocked and most within the industry practising self-censorship.²⁶ The country ranks poorly in democratic political culture, as politics are largely dominated by the country's absolute monarchy, currently headed by King Salman. Decision-making is often left to the king's own branch within the Al Saud, and many policies are formed by his son, Mohammed bin Salman.

KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

TABLE 1.6 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE IN KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

The Kyrgyz Republic improved in *regional integration*, *mobile phone subscription rate*, and *gender inequality*. It deteriorated in *factionalised elites*, *government effectiveness*, and *group grievance ratings*.

PILLAR	INDICATOR	VALUE IN 2005	VALUE IN 2016	CHANGE	SOURCE
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Regional integration	5.000	2.000	-3	Economist Intelligence Unit
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.796	2.199	-2.6	ITU
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	Gender inequality	4.613	2.720	-1.89	UNDP, Human Development Index
LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	Factionalised Elites	4.06	4.11	0.04	Fund for Peace
WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT	Government effectiveness	3.745	3.810	0.07	World Bank
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	Group grievance rating	3.667	4.378	0.71	Fund For Peace



The Kyrgyz Republic’s score for regional integration has improved significantly since 2005. It has become involved as a trading partner with China, which seeks to expand trade routes throughout the region, including construction of shared infrastructure.²⁷ The Kyrgyz Republic has opted for an end to a military alliance forged with the US over 20 years ago and instead remains largely under Russia’s sphere of influence. In 2015, the state acceded to the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), joined by other Eurasian powers including Russia, Kazakhstan, and Armenia.²⁸ Contributing to an overall improved score in Positive Peace is substantial improvements in gender inequality; in the past decade, the Kyrgyz Republic has committed to a Gender Equality Strategy, a National Action Plan, and a collaborative effort with the UN Women’s Programme, presenting a more inclusive vision for the country moving forward.²⁹ Kyrgyz Republic’s *mobile phone subscription rate* has grown substantially since 2005, which would potentially allow the Kyrgyz population to be more interconnected with the global community.

One of the factors hindering the Kyrgyz Republic’s steps towards higher levels of Positive Peace is a poor score in government

effectiveness as the country deals with both democratic and authoritarian forces.³⁰ The country retains a very high score on *group grievances* which can be traced back to its treatment of minority groups, and in particular bloody conflicts among ethnic Kyrgyz and Uzbeks that most recently came about as a result of the ousting of President Kurmanbek Bakiyev in 2010.³¹ Remedying these ethnic divides will be essential for improvement in overall levels of Positive Peace.

“ Contributing to an overall improved score in Positive Peace is substantial improvements in gender inequality

FIVE LARGEST DETERIORATIONS IN POSITIVE PEACE

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

TABLE 1.7 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE IN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Central African Republic deteriorated in *economic freedom*, *fractionalised elites* and *hostility to foreigners*. It improved in *gender equality*, *business environment* and *democratic political culture*.

PILLAR	INDICATOR	VALUE IN 2005	VALUE IN 2016	CHANGE	SOURCE
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Hostility to foreigners	2.60	5.00	2.40	Economist intelligence unit
LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	Factionalised elites	4.11	5.00	0.89	Fund For Peace
SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	Economic freedom	3.03	3.80	0.77	Heritage Foundation
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	Gender inequality	4.65	4.49	-0.16	UNDP, Human Development Index
SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	Business environment	4.51	4.21	-0.30	Legatum Institute
WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT	Democratic political culture	4.83	4.50	-0.33	Economist intelligence unit



Over the last decade the Central African Republic has deteriorated in Positive Peace. The country has been embroiled in a violent civil conflict following 2011 elections which extended the presidency of General Francois Bozize. In the years that followed, opposition rebels used military tactics to claim territory in the northern and central parts of the country. In 2013, a new coalition government was formed. The coalition however ultimately failed, forcing Bozize into exile.³²

The ousting of President Bozize in 2013 led to the disenfranchisement of the Muslim Seleka rebels, sparking inter-ethnic tension, leading to the growth of violent Christian militias.³³ These groups have splintered and evolved and remain the primary source of Central African violence.³⁴ The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs states that since the start of the conflict in 2013, more than 592,300 Central Africans have been displaced internally, another 481,600 have fled to neighbouring countries as refugees, and half of the country's 4.6 million people are currently in need of humanitarian assistance or protection.³⁵

The most deteriorated indicator is *hostility to foreigners*, which has been impacted by several developments in the country. The ongoing civil conflict has increased tensions between Christians and Muslims, alienating and labelling the latter as foreigners.³⁶ Increased divisions along ethnic and religious lines are reflected in a deterioration in the *fractionalised elites* indicator.

While CAR has seen a marginal improvement in the *business environment* indicator, this is outweighed by larger deteriorations in *economic freedom*. CAR is considered the world's most expensive country in which to start a business.³⁷ Additionally, the Heritage Foundation reports that less than one per cent of Central Africans have access to banking services, yet personal income tax in the country reaches up to 50 per cent.³⁸

Despite improvements in gender inequality and democratic political culture, CAR remains far below international averages on these measures. The new President has promised peace talks and has expressed a goal of disarming and reintegrating rebel groups from all sides back into Central African society.³⁹

YEMEN

TABLE 1.8 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE IN YEMEN

Yemen has deteriorated in the *World Press Freedom* score, its *group grievance* rating and *hostility to foreigners*. Yemen has improved in its *mobile phone subscription rate*, *business environment*, and *secondary school enrolment*.

PILLAR	INDICATOR	VALUE IN 2005	VALUE IN 2016	CHANGE	SOURCE
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Hostility to foreigners	3.400	5.000	1.6	Economist Intelligence Unit
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	Group grievance rating	3.667	4.778	1.11	Fund For Peace
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	World Press Freedom Index	2.837	3.671	0.83	Reporters without Borders
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.784	3.578	-1.21	ITU
HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL	Secondary school enrolment	3.737	3.617	-0.11	World Bank
SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	Business environment	5.000	4.303	-0.7	Legatum Institute



Yemen has been ravaged by an intense north-south divide that led to a civil war in 1994, a domestic conflict between the government and northern rebels from the Houthi ethnic minority in 2009, massive protests during the 2011 Arab Spring, and the outbreak of another civil war in 2014.

Currently, the country remains in an extremely unstable state; President Abdrabbuh Mansour Hadi is in exile as the Houthi minority has overtaken the capital, Sanaa's and set up a Transitional Revolutionary Council.⁴⁰ The capital was then moved to Aden.⁴¹ The United Nations, the United States, and the Gulf Co-Operation Council view this leadership as illegitimate, and the Saudi Arabian military has responded with a series of air strikes. Since the outbreak of war in 2014, the United Nations estimates that more than 10,000 people have died, while the number of food insecure Yemenis numbers about 17 million people, and the number of internally displaced peoples has reached over three million.⁴² Such events are reflected in a deterioration in the *group grievance* rating and *hostility*

“ Yemen has been ravaged by an intense north-south divide that led to a civil war in 1994

to foreigners as well as in the *World Press Freedom Index* rating. Reporters without Borders indicates that at least 15 journalists are being held captive by the Houthis, while media in general is dominated by the various warring factions within the country, contributing to overall deteriorating scores in the *World Press Freedom Index*.⁴³ There is however a significant increase in the *mobile phone subscription rate*, indicative of a more efficient communications and information sharing system. This in turn is especially important in a context such as Yemen where simple acts such as birth registration – necessary for the official recognition of individual identities – are woefully low. Only about 17 per cent of births in Yemen are registered.⁴⁴

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

TABLE 1.9 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE IN EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Equatorial Guinea has seen its score deteriorate in the *World Press Freedom score*, *regional integration*, and *hostility to foreigners*. It has improved reasonably in its *mobile phone subscription rate*, and very modestly in its *group grievance rating* and *GDP per capita*.

PILLAR	INDICATOR	VALUE IN 2005	VALUE IN 2016	CHANGE	SOURCE
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Hostility to foreigners	1.000	4.200	3.2	Economist Intelligence Unit
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Regional integration	3.000	4.000	1	Economist Intelligence Unit
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	World Press Freedom Index	2.747	3.698	0.95	Reporters without Borders
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.683	3.605	-1.08	ITU
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	Group grievance rating	3.533	3.356	-0.18	Fund For Peace
SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	GDP per capita	3.290	3.117	-0.17	World Bank



Equatorial Guinea is a sub-Saharan African nation that has been ruled by President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo since a military coup overthrew the country's last President in 1979. President Obiang is the longest sitting President in the world, and in a largely uncontested election in 2016, won re-election for another seven-year term.⁴⁵ Obiang's 40-year presidency has been criticised for corruption scandals, mishandling of national income from rich oil deposits, and repression of media outlets and opposition groups.⁴⁶ A contributing factor to Equatorial Guinea's deterioration in the *World Press Freedom score* is the prevalence of Obiang allies in powerful media positions, and because of alleged media censorship and the reported detainment of journalists.

Deteriorating scores in *Good Relations with Neighbours* are due to rocky relationships with the country's two neighbours, Gabon and Cameroon, as well as minimal participation in regional cooperative efforts such as the Communauté économique et monétaire de l'Afrique centrale (CEMAC). Although Equatorial Guinea and Cameroon have in the past decade organised eight different agreements, much tension remains over border control and immigration.⁴⁷ The government

maintains a hard stance against illegal immigration and the country has been accused of abusing Cameroonian migrant workers and immigrants. Furthermore, Equatorial Guinea has feuded with neighbouring Gabon over possibly oil-rich territory in the Gulf of Guinea; the UN began mediation in 2008 and in 2016 the countries elected to submit the conflict to the International Court of Justice for arbitration.⁴⁸

Some improvements in Equatorial Guinea come from the country's growing access to mobile phones, spurring increased access to the internet, which is reportedly not under government regulation.⁴⁹ Another modest improvement in Positive Peace comes from the country's rising *GDP per capita*. The improvement can be traced back to the 1995 discovery of large oil deposits and Equatorial Guinea is now one of Southern Africa's largest oil producers, being admitted to OPEC in 2017.⁵⁰

GREECE

TABLE 1.10 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE IN GREECE

Greece deteriorated in several measures of *press freedom*, as well as *hostility to foreigners*. It improved its scores in *business environment*, *mobile phone subscription rate*, and *perceptions of corruption*.

PILLAR	INDICATOR	VALUE IN 2005	VALUE IN 2016	CHANGE	SOURCE
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Hostility to foreigners	1.000	2.600	1.6	Economist Intelligence Unit
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	World Press Freedom Index	1.159	2.244	1.09	Reporters without Borders
LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	Factionalised Elites	1.222	2.244	1.02	Fund for Peace
SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	Business environment	3.266	2.558	-0.71	Legatum Institute
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Mobile phone subscription rate	3.047	2.621	-0.43	ITU
LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	Perceptions of corruption	3.602	3.255	-0.35	Transparency International



One of the factors driving Greece’s deterioration in its *hostility to foreigners* score is criticism of the Greek government for its poor provisioning of sanitary temporary living arrangements during the EU refugee crisis of 2015.⁵¹ Greece also deteriorated significantly in *Freedom of the Press* indicators. Greek law protects freedom of expression, but places particular importance on not slandering the country’s president, Christianity or religion. In a report titled “Policing Belief,” Freedom House detailed several recent cases where artists, authors, and journalists were accused of blasphemy for mentions of Jesus Christ in their works; the defendants were eventually exonerated.⁵²

Greece has slightly improved its scores in *business environment*, *mobile phone subscription rate*, and *perceptions of corruption*. The Greek fiscal crisis began in 2009 and continues through to today; unemployment reached all-time highs of 28 per cent and 61.4 per cent for youth in 2014.⁵³ The country has negotiated a series of bailout plans with the EU which has led to significant instability and uncertainty as well as several changes of government during the recession of the past decade.⁵⁴ In 2014, Greece’s GDP rose by 0.7 per cent, officially guiding it out of the

recession, and contributing to the improved *business environment* score.⁵⁵ Perceptions of corruption have improved modestly with the Greek government ratifying the United Nations Convention against Corruption in 2008 as well as launching its own a National Anti-Corruption Action Plan, which aims to quell domestic corruption.⁵⁶

“ The country has negotiated a series of bailout plans with the EU which has led to significant instability and uncertainty as well as several changes of government during the recession of the past decade.

SYRIA

TABLE 1.11 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE IN SYRIA

The Syrian war has had significant effects on the Pillars of *Good Relations with Neighbours* and *High Levels of Human Capital*.

PILLAR	INDICATOR	VALUE IN 2005	VALUE IN 2016	CHANGE	SOURCE
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Hostility to foreigners	1.000	5.000	4	Economist Intelligence Unit
LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	Factionalised Elites	3.711	4.955	1.24	Fund for Peace
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Regional integration	3.000	4.000	1	Economist Intelligence Unit
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.679	3.657	-1.02	ITU
SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	Economic freedom	3.724	3.389	-0.33	Heritage Foundation
SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	GDP per capita	4.818	4.753	-0.06	World Bank



The country's deteriorations in the Positive Peace Index stem from the start of the civil war in 2011. The most significant deterioration in Positive Peace was for the *Good Relations with Neighbours* Pillar. Human Rights Watch reports the Syrian governments' use of internationally banned cluster munitions, incendiary weapons, and chemical weapons and well as continued efforts to blockade international humanitarian groups seeking to provide food and medicine to the besieged Syrian population.⁵⁷ Widespread terrorism and clan violence continues to plague the region and millions have been forced to flee into neighbouring countries and into Europe. The UNHCR reports that there are 13.5 million Syrians displaced, with over 5 million Syrians as refugees in other countries, and 6.3 million internally displaced.⁵⁸ Deteriorations in regional integration and *hostility to foreigners* scores reflect these circumstances.

While some of Syria's Positive Peace scores do show some improvements a major caveat to many of these indicators is that they depend on pre-civil war calculations and only until the full cessation of conflict and some period of stability will it be possible to properly gauge progress in Positive Peace.

“ Widespread terrorism and clan violence continues to plague the region and millions have been forced to flee into neighbouring countries and into Europe.

RESULTS BY INCOME AND GOVERNMENT TYPE

The income level of a country can affect many of the factors of Positive Peace, as there is a statistically significant relationship between Positive Peace and income as shown in figure 1.7.

This analysis uses the World Bank classification of income type, which groups countries into four levels of per capita gross national income (GNI): high income, upper-middle income, lower-middle income and low income. High-income countries tend to be the most peaceful and low-income countries tend to be the least peaceful. The 30 countries at the top of the PPI are all high-income.

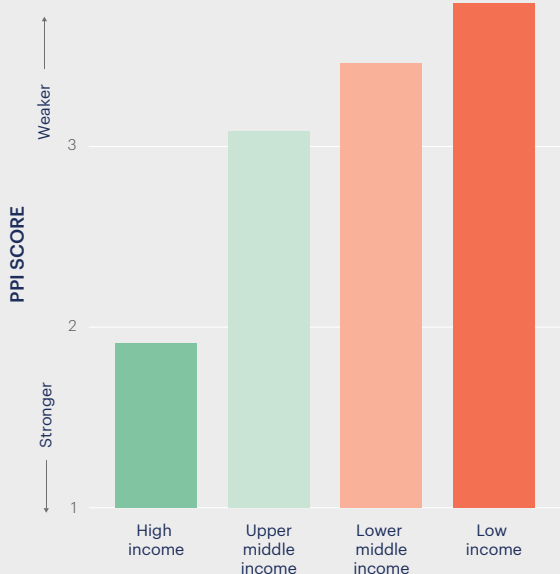
Government type has a clear relationship with Positive Peace, with full democracies scoring the best on the PPI, as shown in figure 1.8. Authoritarian regimes recorded the worst. These results are reflective of the importance of social and governmental structures. The democratic political culture indicator represents a society's attitudes toward and mechanisms for citizen participation in government. It should be noted that this indicator does not measure whether or

not a government is in fact a democracy. Rather, the indicator measures aspects associated with democracy such as *Well-Functioning Government*: an independent judiciary, effective service delivery and participation and accountability. Where government is responsive to the needs of citizens, it is better able to support a *Sound Business Environment*, facilitate the *Free Flow of Information*, support *High Levels of Human Capital* and positively impact a variety of other Positive Peace factors.

FIGURE 1.7

POSITIVE PEACE BY INCOME GROUP, 2016

High income countries have the highest levels of Positive Peace.

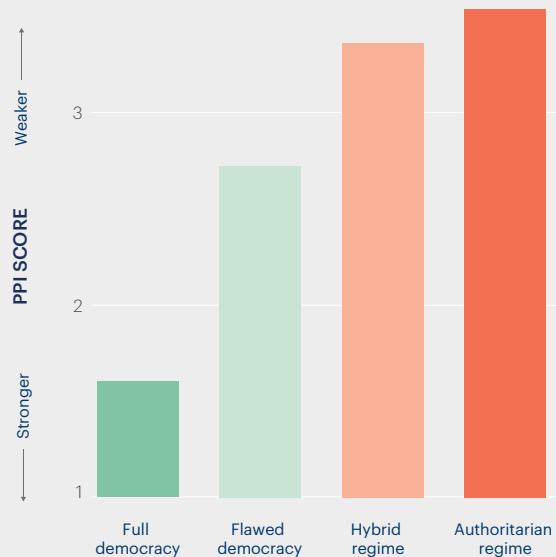


Source: World Bank, IEP

FIGURE 1.8

POSITIVE PEACE BY GOVERNMENT TYPE, 2016

Full democracies have the highest levels of Positive Peace.



Source: EIU, IEP

TRENDS IN POSITIVE PEACE IN EUROPE – THE RISE OF POPULISM

KEY FINDINGS

- Between 2005 and 2016, 19 out of the 36 European countries experienced deteriorations in their overall PPI scores.
- Positive Peace in Europe, while the second highest in the world, did not change between 2005 and 2016 compared to a global average improvement of 2.35 per cent.
- The five countries in Europe with the largest improvements in Positive Peace all are former Soviet bloc countries.
- Countries that have deteriorated in Positive Peace since 2005 are either Western European or Scandinavian countries.
- The deterioration of Positive Peace in several European countries occurred while populist political parties gained significant electoral traction.
- Four of the eight Pillars of Peace deteriorated in Europe over this period. In order of deterioration these are: *Free Flow of Information*, *Low Levels of Corruption*, *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* and *Well-Functioning Government*.
- The most negative trend was in the *Free Flow of Information* Pillar, which reflected the deteriorations in freedom of the press. Countries like Greece, Turkey and Hungary deteriorated the most on this indicator.
- *Low Levels of Corruption* deteriorated by 3.3 per cent compared to the global average of two per cent, reflecting increased perceptions of corruption in the wake of high profile scandals in Spain, France and Iceland.
- Two Pillars did however improve over this period highlighting some positive trends. *Sound Business Environment* and, to a lesser extent, *High Levels of Human Capital*.
- The attitudinal data in Europe highlights the systemic way in which the Pillars interact with each other. Deteriorations in *Free Flow of Information* and concerns with the economic situation and unemployment and rises in terrorism led to deteriorations in *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*.
- In 2011 the economic situation was considered the most important issue. However, by 2016 it had been replaced by immigration and terrorism.
- Similarly the poor performance on *Low Levels of Corruption* reflects the very low levels of trust in major political parties.

POSITIVE PEACE TRENDS IN EUROPE

Between 2005 and 2016, 19 out of 36 European countries experienced deteriorations in their overall PPI scores, which represents the second highest proportion of countries deteriorating for any region. Overall, the region had deteriorations in four of the eight Pillars of Positive Peace, a trend that is markedly different to the global averages, as seen in figure 1.9.

Europe's overall score on Positive Peace improved very slightly, 0.7 per cent from 2005 to 2016, well below the average global improvement of 1.86 per cent.

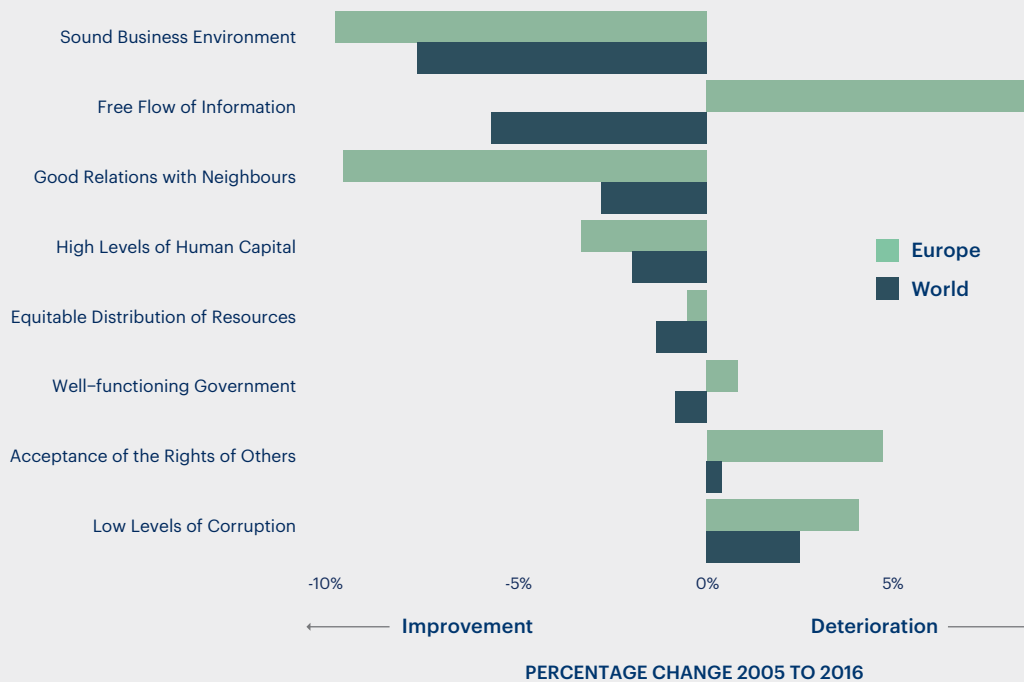
While Europe had deteriorations in the score for *Well-functioning Government*, *Low Levels of Corruption*, *Free Flow of Information* and the *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, the average changes for the world recorded deteriorations in only two categories; *Low Levels of Corruption* and the *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*.

The global average for *Low Levels of Corruption* deteriorated by 2.4 per cent but the deterioration in Europe has been more significant at 3.9 percent, reflecting increased *perceptions of corruption*, especially in politics. These negative changes are also reflected in the decline in the *Free Flow of Information* Pillar, due to deteriorations in *Freedom of the Press* in countries like Greece and Hungary. Meanwhile, *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, also deteriorated by 4.5 per cent during this time period, eleven times larger than the global level of 0.4 percent.

Figure 1.10 shows the five countries in Europe with the largest improvements and deteriorations in Positive Peace. The five biggest improvements occurred in former Soviet Bloc countries. Countries that have deteriorated in Positive Peace since 2005 are Western European or Scandinavian countries.

FIGURE 1.9 POSITIVE PEACE IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD 2005-2016

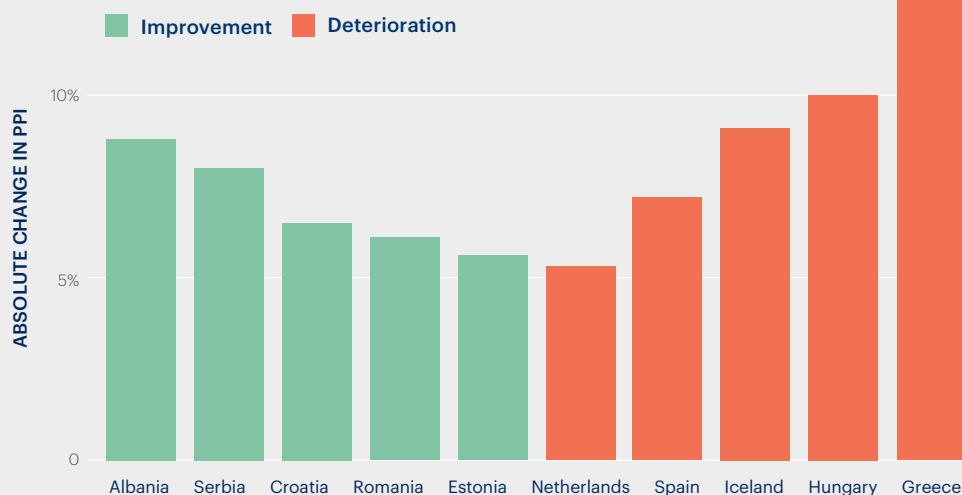
In Europe, four of the eight Pillars of Positive Peace have seen deteriorations in score since 2005, while globally only two pillars have seen deteriorations.



Source: IEP

FIGURE 1.10 LARGEST CHANGES IN POSITIVE PEACE

The five countries with the largest improvements in Positive Peace all are former Soviet Bloc countries. Countries that have deteriorated in Positive Peace since 2016 are Western European.



Source: IEP

CHANGING ATTITUDES IN EUROPE AND THE RISE OF POPULISM

In the past ten years, there has been a marked increase in the popularity and traction of populist parties throughout Europe. For example:

- **Germany:** the right-wing Alternative for Germany (AfD) party established in March 2013 was able to gain seats in four regional parliaments: Brandenburg, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hamburg. They also made substantial gains in the recent national elections are now the third largest party in the country.⁵⁹
- **Finland:** the Eurosceptic Finns Party (Perussuomalaiset) became the second political force in the April 2015 elections taking 38 out of the 200 seats in the Parliament.
- **France:** Marine Le Pen of Front National came close to winning the French presidential election of 2017.
- **Austria:** the far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ) came close to winning the presidency, prompting a second round run-off. Although fraught with irregularities that caused a re-vote, the FPÖ eventually conceded defeat in an election where close to half of Austrians, 46.2 per cent, voted for it.
- **Netherlands:** the Party for Freedom (PVV) led the polls up until the March 2017 election. Although it resulted

in the victory of the incumbent People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), the PVV came in second with 13.1 per cent of the votes, gaining five seats in Parliament.

- **United Kingdom:** The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) in 2013 won 24 seats - eleven more than in the previous European Parliament election, a victory that proved pivotal in their role in the successful Brexit campaign.

It is important to highlight that populist parties are not homogenous as they cover both the left-right spectrum and the moderate-hard line spectrum. There are however two generally accepted and encompassing features of populism. The first one is the promotion of an anti-establishment agenda; one that is aimed at questioning the policies of mainstream political parties and their ideologies. The second is an opposition to immigration or multiculturalism in general, complemented by nationalistic policies that place the emphasis on “national interest” and away from integration with regional blocs.

The rise of populist parties in Europe is symptomatic of the decline across key Pillars of Positive Peace in Europe after a

prolonged period of subdued economic growth, a massive influx of refugees and recurring terrorist attacks. These are the issues on which the populist parties thrived. In 2016, more than 50 per cent of citizens in Spain, the UK and Italy reported to view Eurosceptic parties as 'a good thing'.

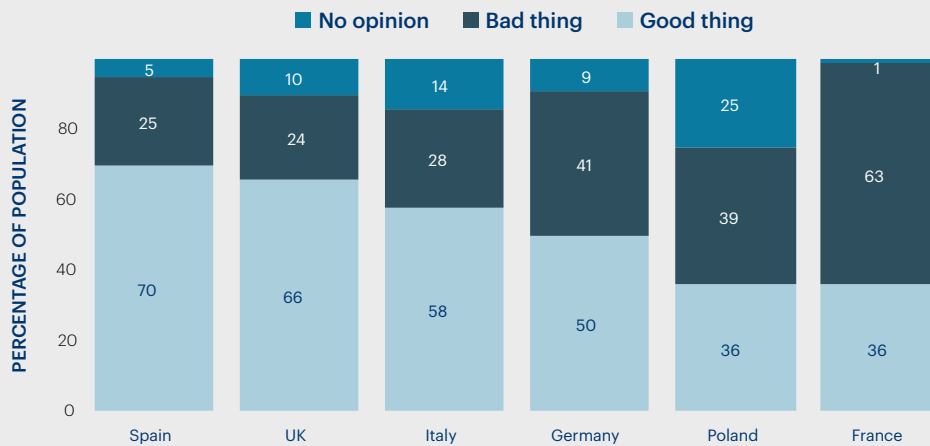
“ Since 2014 the percentage of citizens reporting immigration and terrorism to be the most important issue facing the EU has been on the rise.

EU TRENDS IN PERCEPTIONS

According to polling data from Eurobarometer, the most important issues facing the EU changed significantly between 2010 and 2016. During the first four years of this time period, the

FIGURE 1.11 VIEWS ON EUROSCEPTIC PARTIES IN EUROPE, 2016

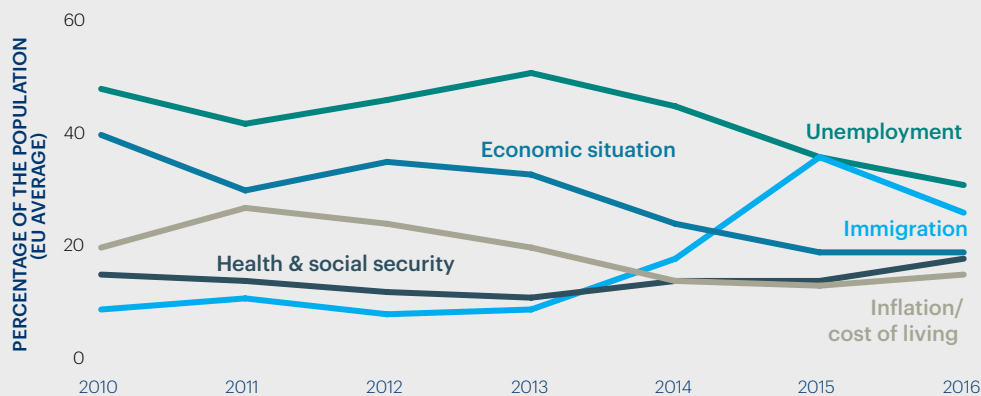
More than 50 per cent of citizens in Spain, the UK and Italy view Eurosceptic parties as a good thing.



Source: Pew Research Centre, Global Attitudes Survey, 2016

FIGURE 1.12 PERCEPTION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FACING YOUR COUNTRY, EU AVERAGE 2010-2016

At the national level, unemployment and immigration are the biggest concerns for voters.



Source: European Commission

economic situation stood out as the most important situation facing the EU. However, it has been on a downward trend for the past five years and by 2016 had been replaced by immigration and terrorism.

Since 2014, however, the percentage of citizens reporting immigration and terrorism to be the most important issue facing the EU has been on the rise. For the former, the percentage more than doubled between 2014 and 2015, going from 24 to 58 per cent, essentially overtaking the share of people worried about the economic situation. The trend was the same for terrorism, for which the percentage of people reporting it as important almost tripled between 2014 and 2016, up from 11 to 32 per cent.

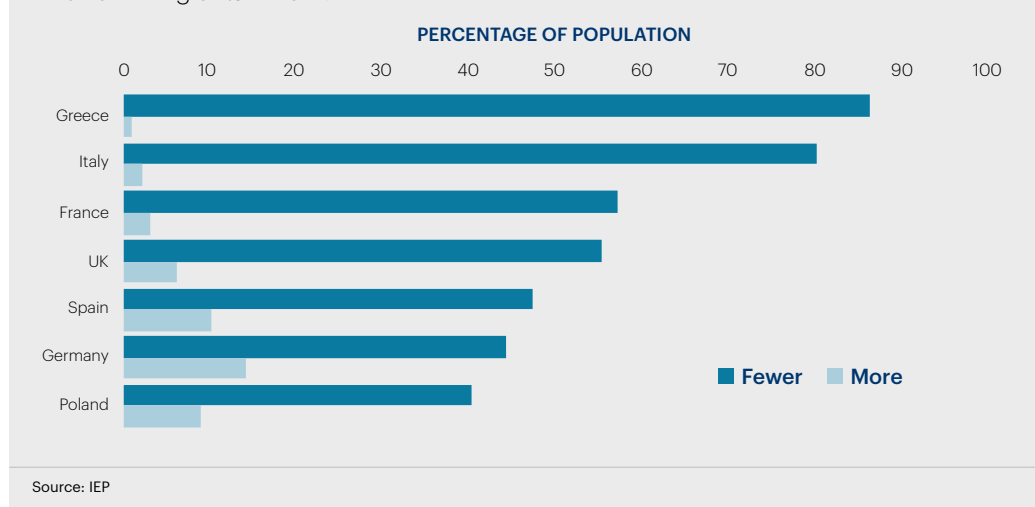
This is reflective of the impact of terrorist attacks in major capital cities, most notably in Paris and Brussels. It comes at a time when the percentage of citizens reporting to align with

the ideas of populist parties has been gaining ground. One year prior to the 2015 peak in asylum seekers, more than 50 percent of citizens in the UK and France reported to want fewer immigrations. In Italy and Greece, the percentage was 80 and 86, respectively.

Moreover, negative perceptions towards migrants, and in particular those related to viewing migrants as an economic burden has been gaining most traction, especially among voters who identify themselves as being on the right of the political spectrum. In 2014, more than 60 per cent of right-wing voters in Italy, Greece and France reported to believe that immigrants were a burden because they take jobs and social benefits. The share of right-wing voters holding these beliefs was highest across all of the eight European countries surveyed, with Germany standing out as the country for which this percentage was the lowest, at 16 per cent.

FIGURE 1.13 ATTITUDES ON IMMIGRATION, PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION, 2014

More than 50 per cent of citizens in the UK, France, Italy and Greece reported wanting fewer immigrants in 2014.



POSITIVE PEACE & SYSTEMS THINKING

KEY FINDINGS

- In the 2016 Positive Peace Report, IEP proposed new and unique approaches for applying systems thinking to the nation state to better understand how societies work, how to better manage the challenges they face, and how to improve overall wellbeing.
- Key to understanding the systemic nature of the nation state is the concept of National Intent.
- National Intent can be measured using four dimensions: political system, economic system, social system, and international relations.
- Countries with similar Intent are more likely to form meaningful alliances.
- As countries become more highly developed they are more likely to become similar to other highly developed nations.
- The highly developed Western democracies have the largest number of similar nations.
- Australia is the country with its system most similar to other countries.
- Less developed countries also have less countries that share similar Intent. In other words, less developed countries are more unique.
- When less developed countries do form clusters, these tend to be within the same region.
- The uniqueness of a country's Intent highlights that the path to achieving successful development is likely to be more unique.
- Development interventions are less likely to succeed unless the systemic nature of the nation is taken into consideration.

In the 2016 Positive Peace Report, IEP proposed new and unique approaches for applying systems thinking to the nation state to better understand how societies work, how to manage the challenges they face, and how to improve overall wellbeing. When applied to the nation state, this approach offers alternatives to traditional or reductionist techniques of understanding change.

Systems theory first originated while attempting to better understand the workings of biological systems and organisms, such as cells or the human body. Through such studies, it became clear that merely understanding the individual characteristics of the parts of a system was inadequate to describe a system as a whole, as systems are much more than the sum of their parts.

There is one clear distinction between organisms and societies. Organisms have very clear physical boundaries. The boundaries of societies are less clear and can be somewhat arbitrary, whereas the nation state is a useful definitional boundary for a system. Most nations have a concept of self-identity, where citizens see themselves as belonging to it, it has control over its territory, and it can regulate and enforce laws. All of these characteristics can be related to principles within systems thinking.

All systems are considered open, interacting with both the sub-systems within them, other similar systems, and the super-system within which they are contained. The nation is made up of many actors, units, and organisations spanning the family, local communities and public and private sectors. As all of these operate both individually and interact with other institutions and organisations, each can be thought of as their own open system within the nation. These may for instance include companies, families, civil society organisations, or public institutions. All have differing intents and encoded norms. Similarly, nation states interact with other nations through trading relations, regional body membership, and diplomatic exchanges or through war.

Figure 2.1 illustrates different levels that are relevant to the nation or country. It shows that the nation state itself is made up of these many sub-systems, including the individual, civil society, and business communities. Scaling up the view, the nation is a sub-system of the international community, in which it builds and maintains relationships with other nations and international organisations. Finally, the international community forms a sub-system of the biosphere. It should be noted that any sub-system within the following diagram can interact with a super system at any level. For example, the individual can interact with the nation, other nations, the international community, and the natural environment.

BOX 2.1 THE PROPERTIES OF SYSTEM THINKING

There are four major properties associated with systems thinking: ¹

1. **The system is a whole.** It cannot be reduced to its parts as individually the parts will have a different pattern of behaviour.
2. **The system is self-regulating.** It aims to maintain a steady state by stabilising itself through feedback loops. The system adjusts to create balance between inputs, outputs and internally coded requirements so as to maintain what is termed homeostasis.
3. **The system is self-modifying.** When there is a persistent mismatch between inputs and its codes, the system searches for a new pattern by which it can function. This creates differentiation from the original system and increases complexity.
4. **The system does not stand on its own.** It is part of a larger system but also contains its own sub-systems. It also interacts with other similar systems. This ‘system of systems’ adapts together.

“ Through the mechanics of mutual feedback loops, systems thinking blurs the separation between cause and effect.

Systems thinking offers a more complex view of causality. In standard analysis, we expect every effect to have a cause. Assumptions of linear causality imply that all outcomes can be tracked back in a linear fashion to an initial condition. The idea that things are predetermined by a set of initial conditions leaves no room for genuine novelty, standing in contradiction to our experience of reality. Linear causality is useful for

explaining discrete and well-isolated physical phenomena but when multiple variables are involved it becomes increasingly difficult to truly understand the cause.

Through the mechanics of mutual feedback loops, systems thinking blurs the separation between cause and effect. A mutual feedback loop is where two interacting entities modify each other through their feedback. A conversation or negotiation are good examples of mutual feedback loops. A further example can be observed in the relation between the *Free Flow of Information* and a *Well-Functioning Government*. Governments can regulate what information is available; however, information can also change governments. Both will respond to the action of the other. In systems thinking, a “cause” is seen not as an independent force but as an input to a system which then reacts, producing the effect. The difference in reaction is due to different encoded norms, or values by which society self-organises.

The concept of mutual feedback loops gives rise to the notion of causeless correlations and forms the basis of Positive Peace. Statistically significant correlations describe macro relationships,

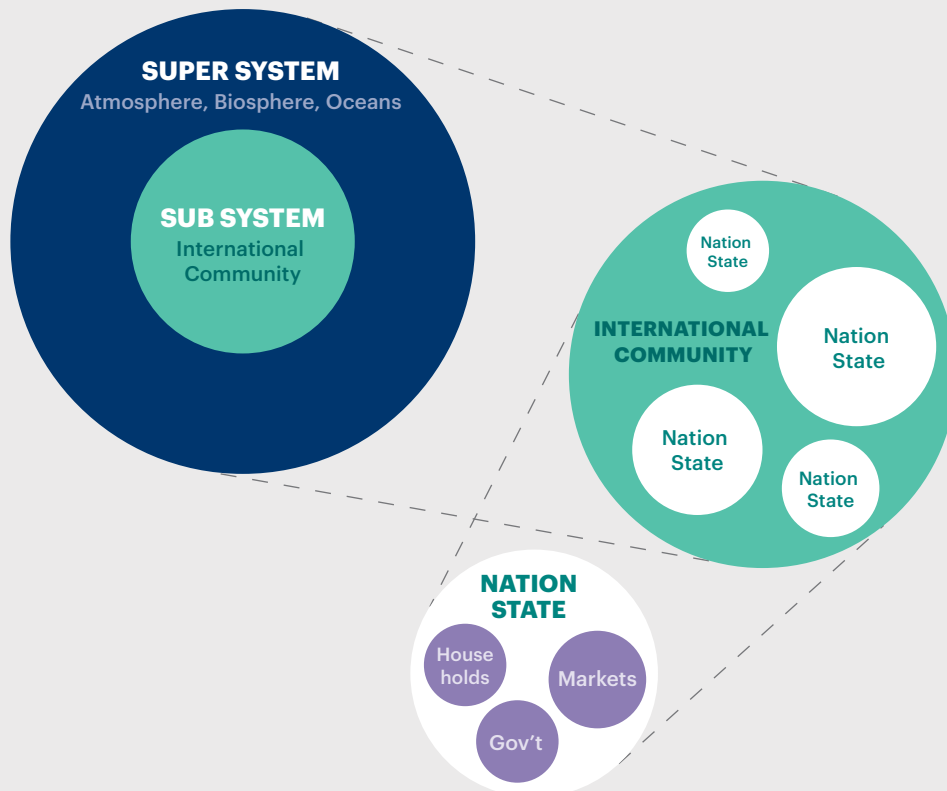
but the interactions within the dynamics of the system and the causal relationships will vary depending on the particular circumstances.

Furthermore, from a systems perspective, each “causal” factor does not need to be understood. Rather, multiple interactions that stimulate the system in a particular way negate the need to understand all the causes. Processes can also be mutually causal. For example, as corruption increases, business reacts, which in turn changes the way corruption is undertaken. Similarly, improved health services provide for a more productive workforce, which in turn provides the government with revenue and more money to invest in health.

Systems are also susceptible to tipping points in which a small action can change the structure of the whole system. The Arab Spring began when a Tunisian street vendor set himself alight because he couldn’t earn enough money to support himself. The relationship between corruption and peace follows a similar pattern. IEP research has found that increases in corruption have little effect until a certain point, after which even small increases in corruption can result in large deteriorations in peace.

FIGURE 2.1 SYSTEMS AND THE NATION STATE

The nation state is both a super and sub system depending on the field of view. The smallest sub system can interact directly with the largest super system.



Source: IEP

INTENT OF THE NATION STATE

All nations are made up of conscious human beings, with each person having their own intent. Since nations are collections of individuals, nations will also have their own unique intents.

The intent of nations, however is not well understood. Although international affairs is a well-researched subject, there is little quantitative research in this area. To address this shortfall IEP has derived a quantitative methodology consisting of four dimensions:

- **Political** – from authoritarian to democratic
- **Economic** – from closed market to open market
- **International relations** – from unilateralism to multilateralism
- **Social policy** – from low safety nets to high safety nets.

To help with the understanding and mapping of National Intent an interactive visualisation has been created. By selecting a country, it enables identification of other countries that have similar Intent. The tool can be accessed at www.nationalintent.visionofhumanity.org.

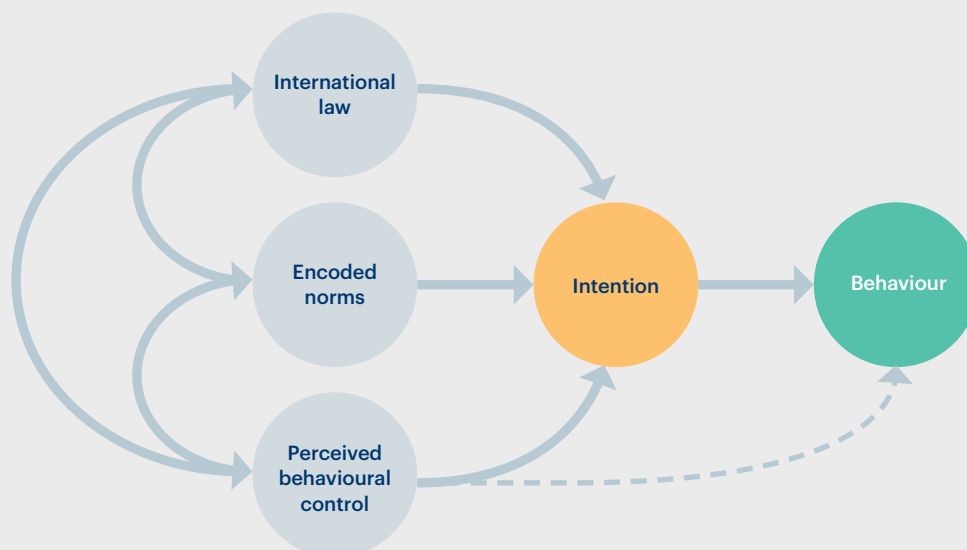
Although these four dimensions represent a simplification, they were chosen because of the important role each plays within a society. Each dimension can be seen as being the outcome of the interactions of many other systems within the nation.

Through understanding the countries which are most similar, it is possible to identify the countries where soft power is most likely to be effective. Analysis of Intent can also provide an indication of citizen's receptivity to alliances with other countries. The more the countries are similar, the more likely citizens will be accepting of the alliance, and if problems do arise then there are cultural avenues to help in finding a solution. The analysis can also be used to understand which countries' policies are likely to be similar, therefore the good policies are more likely to replicable and the possibility to learn from failed policies.

Changes in Intent can best be seen in times of crisis. When the encoded norms around security or economic prosperity are

FIGURE 2.2 SYSTEMS DIAGRAM OF BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATION STATE

A framework from psychology regarding intent.



Source: IEP

TABLE 2.1 IEP'S FOUR SCALES OF INTENT

Intent is classified as the combination of four scales of intent: economic, political, international relations and social policy.

INTENT PILLAR	INDICATOR	DESCRIPTION	SOURCE
Economic	Economic freedom	The Economic Freedom of the World report ranks countries based on five areas: size of government, legal structure and security of property rights, access to sound money, freedom to trade internationally, and regulation of credit, labour and business.	Fraser Institute
Political	Political Democracy Index	Political Democracy Index	EIU
International relations	Number of treaties ratified	Number ratified out of Law of the Sea, Paris Climate Change Agreement, Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and Human Rights Treaties or Membership to the EU.	UN
Social policy	Social spending as % of GDP	Social spending as % of GDP	OECD and World Bank

TABLE 2.2 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN IEP'S FOUR SCALES OF INTENT

	ECONOMIC	POLITICAL	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	SOCIAL POLICY
Economic	1	0.54	0.06	0.43
Political	0.54	1	0.36	0.63
International relations	0.06	0.36	1	0.27
Social policy	0.43	0.63	0.27	1

threatened, people may be willing to accept a shift towards authoritarianism in return for stability. Hyperinflation in the Weimar Republic offers a historical example of such an interplay.

This section of the report presents some of the research IEP has undertaken in capturing and classifying National Intent. As a starting point, the concept of intent has been studied in other disciplines. For example psychologist Icek Ajzen suggests that intention is a mixture of attitudes toward behaviour, subjective norms, and perceived belief about their ability to carry out an action.

This could be applied to the nation:

- **International law:** international pressures around a behaviour/action

- **Encoded norms:** national feelings about behaviour/action
- **Perceived behavioural control:** belief about the ability to carry out the behaviour or action.

Looking at macroeconomic indicators can allow us to better understand aspects of Intent as shown in figure 2.2. To classify countries based on their position on each of the four scales the indicators in table 2.1 are used. Table 2.2 describes the correlations between these variables and shows that while the political, economic and social policy indicators are strongly related to each other, the international relations indicator is not.

Every country can be classified as being somewhere on the spectrum of each dimension. Figure 2.3 shows how each country could be plotted on these scales and how they could be classified.

CLUSTERING OF INTENT

Looking at which countries are similar on their Intent scores produces a cluster of countries. It would seem intuitive that the more closely two countries are placed together on the four scales of Intent, the more aligned they are in their behaviours. Box 2.2 explains the process IEP has developed to compare the Intent of countries to identify clusters of similar nations.

Extending this analysis further, table 2.3 shows the number of countries that each nation can consider as similar. Where three or more dimensions have similar scores then countries are considered similar.

As shown in table 2.3, Australia is the country that is similar to the most other countries according IEP’s Intent clusters. Table 2.4 shows these eight countries span European, Commonwealth and North American countries. The United States in comparison is similar to Commonwealth and European countries and Israel. Listing groups of similar countries, table 2.4 highlights that each country will have its own unique list of similar countries.

One of the more interesting findings of this analysis is that as countries become more developed they become more alike. Conversely, less developed countries are more unique in that there are fewer countries that can be considered similar on the Intent scales. This reiterates the importance of path dependence of the national system, even where the destination of development is defined, the path required for each nation to progress towards this ideal starts at a different and unique starting point. This is illustrated in figure 2.4.

BOX 2.2 NATIONAL INTENT: DEFINING “SIMILAR” COUNTRIES

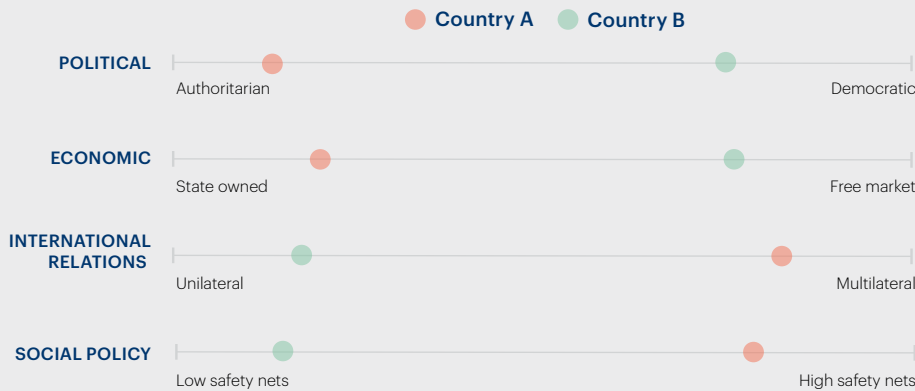
Each country has its own unique location on each of the four Intent scales. Two countries may be similar in one Intent, but not others. For example, the open economy of Qatar is similar to those of Europe and the US and so scores similarly on the economic intent scale. However, on the remaining three intent scales Qatar scores much closer to its regional neighbours. To build groups of countries with similar intents requires knowing how similarly they are positioned on multiple dimensions. The more intent scores two countries are similar on, the closer IEP classifies their Intent.

The steps for doing this are:

- Select Country A.
- Create lists of the 20 most similar countries to Country A in the four National Intent dimensions.
- Clusters of countries most similar in Intent to Country A are countries that are similar in at least three of the four Intent scales.

FIGURE 2.3 PLOTTING COUNTRY INTENT

Intent for each country can be classified based on its position on the four scales of intent. For example, Country A would be described as tending toward authoritarianism, state ownership of the economy, with high safety nets and levels of international collaboration. Country B on the other hand would be described as tending towards democracy, an open economy, with low safety nets and international cooperation.



Source: IEP

TABLE 2.3 NUMBER OF SIMILAR COUNTRIES IN INTENT

Western Democracies have more countries with similar Intent. Less developed countries tend to be more unique in the location on the four Intent scales.

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF COUNTRIES SIMILAR IN ≥ 3 INTENT SCORES	COUNTRY	NUMBER OF COUNTRIES SIMILAR IN ≥ 3 INTENT SCORES	COUNTRY	NUMBER OF COUNTRIES SIMILAR IN ≥ 3 INTENT SCORES
Australia	8	Libya	2	Senegal	1
Estonia	7	Sri Lanka	2	Sierra Leone	1
Netherlands	7	Lesotho	2	Swaziland	1
Canada	6	Latvia	2	Thailand	1
Switzerland	6	Moldova	2	Tajikistan	1
Germany	6	Mali	2	Tunisia	1
United Kingdom	6	Myanmar	2	Ukraine	1
Ireland	6	Mozambique	2	Uruguay	1
Iran	6	Mauritania	2	Venezuela	1
Czech Republic	5	Mauritius	2	Viet Nam	1
Portugal	5	Philippines	2	Yemen	1
Sudan	5	Qatar	2	South Africa	1
United States	5	Slovakia	2	Zambia	1
Austria	4	Sweden	2	Zimbabwe	1
Cote d'Ivoire	4	Chad	2	Argentina	0
Italy	4	Togo	2	Armenia	0
Nepal	4	Tanzania	2	Azerbaijan	0
New Zealand	4	Uganda	2	Burundi	0
Belgium	3	Benin	1	Bahrain	0
Democratic Republic of the Congo	3	Burkina Faso	1	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0
Denmark	3	Bangladesh	1	Bolivia	0
Algeria	3	Bulgaria	1	Bhutan	0
Ecuador	3	China	1	Botswana	0
Eritrea	3	Costa Rica	1	Central African Republic	0
Spain	3	Cyprus	1	Colombia	0
Finland	3	Djibouti	1	Dominican Republic	0
The Gambia	3	Ethiopia	1	Georgia	0
Israel	3	Gabon	1	Greece	0
Japan	3	Ghana	1	Honduras	0
Liberia	3	Guinea	1	Haiti	0
Montenegro	3	Guatemala	1	Hungary	0
Namibia	3	Croatia	1	Jamaica	0
Norway	3	India	1	Kazakhstan	0
Poland	3	Iraq	1	Lithuania	0
Syria	3	Iceland	1	Madagascar	0
Angola	2	Jordan	1	Mongolia	0
Albania	2	Cambodia	1	Malaysia	0
United Arab Emirates	2	Kuwait	1	Niger	0
Belarus	2	Laos	1	Nigeria	0
Brazil	2	Lebanon	1	Oman	0
Chile	2	Morocco	1	Pakistan	0
Cameroon	2	Mexico	1	Panama	0
Republic of the Congo	2	Macedonia	1	Palestine	0
Egypt	2	Malawi	1	Romania	0
France	2	Nicaragua	1	Singapore	0
Guinea-Bissau	2	Peru	1	El Salvador	0
Guyana	2	Papua New Guinea	1	Serbia	0
Indonesia	2	Paraguay	1	Slovenia	0
Kenya	2	Russia	1	Timor-Leste	0
Kyrgyz Republic	2	Rwanda	1	Trinidad and Tobago	0
Korea	2	Saudi Arabia	1	Turkey	0

Using the threshold of being similar on three of the four Intent scales, countries can be grouped to form clusters. Figure 2.5 shows these clusters. The clusters with more than 5 countries are coloured, along with China and Russia. The largest group with 34 countries can be loosely labelled Western Democracies. The next largest cluster with 22 countries span primarily MENA and the African continent. These clusters are shown geographically in the map presented in figure 2.6.

The map of figure 2.6 makes intuitive sense. Western democracies form close alliances with countries across the globe. Other clusters of countries, if they do form clusters, tend to do so with countries within the same region.

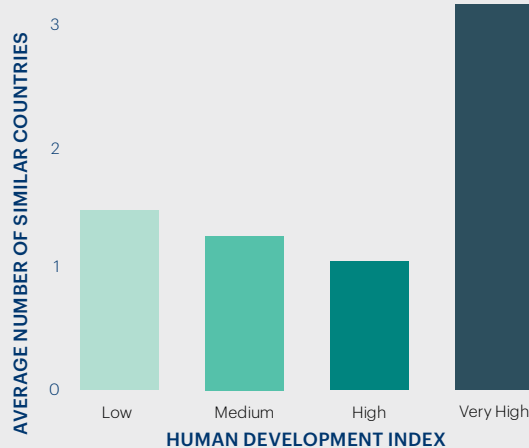
CONCLUSION

This section has introduced a scale for understanding National Intent. It has demonstrated how IEP’s formulation of Intent has the ability to approximate the realistic alliances observed in the international system. In doing so the research has also shown that as countries develop, they generally function more similarly to other developed countries.

It has also been shown that less developed countries are more unique in their functioning and so while the end goal of development may be known, the path to get there will more likely be different for each country. This has implications for development, suggesting that interventions are likely to be unsuccessful unless the systemic nature of the nation state is more fully understood. This is of particular importance given that improving only one of the eight Pillars of Peace without

FIGURE 2.4 INTENT AND DEVELOPMENT

As countries develop, they become more alike. However, developing countries tend to be more unique. This helps to highlight that no country’s progress through development starts from the same location.



Source: UNDP, IEP

corresponding improvements in others can give rise to an increase in grievances as explained further in section 4 of this report.

A greater understanding of the systemic nature of nations offers the potential for better outcomes in peace and development, while minimising the potential for negative unintended consequences. It also offers a better way of understanding the depth of strategic relations between nations.

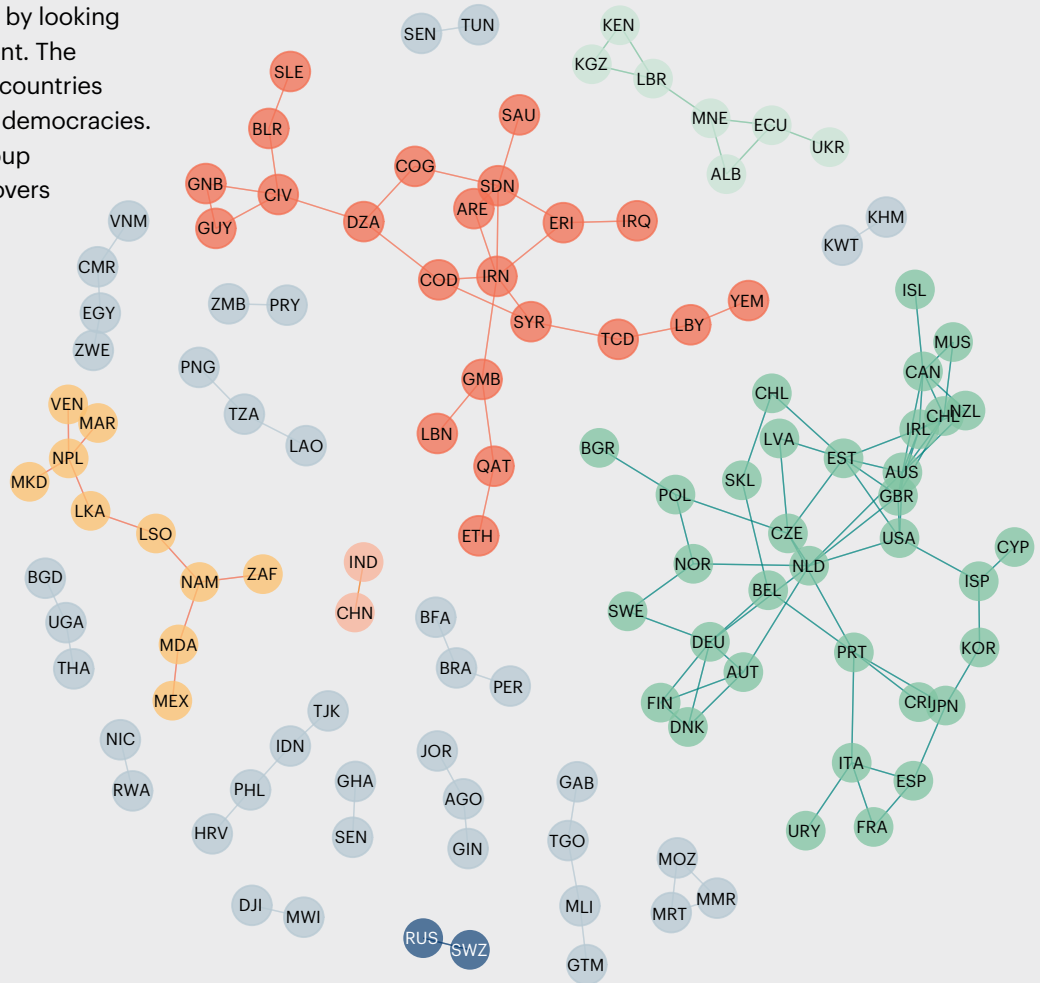
TABLE 2.4 EXAMPLE OF IEP’S INTENT CLUSTERING

Each country in IEP’s Intent clustering will have its own unique list of countries that can be considered “similar”. The countries listed are similar on at least 3 dimensions of intent.

BASE COUNTRY							
	AUSTRALIA	CANADA	UNITED KINGDOM	GERMANY	IRAN	UNITED STATES	ITALY
Is similar to:	United Kingdom Ireland Canada Switzerland Estonia Netherlands New Zealand United States	Switzerland Australia Ireland Iceland Mauritius New Zealand	Australia Switzerland Estonia Ireland Netherlands United States	Finland Austria Belgium Denmark Netherlands Sweden	United Arab Emirates Democratic Republic of the Congo Eritrea The Gambia Sudan Syria	Australia Estonia United Kingdom Israel Netherlands	Spain France Portugal Uruguay

FIGURE 2.5 NATURAL CLUSTERS OF INTENT

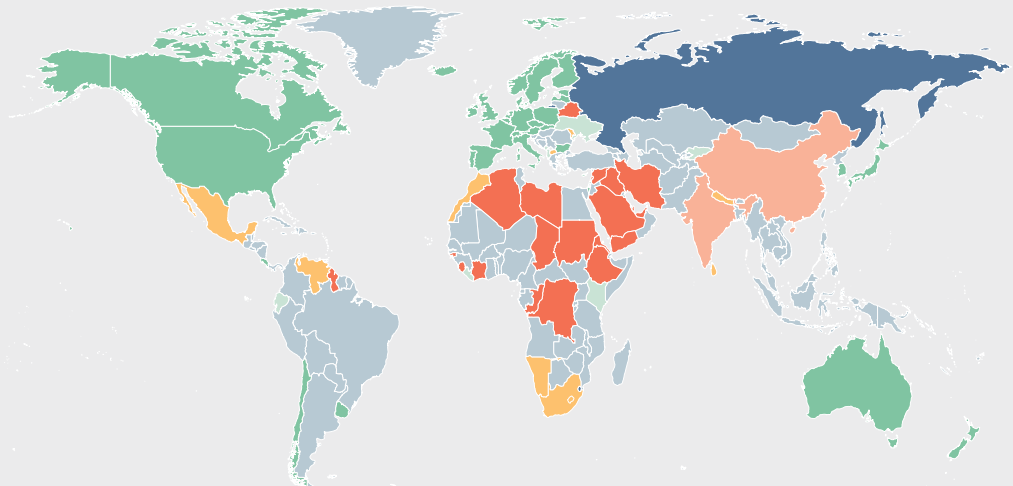
Clusters are formed by looking at similarities in Intent. The largest group of 34 countries represents Western democracies. The next largest group with 22 countries covers MENA and Africa.



Source: IEP

FIGURE 2.6 MAP OF INTENT

Intent forms geographical blocs across the globe.



Source: IEP

HOMEOSTASIS & SELF-MODIFICATION

Homeostasis is where the system aims to maintain a certain state or equilibrium. An example of this is the self-regulation of the body temperature of a mammal. If the body starts to overheat then it begins to sweat; if the body becomes cold then the metabolism will adjust. The system attempts to make small adjustments based on the way inputs are interpreted by its encoded norms. The same model of understanding can be applied to nations. Nations maintain homeostasis through encoded norms.

Encoded norms create reactions to inputs. For example, the desire to seek food when hungry or the release of T-cells in response to infection are encoded reactions to inputs. For the nation state, as inflation increases, interest rates are raised to dampen demand and when an infectious disease outbreak occurs, medical resources are deployed to fix it. Systems have the ability to modify their behaviour based on the input that they receive from their environment.

One of the key differences between natural systems, such as the weather or the oceans, and biological systems is that biological systems have intent. Analogously, countries or nations also have intent. For example, when Costa Rica abolished its military in 1948 the government at the time arguably had the intent not to go to war. In contrast, other nations with large armies can use these in serving their perceived national interests.

Encoded norms are used to maintain homeostasis. They allow adjustments to be made to match performance with intent. These adjustments or actions can also affect the inputs. This, as mentioned, is called a mutual feedback loop. For instance, in a hypothetical event whereby two animals face off to fight over a scrap of food, the movement of the first animal serves as an input for the second, which in turn responds in a novel way. This alters the memory of the first and future responses will take this into account. In relation to a democratic nation state, this is analogous to the continuous interactions between two political parties or the discourse between the media and the public.

These feedback loops provide the system with knowledge of its performance or non-performance in relation to pre-established goals. Given this, it may be possible to analyse political systems through their feedback loops to better understand how “healthy” they may be. Measuring how much political organisations within a society respond to inputs may be one way of tracking this. Similarly, social values can also be viewed and better recognised by using the mutual feedback model through, for

example, understanding what behaviours are shunned and what behaviours are encouraged within a society.

When unchecked or operating in isolation, feedback loops can lead to runaway growth or collapse. In cultures, their role can be constructive or destructive. However, feedback loops are fundamental in promoting self-modification, which allows the nation state to evolve to a higher level of complexity. The effect of mutual feedback loops can be the accumulation of capital, the intensification of poverty or the spread of either disease or new ideas.

“...feedback loops are fundamental in promoting self-modification, which allows the nation state to evolve to a higher level of complexity.

If the external or internal factors of the nation pressures the system into persistent imbalance, then a new level of complexity needs to be developed to maintain stability. In terms of organisms, an example might be genes that are switched on in response to changing environmental factors. Within the biosphere, it could be the mutation of species so their offspring are better adapted to their environment. For the nation, it may take the form of major shifts within the system. For example, increases in the population of a country place stress on agricultural resources. The nation state responds by implementing measures which improve the yield of the available land while building an export industry to produce capital for the importation of food. Without new responses to over-population, the system would slowly degrade. Responses that are inadequate to meet changed needs can lead the system to collapse. Other examples that increase complexity for the nation could include

the movement from an authoritarian system to democracy. But adaptation is more likely when the nation has higher levels of Positive Peace, as demonstrated through the relationship between high Positive Peace and the reduced impact of shocks.

Figure 2.7 shows the process for homeostasis and self-modification. Encoded norms and intent set the goals for the nation state. The performance of the nation in relation to its intent and encoded norms are then assessed by receiving either internal or external input. When the nation is performing acceptably with respect to its goals and intent, the feedback loops make minor adjustments to maintain homeostasis. However, when the system's performance is persistently mismatched to its intent, then it can begin a process of self-modification. This process allows the system to adjust its encoded norms or intent so that it can adapt to the new conditions, increasing the complexity of its internal structure

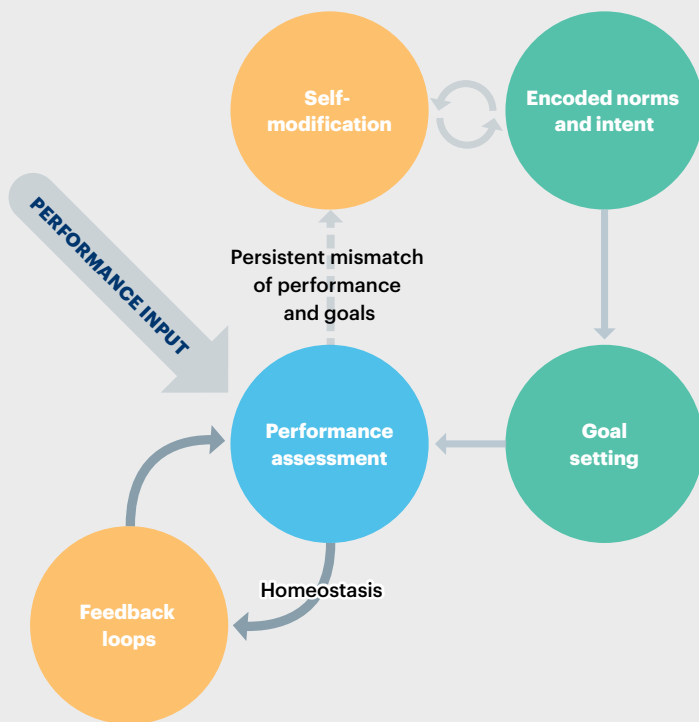
and adapting to the new challenge. Though figure 2.7 depicts this process using a simple process diagram, in reality, these mechanisms are complex and dynamic.

The relationship between the nation state and other systems, such as the biosphere and atmosphere, is key to the future survival of humanity. If these systems become incapacitated, then nations are also weakened. Similarly, the interdependence between nations and other systems, when viewed holistically, fundamentally alters the way they are seen to interact.

When applying systems thinking to nations, it is important not to over-complicate the analysis. What is essential is to view the system as a set of relationships rather than events, and to understand the most important feedback loops. Positive Peace provides a framework from which to understand and approach change, moving from simple causality to holistic action.

FIGURE 2.7 HOMEOSTASIS AND SELF-MODIFICATION

Homeostasis occurs when there is balance between a system's internal goals and its performance. If performance persistently is not matched to a nation state's goals, it will self-modify and adapt. Once this change has occurred, the nation state will redefine its goals and attempt to maintain the new homeostasis.



Source: IEP

EMPIRICALLY DERIVED ADVANTAGES OF POSITIVE PEACE

KEY FINDINGS

- › Countries where the Positive Peace is lower than the actual peace are twice as likely to have substantial falls in peace.
- › Countries which are improving in Positive Peace compared to countries that are deteriorating in Positive Peace had nearly 2 per cent per annum higher growth rate in per capita income from 2005 to 2016.
- › Countries with higher Positive Peace progressed further in their achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.
- › High Positive Peace countries are more likely to maintain stability, adapt, and recover from shocks as they overcome their challenges.
- › Countries that are high in Positive Peace are more likely to maintain high levels of peace.
- › Twice as many high Positive Peace countries improved in actual peace between 2008 and 2016 when compared to countries with low Positive Peace.
- › Eighty-four per cent of major political shocks occurred in low Positive Peace countries.
- › Numbers of lives lost from natural disasters between 2005 and 2015 were 13 times larger in low Positive Peace countries than in high Positive Peace countries, a disproportionately high ratio when compared to the distribution of incidents.
- › Countries with high levels of Positive Peace have fewer civil resistance movements and those campaigns tend to be less violent, more limited in their goals, and more likely to achieve some of their aims.
- › Ninety-one per cent of all primarily violent resistance campaigns have been waged in countries with weaker Positive Peace.

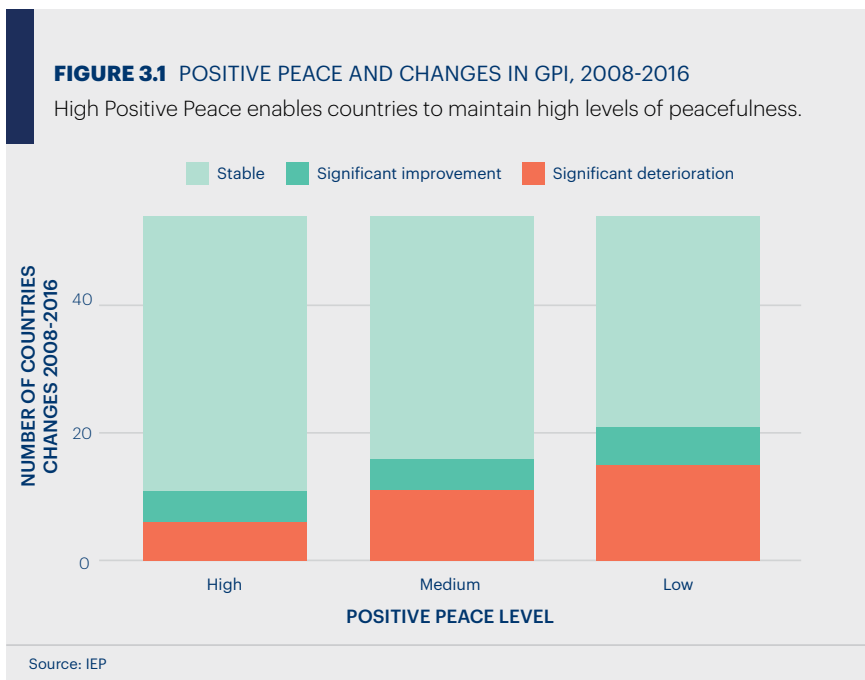
Positive Peace not only provides a framework for assessing a country’s potential for peace, but also a proxy for a country’s ability to plan for and respond to change or shocks. A key reason for this is the mutually reinforcing nature of the societal structures underpinning the Pillars. For instance, when a country has strong formal institutions, such as a well-functioning legal system, in combination with strong informal institutions, such as cohesive communities, it will theoretically respond or adapt to specific shocks more effectively.

POSITIVE PEACE & STABILITY

High Positive Peace countries can be shown to be more stable than other countries in a number of different ways.

Figure 3.1 shows changes in the GPI Internal Peace scores from 2008 to 2016 compared to levels of Positive Peace in 2005. Countries that scored well in Positive Peace in 2005 had much smaller deteriorations in their GPI scores.

Countries with high levels of Positive Peace are by far the most stable, with only 11 per cent experiencing a deterioration in internal peace of greater than 0.1 in the GPI Internal Peace score compared to 28 per cent for the group with low levels of peace.



STABILITY IN RESPONSE TO SHOCKS

The term ‘shock’ is used to describe a sudden change in some aspect of a system. In terms of the nation, shocks are sudden onset events that have potential to “cause fatalities, injuries, property damage, infrastructure damage, and agricultural loss, damage to the environment, interruption of business, or other types of harm or loss.”¹

Shocks can be catastrophic events that directly cause loss of life and/or events that trigger the outbreak of violence. Some shocks can be positive events, such as democratic elections, the introduction of a new technology or the discovery of a new mineral resource deposit.

The nation as a system has a number of feedback loops that allow countries to respond in the aftermath of shocks. The strength of the feedback loops determine resilience. Shocks affect many aspects of an otherwise stable society and their flow-on effects can be long term and unpredictable. Shocks can, therefore, create tense situations that can lead to violence.

The 2010 earthquake in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, is an example of a shock that triggered violence. During the earthquake, the National Penitentiary in Port-au-Prince was severely damaged, allowing over 5,000 prisoners to escape.² At the same time, police officers were immediately engaged in disaster response, reducing their capacity to respond to crime and violence, and police resources were also damaged in the earthquake.³ Chaotic conditions facilitated the regrouping of formerly dispersed or imprisoned gang members and, combined with general post-disaster lawlessness, the city saw an escalation of turf wars and a rise in homicide, assault and rape.⁴ The intersection of a severe shock and existing vulnerabilities in the system, such as weak infrastructure and an under-resourced police force, led to a deterioration in peacefulness.

However, not all shocks trigger violence. Countries with high levels of Positive Peace have the *attitudes, institutions and structures* that are associated with the absence of violence. These can be understood as drivers of *nonviolent change*. The social characteristics that make up Positive Peace give people access to methods of resolving conflicts and addressing change without falling into violence.

Shocks are commonly categorised as being either *exogenous* or *endogenous*. Broadly speaking exogenous shock occurs externally from the nation system while endogenous shocks occur from internal mechanisms.

EXOGENOUS SHOCKS

Natural disasters are the most prevalent and least predictable type of shock. Between 2005 and 2015, there were over 2,400 natural disasters in 196 countries cumulatively affecting more than 1.8 billion people.⁵ They occur all over the world, and their frequency has historically been outside the control of policy makers. Importantly, as the effect of climate change accelerates, so too may the frequency and impact of natural disasters.

Figure 3.3 shows that natural disasters kill more people in low Positive Peace countries even though the number of events are approximately the same, with a ratio of 5:6. Likewise, population densities are similar. Societies’ *attitudes, institutions and structures*, such as social cohesion, economic conditions, and the quality of infrastructure also impact the outcome of natural shocks, especially in terms of lives lost.⁶

BOX 3.1 EMERGENCY EVENTS DATABASE

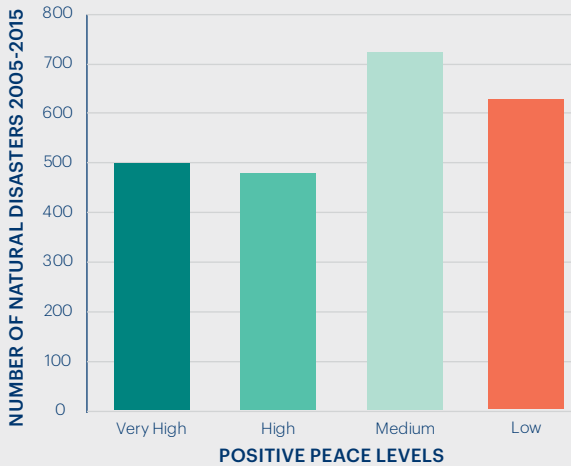
IEP used data from the Emergency Events Database (EM-DAT) to explore the relationship between resilience and Positive Peace. EM-DAT captures basic data on the occurrence and effects of natural and technological disasters for the years 1900 to 2015. Events are included in the database if they meet one of the following criteria:

- 10 or more people reported killed
- 100 or more people reported affected
- declaration of a state of emergency
- call for international assistance.

Information on events is sourced from a variety of sources, with preference given to data from UN agencies and country governments.⁷

FIGURE 3.2
FREQUENCY OF NATURAL DISASTERS, 2005-2015

Natural disasters are only slightly more frequent in low Positive Peace countries, yet they have a fatality ratio of 13:1 compared to high Positive Peace environments.



Source: EMDAT, IEP

To explore the link between Positive Peace and the reduction of impacts from natural disasters it is necessary to examine the distributions of frequency, severity, and population density across different levels of Positive Peace. While there will undoubtedly be other factors that determine the impact of a natural disaster in a country, for brevity this report will look at these three major areas.

Natural disasters are only slightly more frequent in low Positive Peace countries, yet they have a fatality ratio of 13:1 compared to high Positive Peace environments.

Figure 3.2 shows the frequency of natural disasters by level of Positive Peace, showing that these types of shocks occur roughly as often across the different groups of countries.

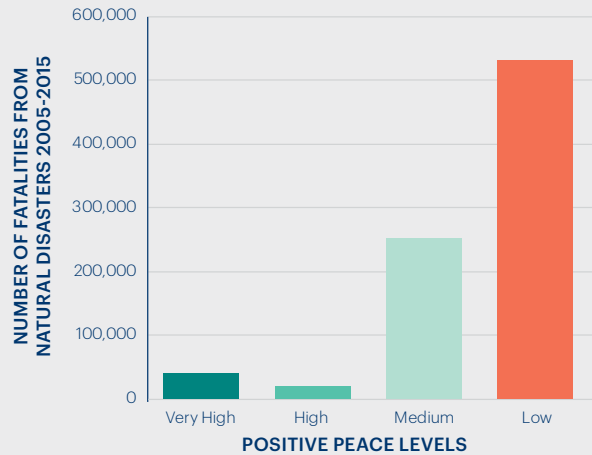
Figure 3.3 shows that countries at lower levels of Positive Peace experience far more fatalities as a result of natural disasters, despite a similar number of events. Countries with weak Positive Peace have a fatality ratio of 13:1 compared to high Positive Peace environments, while the frequency of natural disasters is much closer at 6:5.

ENDOGENOUS SHOCKS

Endogenous shocks are sudden onset events that arise from conditions inside society. Particular conditions may change rapidly or build up over time and result in unexpected events that have the potential to spark violence. Civil unrest is a good example when nations quickly turn violent because of a sudden,

FIGURE 3.3 TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM NATURAL DISASTERS, 2005-2015

More people are killed by natural disasters in low Positive Peace countries than high Positive Peace countries.



Source: EMDAT, IEP

destabilising event. Economic shocks are similar. Economic conditions can be misaligned for a long time before resulting in a sudden crash or crisis that has the potential to spark riots or other types of violence.

Despite being engendered by the system, endogenous shocks are still unpredictable. It is often impossible to know when, where, or how they will arise. But the data does show that different types of shocks occur in low versus high Positive Peace settings and that more shocks overall take place in low Positive Peace countries.

BOX 3.2 ENDOGENOUS SHOCKS DATA

IEP has sourced the following data for creating a database of endogenous shocks:

- Infrastructure accidents are from EM-DAT and include transport, industrial and technological disasters.
- Economic shocks and crises are from Reinhart and Rogoff (2010) and include incidence of crises in banking, currency, inflation crises, sovereign debt, and stock markets.
- Political shocks are from Polity IV and include regime changes, coups d'état and revolutions.
- Violent conflict is from the UCDP battle deaths dataset.

This suggests that it is possible to reduce the impact of shocks by proactively building resilience and Positive Peace. Additionally, countries with high levels of Positive Peace are less likely to deteriorate in Negative Peace post-shock. The onset of different types of shocks is shown in figure 3.4.

Lower Positive Peace countries experience more industrial and political shocks while higher Positive Peace countries suffer more economic shocks.

Figure 3.4 highlights that twice as many infrastructure accidents occur in countries with low Positive Peace than those with high levels. This is intuitive, as higher Positive Peace countries will generally have better infrastructure due to an efficient *Well-Functioning Government*, a *Sound Business Environment* and higher levels of income.

Violent shocks such as regime changes, coups d'état and revolutions are prevalent in countries with lower Positive Peace, with 84 per cent of these occurring in medium to low Positive Peace countries. Genocide, *jus cogens* in international law, is the largest endogenous systemic breakdown investigated and since 2005 has occurred in three countries. Offensives by the state during the Sri Lankan civil war in 2008 have been classified as genocide against the Tamils. In the Central African Republic, following the forcible displacement of the President Bozizé regime on 24 March 2013, the government engaged in predatory actions against the population.⁸ The Sunni extremists organized under the banner of the Islamic State in Iraq since 2014 have

targeted Yazidis and Christians in their controlled territories. It is estimated that these operations have killed around 5,000 people.⁹

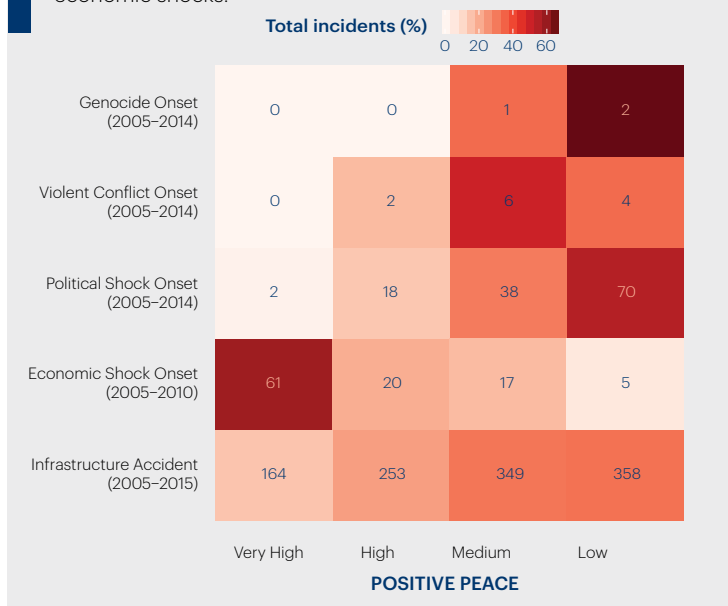
Interestingly, economic shocks are far more prevalent in very high Positive Peace countries. Although this may seem counter-intuitive, the risk of financial shocks increases as financial institutions proliferate and become more and more integral to a country's economy. High Positive Peace countries tend to have more sophisticated economies.

“...countries with high levels of Positive Peace are less likely to deteriorate in Negative Peace post-shock.

These observations highlight two important aspects of resilience. The first is that building resilience does not have to be direct, using systems thinking it is easy to see how improvements in one area can strengthen resilience in another. Secondly, by building Positive Peace a country can shift the types of shocks it is vulnerable to from violent ones, such as revolutions and regime changes, to non-violent ones, such as infrastructural and economic. These dynamics are shown in figure 3.5. By reducing the risk of internal threats, a country will be able to maintain homeostasis more easily.

FIGURE 3.4 DISTRIBUTION OF ENDOGENOUS SHOCKS, 2005-2015

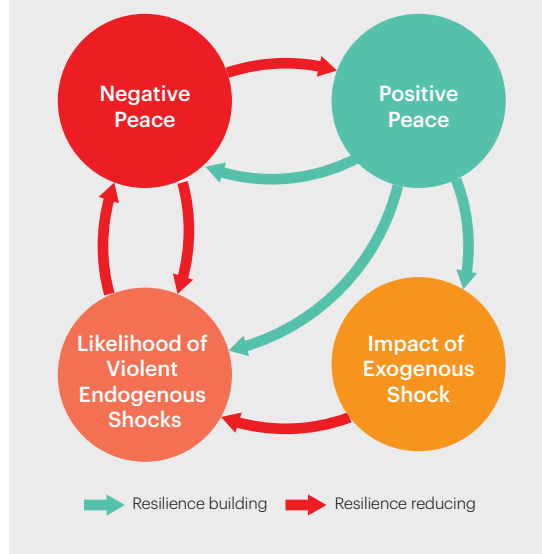
Lower Positive Peace countries experience more industrial and political shocks while higher Positive Peace countries suffer more economic shocks.



Source: EMDAT, INSCR, Reinhart and Rogoff, UCDP, IEP

FIGURE 3.5 RESILIENCE BUILDING IN A POSITIVE PEACE SYSTEM

Positive Peace can be used to not only build resilience directly but also to shift the shocks a country is exposed to from violent to nonviolent.



Source: IEP

POSITIVE PEACE & ADAPTABILITY

When a country ranks higher in the PPI than in the GPI it is said to have a Positive Peace surplus, indicating a high level of institutional capacity to support lower levels of violence.

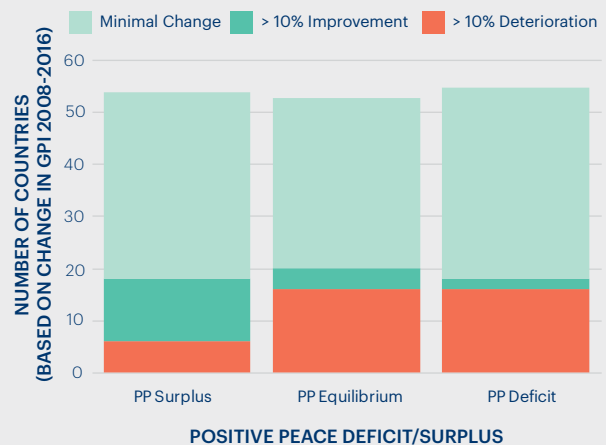
Conversely, countries that rank higher in the GPI than in the PPI will have a Positive Peace deficit and are comparatively more vulnerable to external shocks and run a higher risk of increased levels of violence.

On average, the majority of the world's Positive Peace deficit countries are in sub-Saharan Africa, with the peace gap being greatest for low-income countries. The highly peaceful countries are very tightly clustered in both the PPI and the GPI, demonstrating the resilience of these countries, most of which show only small changes in scores over the period.

In figure 3.7 it can be observed that nations with a surplus of Positive Peace had the greatest number of countries improving in internal peace. Conversely, the group of countries with a deficit of Positive Peace had the fewest improvements. High levels of Positive Peace help countries reduce violence, whereas insufficient levels of Positive Peace leave societies weak in the *attitudes, institutions and structures* that prevent violence.

FIGURE 3.7 POSITIVE PEACE SURPLUS AND DEFICIT AND CHANGES IN THE GPI, 2008-2016

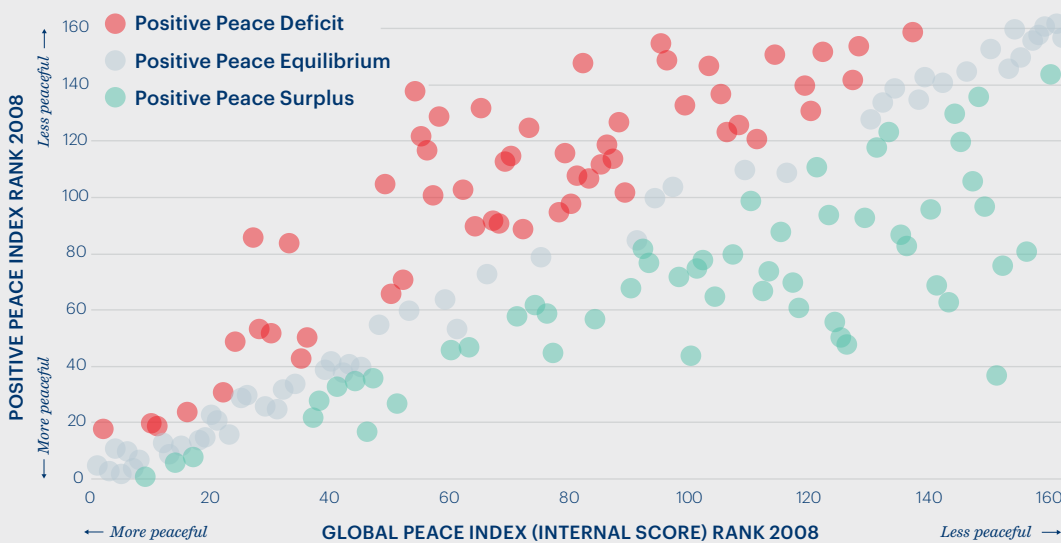
High Positive Peace enables countries to improve their levels of peace over time.



Source: IEP

FIGURE 3.6 POSITIVE PEACE AND THE GPI, 2008

The Positive Peace deficit is a measure of the difference between the GPI and Positive Peace. The higher the GPI rank is in relation to Positive Peace, the more likely a deterioration in peace.



Source: IEP

ADAPTABILITY IN RESPONSE TO CIVIL RESISTANCE CAMPAIGNS

Episodes of social unrest are more frequent than other types of political shocks and their characteristics vary distinctly according to the level of Positive Peace in the country where they occur. One way in which Positive Peace helps to build resilience is by creating an environment conducive to nonviolent alternatives for conflict resolution. This sub-section explores the link between Positive Peace and whether civil resistance movements are violent or nonviolent in attempting to address their grievances.

Countries with higher Positive Peace have historically had fewer civil resistance movements, whether violent or nonviolent.

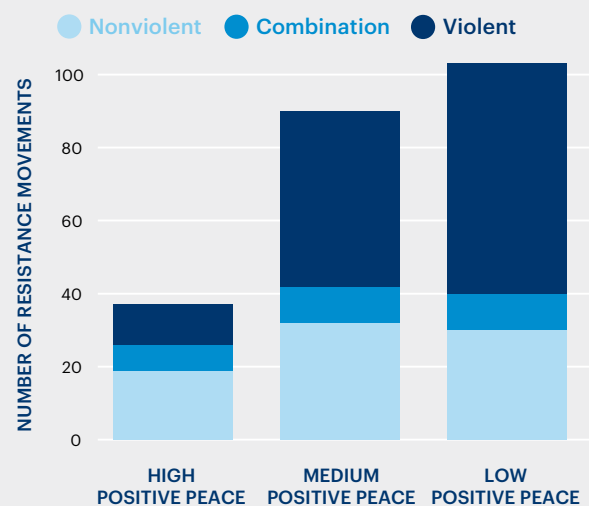
IEP used the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes (NAVCO) Data Project for the analysis, a multi-level data collection effort that catalogues major violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns around the world. NAVCO was compared to Positive Peace to determine the breakdown of conflicts by their Positive Peace profile. The database only includes movements of more than 1,000 participants. It should be noted that the majority of these resistance movements have been violent.

Positive Peace translates into more opportunities for nonviolent conflict resolution.

“ The proportion of resistance movements that are nonviolent is higher in countries with stronger Positive Peace.

FIGURE 3.8 PREVALENCE AND NATURE OF RESISTANCE CAMPAIGNS

Between 1945 and 2006, 91 per cent of violent resistance campaigns have occurred in countries with weaker Positive Peace. The proportion of resistance movements that are nonviolent is higher in countries with stronger Positive Peace.¹⁸



Source: University of Denver, IEP

TABLE 3.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF RESISTANCE CAMPAIGNS BY LEVELS OF POSITIVE PEACE

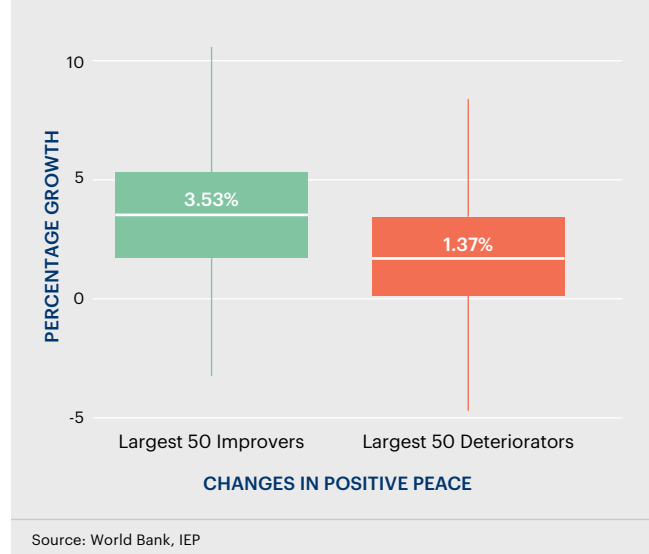
Violent civil resistance movements in countries with strong Positive Peace only occur in extreme circumstances.

	WEAKER POSITIVE PEACE	STRONGER POSITIVE PEACE
GOAL OF THE CAMPAIGN	Goals are typically major structural or regime change.	Goals are typically aimed at policy or in some circumstances territorial independence.
SIZE	Weaker Positive Peace countries tend to have larger violent campaigns but smaller nonviolent campaigns	Stronger Positive Peace countries tend to have smaller violent but larger nonviolent campaigns.
PROPENSITY FOR VIOLENCE	Campaigns tend to use violence more.	Campaigns have more of a tendency to use nonviolence.
PROGRESS	On average, violent and nonviolent campaigns can achieve some gains but fall short of major concessions without regime change.	Violent campaigns are less successful. Nonviolent campaigns tend to achieve more concessions.
STATE RESPONSE	Repression occurs. In nonviolent cases, state repression aims to demobilise the movement.	Repression of nonviolent campaigns tends to be condemned.
INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE	State repression of nonviolent campaigns is more likely to result in international condemnation and sanctions.	There is generally stronger overt international support for the state. Diasporas living overseas tend to be more supportive of the campaign.

Furthermore, countries that do manage to make substantial improvements in Positive Peace reap other benefits as well. Figure 3.9 highlights that the 50 countries that have improved in Positive Peace since 2005, on average, have had substantially higher GDP growth rates than those 50 with the largest deteriorations.⁷

FIGURE 3.9 Positive Peace and growth in GDP per capita 2005-2016

Countries that improved in Positive Peace since 2005 have had larger GDP per capita growth than countries that have deteriorated.



POSITIVE PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

To determine how Positive Peace is associated with development the PPI was compared to a large range of development indicators. It was found that many developmental factors, as demonstrated in table 3.2, are closely correlated and empirically linked to Positive Peace.

Positive Peace is associated with many aspects that are priorities for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), such as strong economic growth and employment, environmental sustainability, greater food security, gender equality, and development objectives such as improving access to water and energy resources. Simply put, Positive Peace, as measured by the Positive Peace Index, correlates with many other measures of progress. Table 3.2 gives the correlation coefficients between PPI scores and some of the most common development goals.

Furthermore, table 3.3 maps the eight Positive Peace factors to the SDGs, which replaced the MDGs in 2016, and to the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs). This highlights the ongoing importance of Positive Peace in the post-2015 agenda.

“...Positive Peace, as measured by the Positive Peace Index, correlates with many other measures of progress.

TABLE 3.2 CORRELATION TO COMMON DEVELOPMENT GOALS

There are many strong correlations between the PPI and other global measurements of development. This holds true also using subsets of the PPI.

SOURCE	INDEX	INDICATOR	PPI CORRELATION	SUBSET CORRELATION
ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT	Global Food Security Index	Overall	-0.93	—
THE SOCIAL PROGRESS IMPERATIVE	Social Progress Index	Foundations of wellbeing	-0.83	-0.81
WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM	Global Competitiveness Report	Business sophistication	-0.79	-0.76
WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM	Global Competitiveness Report	Business impact of tuberculosis	-0.79	—
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES	Indices of Social Development	Gender equality	-0.7	-0.69
YALE CENTER FOR ENVIRONMENTAL LAW AND POLICY	Environmental Performance Index	Overall	-0.7	—
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT SOLUTIONS NETWORK	World Happiness Index	Overall	-0.67	—
THE SOCIAL PROGRESS IMPERATIVE	Social Progress Index	Rural urban access to improved water source	-0.64	—
MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS	—	Proportion of the population using improved sanitation facilities, urban	-0.62	—

TABLE 3.3 POSITIVE PEACE, THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND THE PEACEBUILDING AND STATEBUILDING GOALS

Positive Peace factors measured by IEP cover all of the proposed SDGs as well the PSGs.

GOALS	Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Equitable Distribution of Resources	Free Flow of Information	Good Relations with Neighbours	High Level of Human Capital	Low Levels of Corruption	Sound Business Environment	Well-Functioning Government
Sustainable Development Goals								
End poverty in all its forms everywhere		✓						
End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture		✓					✓	
Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	✓	✓			✓			✓
Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all	✓	✓			✓			✓
Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	✓				✓			✓
Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all		✓			✓			✓
Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all					✓		✓	
Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation					✓		✓	✓
Reduce inequality within and among countries	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	✓	✓			✓			✓
Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns					✓			✓
Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts		✓		✓	✓			✓
Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development		✓						✓
Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt		✓		✓				✓
Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓
Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals								
Economic foundations	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Justice	✓				✓	✓		✓
Legitimate politics	✓		✓			✓		✓
Revenues and services	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Security	✓			✓				✓

BOX 3.3 POSITIVE PEACE – THE WAY TO ACHIEVING THE UN’S SUSTAINING PEACE AGENDA

The April 2016 resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council and General Assembly introduced the concept of “Sustaining Peace”. This represents a fundamental shift in the way the UN approaches peace and conflict. Underpinning the shift is a new focus on preventing conflicts via the identification of the factors that foster peace.

This new agenda requires a change in mindset from reactive to proactive. Ideally, it should provide a framework with short as well as longer term strategies for building resilient societies. But there are few practical guidelines, tools or measurements currently in place for conceptualising, tracking and supporting the key drivers of peace.

IEP’s Positive Peace framework provides a lens through which to track and identify the multitude of factors that underpin this agenda.

- **IEP’s Positive Peace framework has been mainly derived empirically and has a rigorous, well-documented set of materials to explain how it has been developed.**
- **Positive Peace shifts thinking from an overt focus on what makes countries violent to what makes them peaceful and resilient.**
- **One of Positive Peace’s advantages is its applicability for empirically measuring a country’s resilience, or ability to absorb and recover from shocks. Resilience is commonly referred to by peacebuilders and within the UN system, but there is little guidance on how to measure it.**
- **Countries with high Positive Peace are more likely to maintain their stability and adapt and recover from both internal and external shocks, thereby reducing the risks of conflict relapse.**
- **IEP’s analysis demonstrates that resilience is built by building high levels of Positive Peace. It is also an effective way to reduce the potential for future violence.**
- **Well-developed Positive Peace represents the capacity for a society to thrive. Societies with high Positive Peace have better outcomes on a range of factors that are considered important, such as higher per capita growth, better environmental performance, less civil resistance movements and less violent political shocks.**

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF POSITIVE PEACE

KEY FINDINGS

- The level of Positive Peace is a country's best long-term indicator of how peaceful a country is likely to be.
- The most peaceful countries in the world perform strongly on all eight Pillars of Positive Peace.
- The transition to high Positive Peace is gradual. As countries improve in peace, all Pillars become more statistically significant, highlighting the need to focus on all Pillars.
- The importance of each Pillar to a country's peacefulness depends on a country's current level of peace.
- Countries that transitioned to lower levels of peace tended to have higher levels of access to small arms, higher numbers of police and higher group grievances than counties of similar levels of peace.
- Countries that transitioned to higher levels of peace had lower levels of access to small arms, better economic environment and higher levels of Positive Peace.
- *Well-Functioning Government, Low Levels of Corruption, Acceptance of the Rights of Others and Good Relations with Neighbours* are more important in countries suffering from high levels of violence.
- *Free Flow of Information and Sound Business Environment* become more important when a country is approaching the global average level of peacefulness.
- *Low Levels of Corruption* is the only Pillar that is strongly statistically significant across all three levels of peacefulness. This suggests it is an important transformational factor at all stages of nations' development.
- Over the last ten years, the defining characteristic of countries that have transitioned to more or less peaceful states has been their performance on Positive Peace.
- Security forces can be a key force for both greater peace and greater violence; the broader performance on Positive Peace is the key factor that determines the outcome.
- In certain circumstances, improving *Sound Business Environment, High Levels of Human Capital and Equitable Distribution of Resource* without improvements in corruption or governance can create the dynamics that cause peace to deteriorate.

HOW POSITIVE PEACE EVOLVES

The PPI was derived by identifying the factors that correlate most strongly with the GPI. The most peaceful countries in the world perform strongly on all eight Pillars of Positive Peace. However, this is not the case for mid and low peace countries.

Table 4.1 shows the different correlations at each level of peace, with a correlation coefficient of greater than $r=0.45$ being considered strongly significant, and above $r=0.3$ being considered moderately significant. The transition to high Positive Peace is gradual, as countries improve in peace, the correlations become stronger, highlighting the need to focus on all Pillars.

“...as countries become more peaceful the strength of the correlation of each Pillar increases...”

Table 4.1 shows that as levels of violence fall, the number of Pillars associated with peacefulness increases. Five of the Pillars correlate with low peace countries, six with mid-peace countries, and all eight Pillars correlate strongly in high peace countries.

Low peace countries correlate strongly with four of the eight Pillars. This suggests that the most important Pillars to build peace in low developed, fragile and less peaceful contexts are (1) *Low Levels of Corruption*, (2) *Well-Functioning Government*, (3) *Good Relations with Neighbours* and (4) *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*. However, this does not mean that the other Pillars are unimportant. As can be seen in table 4.1, as countries become more peaceful the strength of the correlation of each Pillar increases, highlighting that building these Pillars still matters, but their criticality varies depending on levels of peace.

TABLE 4.1 CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN POSITIVE PEACE AND INTERNAL GPI SCORE IN HIGH, MID, AND LOW PEACE COUNTRIES, 2016

Low Levels of Corruption is the only Pillar that is strongly significant across all three levels of peacefulness.

Low-Peace Countries	0.56	0.53	0.51	0.48	0.32	0.29	0.23	0.07
Mid-Peace Countries	0.55	0.35	0.44	0.36	0.4	0.33	0.18	0.23
High-Peace Countries	0.73	0.69	0.48	0.7	0.54	0.7	0.72	0.62
	LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT	GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL	EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES
	r ■ [0.45,1)			■ [0.3,0.45)		■ [0,0.3)		

Source: IEP

“ By shifting the group of countries used in the correlation analysis it is possible to gain insights into the growing importance of the Pillars as countries improve their peace scores.

The core requirement of government in low peace environments is to provide security to its citizens, without which a country cannot be peaceful nor develop. In order for governments to function well and be trusted, corruption needs to be controlled. Poor *relations with neighbours* and poor social capital or *group grievances (Acceptance of the Rights of Others)* can be both a symptom and/or a cause for conflict.

Mid-peace countries have a different profile. *Low Levels of Corruption* has a significant relationship, six Pillars become important, however at a lower level of significance. When compared to low peace countries however, *Free Flow of Information* and *Sound Business Environments* have a stronger relationship. This aligns with classic state-building theory that suggests that security is a prerequisite for the development of other institutions. For example, in the absence of individual security or a judiciary system to enforce transactions and contracts, it is difficult for legitimate businesses to thrive. Further, without a functioning government, *Free Flow of Information* may be hindered and censored. In order for these Pillars to become mutually reinforcing within the national system, they first need a functioning state to reinforce them.

To investigate this further, IEP has correlated each of the 24 indicators of Positive Peace to the GPI internal peace score for different levels of peace. By shifting the group of countries used in the correlation analysis it is possible to gain insights into the growing importance of the Pillars as countries improve their peace scores. Table 4.2 shows the progression of these correlations shifting the groups of countries by ranks of 10. As can be observed, the transition to high peace is gradual.

In analysing this transition it can be seen that *Equitable Distribution of Resources* becomes very important from a GPI ranking of 100 and up. *High Levels of Human Capital* become important from a ranking of 90 and up. Similarly, the emphasis on different Pillars becomes more critical at different stages of peace. It needs to be emphasised that all the Pillars operate as a system and that improving in each is important for the long term.

Indicators within *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, *Good Relations with Neighbours*, *Low Levels of Corruption*, and *Well-Functioning Government* correlate for the most peaceful countries and the least peaceful countries, but not for the mid-range countries. The remaining indicators only correlate for the most peaceful countries.

TABLE 4.2 CORRELATIONS OF INTERNAL GPI SCORES WITH ALL POSITIVE PEACE SCORES AND INDICATORS (R>0.3 HIGHLIGHTED)

Indicators within *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, *Good Relations with Neighbours*, *Low Levels of Corruption* and *Well-Functioning Government* correlate for the most peaceful countries and the least peaceful countries, but not for the mid-range countries. The remaining indicators only correlate for the most peaceful countries.

POSITIVE PEACE FACTORS	RANKS IN THE GPI INTERNAL SCORE										
	1 to 60	11 to 70	21 to 80	31 to 90	41 to 100	51 to 110	61 to 120	71 to 130	81 to 140	91 to 150	103 to 162
1. ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	0.73	0.67	0.53	0.43	0.36	0.35	0.25	0.37	0.23	0.05	0.4
Empowerment Index	-0.53	-0.4	-0.33	-0.17	-0.16	-0.14	-0.16	-0.13	0.06	0.13	-0.14
Gender inequality	0.66	0.69	0.5	0.35	0.15	0.09	-0.03	0.25	0.18	0.02	0.22
Group grievance rating	0.46	0.28	0.1	0.28	0.34	0.26	0.26	0.25	0.27	0.27	0.51
2. EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES	0.64	0.71	0.52	0.45	0.2	0.15	0.04	0.18	0.1	-0.17	0.02
Inequality adjusted life expectancy	-0.64	-0.65	-0.54	-0.43	-0.21	-0.19	-0.05	-0.19	-0.13	0.18	-0.14
Social mobility	0.6	0.63	0.32	0.32	0.14	0.11	0.07	0.22	-0.06	-0.07	-0.01
Poverty gap	0.37	0.41	0.35	0.17	-0.03	-0.09	-0.11	-0.07	0.16	-0.08	0.08
3. FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	0.58	0.51	0.5	0.48	0.45	0.36	0.2	0.11	-0.03	-0.02	0.24
Freedom of the Press Index score	0.63	0.57	0.54	0.46	0.43	0.3	0.15	0.09	-0.04	-0.03	0.18
Mobile phone subscription rate	0.04	-0.03	-0.16	-0.34	-0.28	-0.25	-0.17	-0.05	-0.01	0.04	-0.2
World Press Freedom Index score	0.49	0.4	0.37	0.28	0.31	0.29	0.18	0.07	-0.06	0.04	0.25
4. GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	0.47	0.54	0.57	0.57	0.39	0.36	0.23	0.26	0.03	0.14	0.42
Hostility to foreigners private property	0.34	0.31	0.37	0.52	0.37	0.31	0.2	0.16	0.05	0.24	0.47
Number of visitors	-0.29	-0.32	-0.41	-0.42	-0.29	-0.34	-0.17	-0.2	0.17	0.05	-0.07
Regional integration	0.42	0.56	0.48	0.32	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.26	0.05	-0.02	0.31
5. HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL	0.74	0.79	0.66	0.48	0.2	0.11	-0.03	0.19	0.09	-0.19	0.19
Scientific publications	-0.8	-0.81	-0.6	-0.37	-0.13	-0.13	-0.12	-0.27	0.08	0.21	-0.07
Secondary school enrolment	-0.45	-0.55	-0.44	-0.41	-0.19	-0.15	-0.01	-0.15	0.08	0.18	-0.14
Youth Development Index score	-0.75	-0.74	-0.62	-0.44	-0.19	-0.01	0.09	-0.15	-0.14	0.12	-0.23
6. LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	0.77	0.69	0.57	0.6	0.53	0.42	0.27	0.25	0.06	0.01	0.45
Control of corruption	-0.75	-0.68	-0.54	-0.6	-0.48	-0.42	-0.24	-0.16	0.07	-0.04	-0.49
Factionalised elites	0.72	0.58	0.46	0.44	0.48	0.29	0.2	0.14	0.05	-0.02	0.39
Perceptions of Corruption score	-0.76	-0.71	-0.58	-0.62	-0.5	-0.45	-0.27	-0.25	0.05	0.03	-0.38
7. SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	0.72	0.72	0.65	0.59	0.32	0.3	0.09	0.23	0.03	-0.18	0.21
Doing Business rank	0.63	0.68	0.61	0.54	0.25	0.28	0.07	0.19	0.03	-0.17	0.26
Economic freedom overall score	-0.51	-0.57	-0.56	-0.62	-0.37	-0.31	-0.07	-0.07	0.07	-0.02	-0.11
GDP per capita	-0.65	-0.58	-0.47	-0.39	-0.21	-0.2	-0.05	-0.22	-0.08	0.2	-0.13
8. WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT	0.72	0.67	0.52	0.58	0.48	0.28	0.11	0.09	-0.17	0.09	0.49
Democratic political culture	-0.62	-0.53	-0.43	-0.43	-0.37	-0.04	-0.11	-0.25	-0.17	-0.32	-0.37
Judicial independence	-0.59	-0.46	-0.25	-0.46	-0.44	-0.36	-0.07	0.02	0.27	-0.02	-0.26
Revenue collection and service delivery	-0.68	-0.65	-0.48	-0.43	-0.28	-0.21	-0.08	-0.02	0.23	0.11	-0.42

HOW COUNTRIES TRANSITION IN PEACE

While it is useful to look at the different profiles of countries based on the levels of peace, it is more interesting to explore which factors allow countries to transition from one level of peace to another. The period from 2008 to 2016 is a pertinent period to analyse because it reflects a historic downturn in global peacefulness, with some countries experiencing dramatic changes in their GPI scores.

This period recorded more countries deteriorating in peace than improving. Several countries transitioned from mid to low peace status, such as Syria, Libya and Ukraine, while other countries transitioned from low to mid-levels of peace, such as Algeria, Ecuador and Uganda. To explore peace transitions further, it is useful to compare countries that moved between 2008 and 2016

to those that did not. Characteristics of transitioning countries have been identified using statistical hypothesis tests. These tests highlight, with 95 per cent confidence, the specific indicators that were particularly high or low for the transitioning countries when compared to their group. Figure 4.2 highlights the results of this analysis.

“ The period from 2008 to 2016 is a pertinent period to analyse because it reflects a historic downturn in global peacefulness...”

FIGURE 4.2 PEACE TRANSITIONS 2008-2016

Deteriorated countries vs high-peace countries

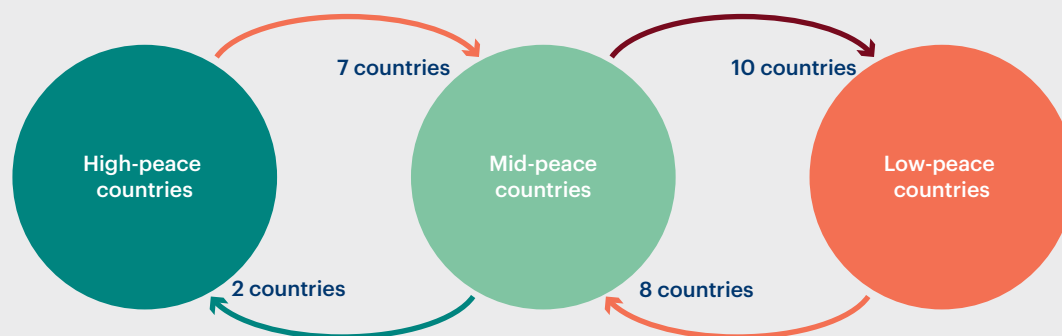
When compared to other high-peace countries in 2008, countries that **deteriorated** by 2016 had:

- Higher access to small arms and light weapons
- Weaker Positive Peace scores in all eight Pillars

Deteriorated countries vs mid-peace countries

When compared to other mid-peace countries in 2008, countries that **deteriorated** by 2016 had:

- Higher number of internal security officers and police per 100,000
- Higher group grievances



Improved countries vs mid-peace countries

When compared to other mid-peace countries in 2008, countries that **improved** by 2016 had:

- Lower access to small arms and light weapons
- Higher income
- More free flow of information
- Better business environment
- Higher number of internal security officers and police per 100,000

Improved countries vs low-peace countries

When compared to other low peace countries in 2008, countries that **improved** by 2016 had:

- Lower access to small arms and light weapons
- Higher economic freedom
- Better relations with neighbours
- Less hostility to foreigners' private property
- Higher youth development

Source: IEP



TRANSITIONS TO LOWER LEVELS OF PEACE

HIGH TO MID-PEACE TRANSITIONS

Between 2008 and 2016, seven countries deteriorated from the High to the Mid-Peace group. These countries include Argentina, Costa Rica, Kuwait, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay and Vietnam. When compared to other countries that had High Peace in 2008, these seven countries performed worse in all eight Pillars of Positive Peace and had higher *access to small arms and light weapons*.

MID TO LOW PEACE TRANSITIONS

Between 2008 and 2016, ten countries deteriorated from the Mid to the Low Peace group. These countries include Bahrain,

Cameroon, Djibouti, Egypt, Libya, Niger, Rwanda, El Salvador, Syria and Ukraine. When compared to other countries that were Mid-Peace in 2008, these countries had markedly higher levels of *group grievances* and had a higher rate of *internal security and police officers*. Once again, the combination of grievances with limited options for peaceful resolution within these countries and high levels of state security forces offer greater potential for large scale violence to erupt.

“...while it is possible to have large and rapid deteriorations in peace, transitioning into high peace was much more difficult in the decade measured.



TRANSITIONS TO HIGHER LEVELS OF PEACE

Moving to a higher level of peace requires the strengthening of Positive Peace. Through investigating the countries that did transition to a higher level of peace between 2008 and 2016, the following observations can be made.

LOW TO MID-PEACE TRANSITIONS

Between 2008 and 2016, eight countries improved from the Low to the Mid-Peace group. These countries include Algeria, Ecuador, Georgia, Haiti, Sri Lanka, Peru and Uganda. When compared to other countries that were Low Peace in 2008, these countries had lower *access to small arms and light weapons*. They also had more economic freedom, better *relations with neighbours*, less *hostility to foreigners* and performed better in *youth development*.

MID TO HIGH PEACE TRANSITIONS

Between 2008 and 2016, only two countries improved from the Mid to the High Peace group. These countries are Botswana and

Serbia. The low number of countries to make this transition suggests that while it is possible to have large and rapid deteriorations in peace, transitioning into high peace was much more difficult in the decade measured. It also makes it difficult for statistical tests to confidently identify features of these countries that made them different to other Mid-Peace countries in 2008. However, both Botswana and Serbia once again had lower levels of *access to small arms and light weapons*. On average, these countries had higher incomes than other Mid-Peace countries in 2008.

These societies were more transparent with higher levels of *Free Flow of Information* and had better *business environments*. They also had higher *numbers of security and police forces*. This raises a question on the role of state security forces in peace transitions. Larger security forces were also a characteristic of countries that had large deteriorations between 2008 and 2016. This suggests that security forces can be either a positive or a negative factor in transitions, depending on the strength of countries' Positive Peace. Without strong Positive Peace, security forces can contribute to large-scale eruptions of violence.

POSITIVE PEACE PRIOR TO THE ONSET OF CONFLICT

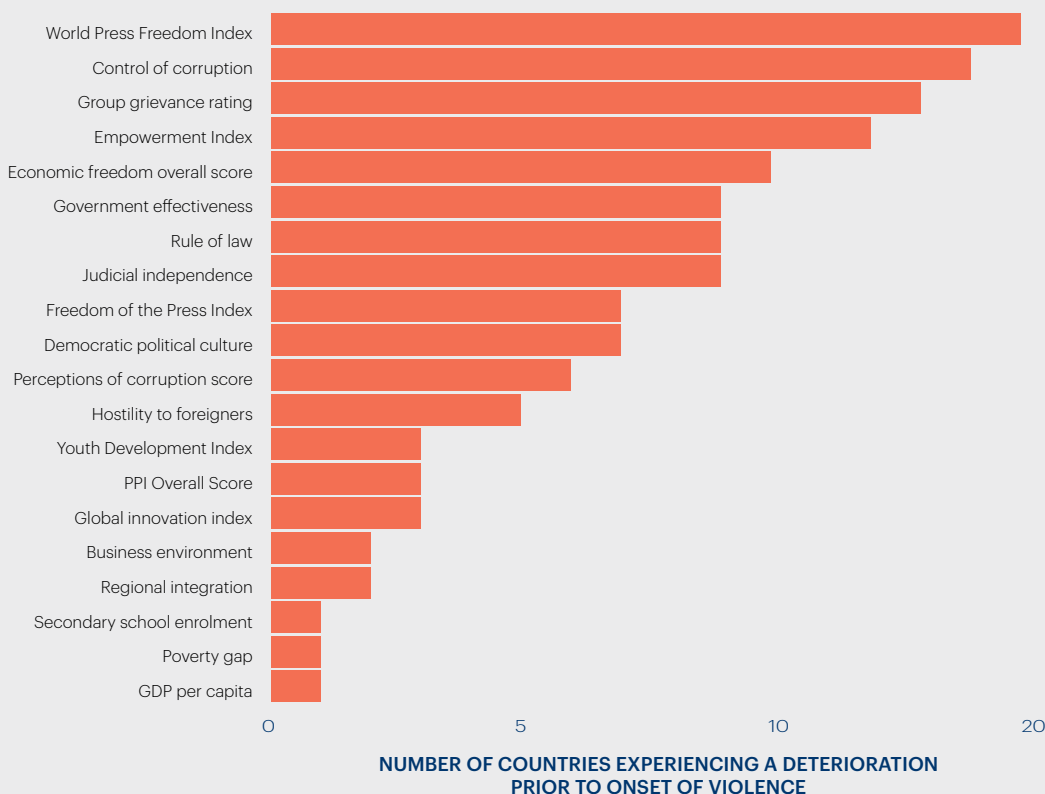
According to UCDP, a total of 23 countries experienced the onset of conflict between 2009 and 2016.² In these 23 countries, the Positive Peace indicators that had deteriorated in the four years prior to the onset of conflict were related to four Pillars: *Free Flow of Information*, *Low Levels of Corruption*, *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, and *Well-Functioning Government*.

Figure 4.3 shows the number of countries that deteriorated for each indicator. Indicators that deteriorated in the most countries were *World Press Freedom Index* (Free flow of Information), control of corruption (*Low Levels of Corruption*), group grievance rating (*Acceptance of the Rights of Others*).

“ From a total of 23 countries that faced serious deterioration in peace and stability 15 deteriorated in World Press Freedom Index, 14 deteriorated in control of corruption and 13 in group grievances.

FIGURE 4.3 NUMBER OF COUNTRIES THAT EXPERIENCED A DETERIORATION IN POSITIVE PEACE

From a total of 23 countries that faced serious deterioration in peace and stability 15 deteriorated in *World Press Freedom Index*, 14 deteriorated in *control of corruption* and 13 in *group grievances*.



Source: UCDP, IEP

UNEVEN PROGRESS IN POSITIVE PEACE CAN HAVE NEGATIVE EFFECTS

IEP’s research has found that if improvements are made in one Pillar without corresponding improvements in others, the likelihood of violence can increase.

When increases in *Sound Business Environment*, *High Levels of Human Capital*, and *Equitable Distribution of Resources* occur without corresponding increases in other Pillars, there may be a negative effect on the levels of peace. This highlights the necessity of considering the systemic nature of Positive Peace when planning development projects.

For example, *youth development* policies often increase budget funding for education and thereby improving the *High Levels of*

Human Capital Pillar. However, unless the economy can absorb graduates into the labour market, this runs the risk of building a highly educated yet idle youth cohort. Flooding the labour market with university graduates when the economy cannot absorb them, may have a radicalising effect and is one of the push factors used by militant organisations in recruitment of youth in MENA.

To isolate the situations where an improvement in one Pillar without accompanying improvements in others can lead to deteriorations in overall peace, partial correlations analysis was used. This looks at the relationship between two indicators, controlling for the potential effect of a third or more indicators.

Partial correlations, while not providing causation, can provide quantitative evidence of the impact of an intervention that

TABLE 4.3 EFFECTS OF INCREASING ONE PILLAR WHILE KEEPING ANOTHER CONSTANT

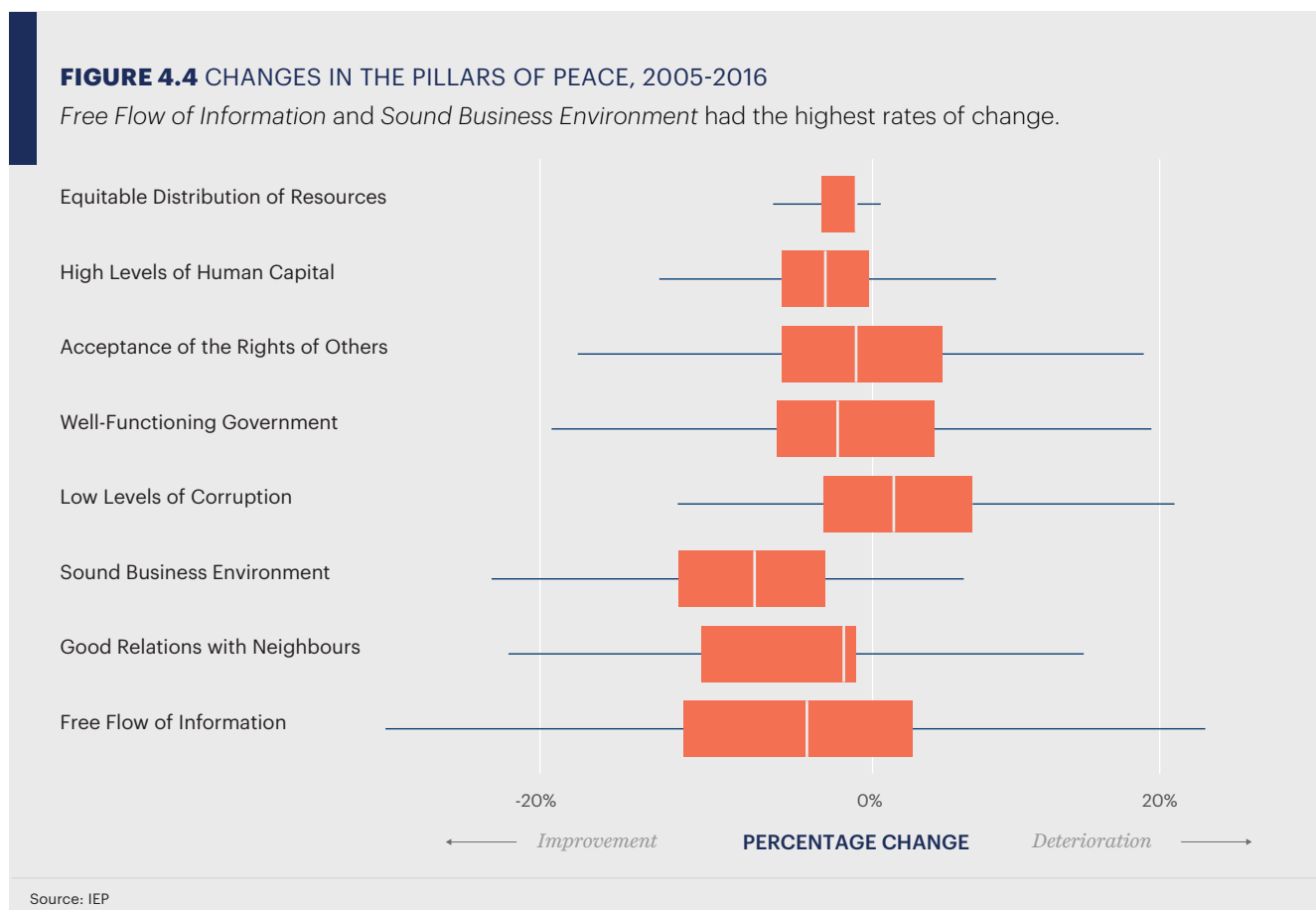
Improvements in *Sound Business Environment*, *High Levels of Human Capital* and *Equitable Distribution of Resources* can have a negative effects on levels of peace if achieved without improvements in the levels of *corruption*, *governance* and *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*.

REGION	IMPROVING THIS PILLAR	WITHOUT IMPROVING THIS PILLAR	R VALUE
ASIA-PACIFIC	Equitable Distribution of Resources	Low Levels of Corruption	-0.48
CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN	Sound Business Environment	Low Levels of Corruption	-0.42
CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN	Sound Business Environment	Well-Functioning Government	-0.52
SOUTH AMERICA	Sound Business Environment	Acceptance of the Rights of Others	-0.44
SOUTH AMERICA	High Levels of Human Capital	Low Levels of Corruption	-0.46
SOUTH AMERICA	Sound Business Environment	Low Levels of Corruption	-0.48
SOUTH AMERICA	High Levels of Human Capital	Well-Functioning Government	-0.48
SOUTH AMERICA	Sound Business Environment	Well-Functioning Government	-0.49
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	High Levels of Human Capital	Well-Functioning Government	-0.41

focusses on one Pillar over the remaining seven. Table 4.3 summarises the results of this analysis.

Figure 4.4 highlights country level changes with the black lines showing the spread of changes for all countries while the positioning of the block indicates whether the indicator improved or deteriorated. This shows that *Sound Business Environment* and *Free Flow of Information* are the Pillars that have the potential to change the most over a ten-year time frame. This is important to be aware of given that *Sound Business Environment* is one of the Pillars as shown in table 4.3 that if improved can be linked to lower levels of peace. This once again highlights the importance to take a systemic approach to the Pillars of Peace and improvements to Positive Peace.

“ Sound Business Environment and Free Flow of Information are the Pillars that have the potential to change the most over a ten-year time frame.



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MAKING SYSTEMIC CHANGE

Violence and conflict continue to thwart efforts to meet humanitarian goals and tackle major challenges such as climate change or poverty reduction. In 2016, the economic impact of containing violence or dealing with its consequences was conservatively estimated at 12.6 per cent of the world GDP. This is a sizable impact and even small reductions in this amount will yield a large peace dividend.

IEP's analysis demonstrates that building resilience through building high levels of Positive Peace, is an effective way to reduce the potential for violence. But how should countries go about doing this?

IEP offers two recommendations as entry points to changing peace systems:

1. FOCUS ON INDIVIDUAL PILLARS

This intervention aims at targeting an individual Pillar and then building the appropriate actions to stimulate it. This should have the benefit of not only improving the Pillar but due to the systemic effects and interdependencies, creating a positive flow on effect to the other Pillars. Care needs to be taken however that any improvements do not have the potential to increase grievances.

Nepal is a country where change was driven by progress in an individual Pillar. Nepal was one of the five countries with the greatest improvement in the Positive Peace Index from 2005 to 2015. In 2005, Nepal's weakest Pillar was *Free Flow of Information*. This Pillar had the largest improvement from 2005 to 2015, as shown in figure 4.5.

“ Nepal is a country where change was driven by progress in individual Pillars. Nepal was one of the five countries with the greatest improvement in the Positive Peace Index from 2005 to 2015.

Between 1996 and 2006, over 13,000 people died as a result of internal conflict between the Government of Nepal and the Community Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M).⁵ On the 4th February 1996, the CPN-M submitted a 40-point set of demands to the government and stated that if the demands were not met, a military struggle would follow. The next week, the CPN-M started an armed insurgency that would last for a decade.⁶

Finally, a comprehensive peace agreement was signed in 2006, bringing a cessation of the violence. Although the majority of the violence had stopped, the government still needed to address a number of challenges in order to reach stability.

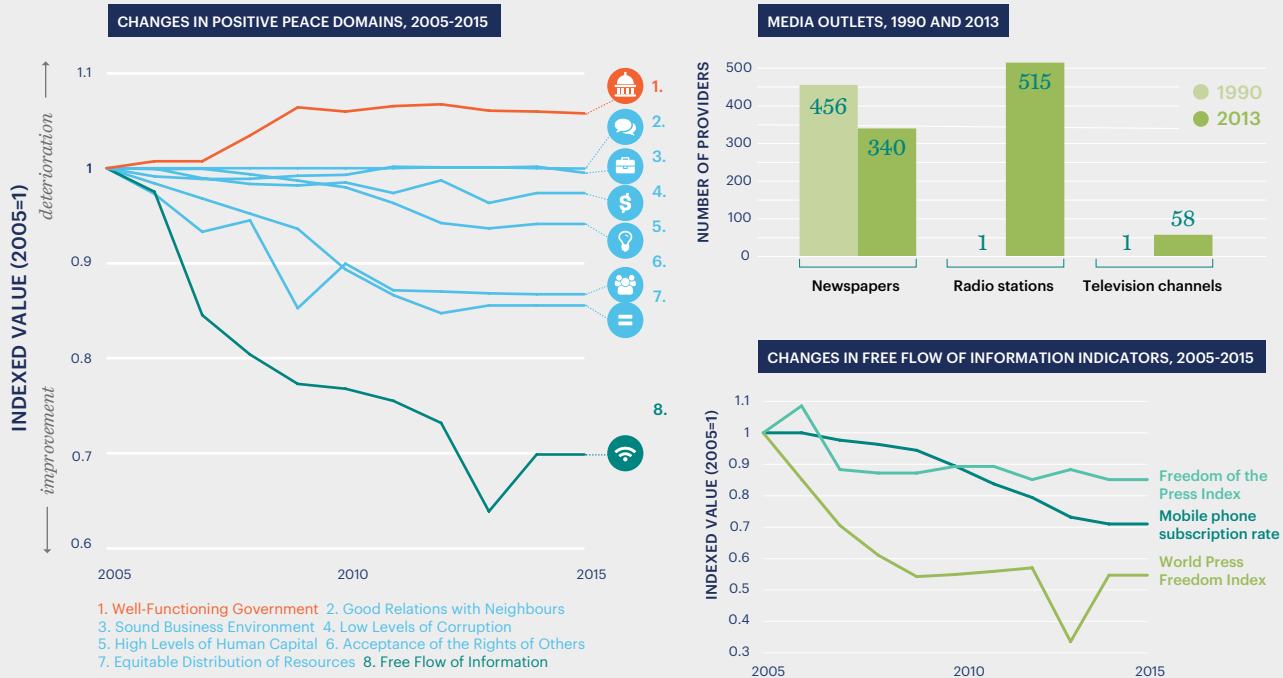
In the decade following the peace agreement, Nepal has enacted reform to tackle various issues. It has been able to improve its score for *Free Flow of Information* by 30 per cent, almost five times faster than the global average change. This has been driven not only by improvements in the media, but also by the increase in the penetration of mobile phones. By 2014, Nepal's mobile phone subscription rate reached 83 per 100 people, a 59 per cent increase over the previous five years. The increased number of news sources, coupled with the increased access to the internet and communication, facilitates greater diversity in and wider reach of information.⁷

Following the improvements in *Free Flow of Information*, the country began to show improvements in other areas of Positive Peace. Between 2007 and 2011, Nepal made significant gains in *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* and *Equitable Distribution of Resources*.

Nepal has also made gains in the GPI. In 2016, its rank on the internal Global Peace Index was 90, 7 places higher than in 2008 and its Positive Peace score was seven per cent stronger in 2015 than in 2005.

FIGURE 4.5 POSITIVE PEACE PROGRESS IN NEPAL, 2005 – 2015

Nepal’s progress in Positive Peace followed improvements in the *Free Flow of Information*, which improved by 30 per cent from 2005 to 2015. All three indicators in this Pillar registered an improvement and the number of media outlets doubled from 1990 to 2013.



Source: IEP

2. STIMULATE THE WHOLE SYSTEM

The aim of this approach is to stimulate the system from many different angles and involves finding an intervention for each Pillar which has the following characteristics:

- the intervention is practical and can be implemented in the current political dynamics
- the intervention will have an impact that is substantial
- the intervention will have an effect over the shorter term as well as the longer term.

This kind of system-wide improvement can create the environment for a virtuous cycle of peacebuilding.

IEP has piloted a program of workshops to develop practical, measurable and impactful interventions based on the above guidelines. IEP’s Positive Peace workshops are designed to bring together key stakeholders at the national or local level. Workshops seek to meet two main objectives. The first is to bring about a good understanding of Positive Peace and why it works

“ One of the main challenges to peacebuilding can be getting the various groups within a society to agree on both the nature of and the solution to large scale problems.

as a system and the second is to identify concrete investments that can be made in each of the Positive Peace Pillars.

Experience suggests this approach can be very effective. One of the main challenges to peacebuilding can be getting the various groups within a society to agree on both the nature of and the solution to large scale problems. Often focusing on the causes of problems can lead to recriminations, assigning fault. Because of the systemic nature of Positive Peace relationships and flows are highly important, while focusing on individual events becomes secondary. This tends to lead to a future-oriented approach to initiatives which moves away from blaming or recriminations. The aim is to focus on practical and achievable opportunities within the current political environment and level of capacities. This approach has proved to be effective in building consensus.⁸

IEP'S POSITIVE PEACE WORKSHOPS

GOALS AND PRINCIPLES BEHIND THE POSITIVE PEACE WORKSHOPS

The primary goal of the Positive Peace workshops is to facilitate local communities and individuals to develop practical and concrete actions that can strengthen peace through enhancing the *attitudes, institutions and structures* at the sub-national and community level.

A secondary goal of the Positive Peace workshop is educative - that all involved stakeholders understand Positive Peace and commence a process of seeking to grow Positive Peace in their society and involve an ever-widening network of people in understanding and pursuing Positive Peace.

Positive Peace workshops have the following working principles:

- They are guided by a participatory and locally-owned strategy. The approach for the Positive Peace workshops is based on fundamental concepts such as local ownership, local leadership, and multi-stakeholder partnership.
- They are sensitive to the intricacies of local dynamics and aim to ensure activities do not deliberately or inadvertently exacerbate or contribute to underlying tensions and hostilities by letting the local communities define what the interventions should be.
- They are designed to complement and not interfere with other more formal or technocratic peacebuilding approaches.
- They are consistent with the “do no harm” approach.

THEORY OF CHANGE UNDERPINNING THE POSITIVE PEACE WORKSHOPS

The theory of change for the workshops is that projects that strengthen all eight Pillars of Peace help to build peace within communities, cities and countries through utilising the systemic

nature of societies. Workshop participants will derive a number of benefits. These include but are not limited to the following:

- Reducing the likelihood of future conflicts. The causes of conflicts are complex and intertwined. Describing the full scope of any conflict situation and getting agreement is very difficult to do. IEP’s Positive Peace framework addresses both of these issues. Because it is derived empirically, it is easier to obtain agreement on the importance of each of the Pillars. The simple language of the Pillars also presents a neutral baseline language to work from. A primary goal of Positive Peace workshops is to allow participants to discuss sensitive topics using this impartial language.
- The message that Positive Peace is systemic and that sustainable peace is obtained through ensuring all eight Pillars are strong is important in broadening the participant’s awareness. Strengthening only one of the Pillars can actually increase latent conflict. Thinking systemically allows participants to better describe drivers of issues they face and identify innovative solutions. The Positive Peace workshops are consistent with the “do no harm” approach.⁹ In this approach societies are described by what “dividers” and “connectors” exist between and among groups. Throughout the workshops IEP promotes ideas that reduce dividers and increase connectors and offer examples how these can be analysed through a Positive Peace lens.

“ Thinking systemically allows participants to better describe drivers of issues they face and identify innovative solutions.

- It is the aim of the workshops to foster bottom up approaches that assist in building peace. As such, time is given for participants to develop projects applying the theory and language of Positive Peace. Key to this is that a sense of ownership is instilled in the participants throughout the workshop. Participants are first asked to describe the issue they wish to address in terms of the eight Pillars. Solutions are then described and their

intended impact on Positive Peace is mapped. Participants are also asked to consider what the impact of this would be on dividers and connectors of their local communities to minimise the potential for negative unintended consequences of their projects. The skills and knowledge gained in the workshop is intended to assist participants in gaining support for future endeavours.

- The workshop offers the sometimes rare opportunity for participants to meet, discuss and collaborate with people from other parts of the country that they ordinarily would have no contact with. It has been the case that in some workshops the participants came from groups that were hostile and violent toward each other. As the workshop is designed to be forward looking it allows such parties to describe problems and solutions without falling into accusatory and/or inflammatory language.

WORKSHOP FORMATS

Workshops vary slightly in their implementation. While the workshops are designed on a general format, they can be carried out in different contexts and have different approaches depending on the participants, the requirements and the culture. The workshops carried out thus far have had three different types of participants:

- 1. Government and civil society actors.** Bringing together relevant actors in government, academics and civil society organisations, who respectively have leading roles. IEP conducted this type of workshop in Zimbabwe in 2016.
- 2. Rival groups in a conflict setting.** Bringing together different conflicting groups, such as from rival ethnicities, to be able to work together on Positive Peace issues thereby enhancing reconciliation and encouraging actions to foster peace and understanding. IEP conducted this type of workshop in Tunisia with participants from Libya in 2017.
- 3. Local community leaders and youth.** Bringing together local community leaders and motivated youth who want to build the peace impact of initiatives in their communities. IEP conducted this type of workshop in Uganda in 2016 and in Mexico in 2017.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES OF THE WORKSHOPS

The following outcomes can be expected from the workshops:

1. Equip individuals with foundational knowledge about the mechanisms that create societal peace, based on IEP's

Positive Peace framework.¹⁰

2. Provide practical examples and motivation to positively influence individual behaviour towards achieving Positive Peace.
3. Participants identify additional stakeholders to be involved and a process for doing so – including future workshops, online training and provision of relevant additional research and resources.
4. Positive Peace resources, factors, and training techniques are tested in the target country and context and amended to increase legitimacy for wider future roll-out.
5. Practical concrete steps identified that participants can take to build Positive Peace in their local communities, activities and actions.
6. Generally promote the social skills linked to inclusivity, peace and active citizenship among others. Also positively reinforce other important behaviours and skills linked to Positive Peace including communication, conflict resolution, inclusivity, cooperation, empathy, and civic engagement.

EXAMPLES OF PREVIOUS WORKSHOPS

ZIMBABWE

IEP coordinated a workshop on Positive Peace in November 2015 in Harare, Zimbabwe, in partnership with the National Peace Trust, a Zimbabwean organisation. The workshop was supported by IEP and led by the National Peace Trust. Over 50 participants attended, including senior government officials such as Zimbabwe's Vice President, the Honourable ED Mnangagwa, who made introductory remarks, followed by civil society leaders, church leaders, academics and NGO representatives. The workshop took place over two days and included presentations by identified experts in each of the eight Positive Peace factors.

The workshop brought together representatives of the ruling party, opposition parties and civil society aligned with both sides of politics. The outcome of the conference was agreement on areas where they could tangibly work together, a rare achievement.

The overall objective of the workshop was to set up an action-orientated steering group to identify and analyse possible initiatives on the Pillars of Peace, as well as support efforts to bring those initiatives to fruition.

Through a shared understanding of peace in the wider southern Africa region, complex systems and social processes can be

explored using innovative tools and methods to find patterns of Positive Peace across communities.

UGANDA

In partnership with Rotary International and the International Peace and Security Institute (IPSI), IEP conducted a Positive Peace workshop in Kampala, Uganda from 30 September – 2 October 2016. This workshop was delivered to 200 young Rotarians from clubs from all over Uganda. It also trialed a set of tailored teaching activities for each of the Pillars.

The workshop developed a number of initiatives that would be partnered and driven by the local Rotary clubs. The aim was to have a large number of small projects developed by the participants that they would take back to their local communities.

TUNISIA/LIBYA

In partnership with the EU Committee of Regions and UNICEF, IEP delivered a workshop on “Positive Peace for Libyan Youth”. Supported by the mayors of Libya, 16 young Libyans participated in the course aimed at discussing how to build the *attitudes, institutions and structures* that create and sustain peaceful societies. Eventually, over 200 of the rising youth leaders from Libya will be trained.

Since the 2011 revolution, Libya has been mired in violent conflict that crosses ethnic, regional and political divides. Large numbers of militias, brigades and organisations such as ISIS control different areas within Libya and many are fighting against each other in bitter power struggles. Many of the communities from which the youth came were in conflict with each other.

The workshop allowed participants from different cities across Libya the rare chance to sit at the same table and discuss their different experiences and perspectives of their country’s recent history and current situation. Through IEP’s Positive Peace framework, participants worked together to discuss ideas on how to build peace in Libya. Each participant proposed a small project that they could implement in their home towns.

















This program was a great success and ongoing workshops reaching larger numbers of Libyan youths is being planned.

APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY FOR IDENTIFYING THE PILLARS OF PEACE

This appendix describes the characteristics of the eight Pillar of Positive Peace as well as outlining how IEP measures each of them. The Pillars have been statistically derived and selected based on their correlation to the GPI Internal Peace Score as shown in table A.1.

TABLE A.1 CORRELATION MATRIX FOR PILLARS OF POSITIVE PEACE

The relationship between these domains of Positive Peace is evidenced by their strong correlation coefficients.

									PPI	GPI
Acceptance of the Rights of Others 	1	0.72	0.8	0.71	0.76	0.77	0.79	0.82	0.89	0.78
Equitable Distribution of Resources 	0.72	1	0.59	0.52	0.84	0.79	0.8	0.79	0.84	0.58
Free Flow of Information 	0.8	0.59	1	0.67	0.61	0.7	0.7	0.73	0.8	0.63
Good Relations with Neighbours 	0.71	0.52	0.67	1	0.61	0.67	0.7	0.73	0.79	0.73
High Levels of Human Capital 	0.76	0.84	0.61	0.61	1	0.78	0.86	0.82	0.89	0.65
Low Levels of Corruption 	0.77	0.79	0.7	0.67	0.78	1	0.9	0.94	0.94	0.75
Sound Business Environment 	0.79	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.86	0.9	1	0.91	0.95	0.69
Well-Functioning Government 	0.82	0.79	0.73	0.73	0.82	0.94	0.91	1	0.96	0.79
PPI Overall Score	0.89	0.84	0.8	0.79	0.89	0.94	0.95	0.96	1	0.8
GPI Internal Peace Score	0.78	0.58	0.63	0.73	0.65	0.75	0.69	0.79	0.8	1

WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT



A Well-Functioning Government delivers high-quality public and civil services, engenders trust and participation within the community, demonstrates political stability and upholds the rule of law.

Such a government legitimately represents society, is responsive to its needs and effectively engages with citizens, regardless of their affiliation with or identity as part of a particular group. This Pillar emphasises the capability of the government to function rather than any one model of ‘good or bad governance.’

The PPI includes three indicators of a *Well-Functioning Government*, listed with their correlation coefficients in table A.2.

Where public services such as health, education and investment in infrastructure are performed efficiently and effectively, community needs are more likely to be met, thereby encouraging greater wellbeing and a more peaceful community. Furthermore, because government is responsible for the maintenance of the safety and security of its citizens through the provision and maintenance of public services such as police, fire, army and ambulance services, the effectiveness of

“ ...the effectiveness of government has strong implications for the strength of other Pillars...

government has strong implications for the strength of other Pillars, such as *Low Levels of Corruption* and a *Sound Business Environment*. The equity of taxation and the appropriate provisioning of goods and services are also important when considering the effectiveness of government. This is because how revenue is raised and how public funds are spent will impact the material and perceived fairness of government. On a practical level this might involve government funding of services which encourages community access to justice, the funding of infrastructure projects or whether the burden of taxation is inequitable.

TABLE 4.2 INDICATORS OF A WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT

Indicator	Definition	Source	Correlation with Internal Peace
Government effectiveness	Reflects perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies.	World Governance Indicators, The World Bank	0.76
Rule of law	Reflects perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence.	World Governance Indicators, The World Bank	0.79
Democratic political culture	Measures whether the electoral process, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation and culture support secular democracy.	Economist Intelligence Unit	0.65

The rule of law and separation of powers describes how power is exercised, disputes are resolved and to what extent government is separate and compliant with the legal system. Because the rule of law can help ensure the protection of the rights of individuals, a country with a better functioning legal system is expected to be more likely to resolve grievances in a peaceful and equitable manner. Although what is meant by the 'rule of law' can vary between contexts, IEP's definition revolves around an impartial judiciary, laws which are publically accessible and the absence of laws which discriminate or benefit particular groups.

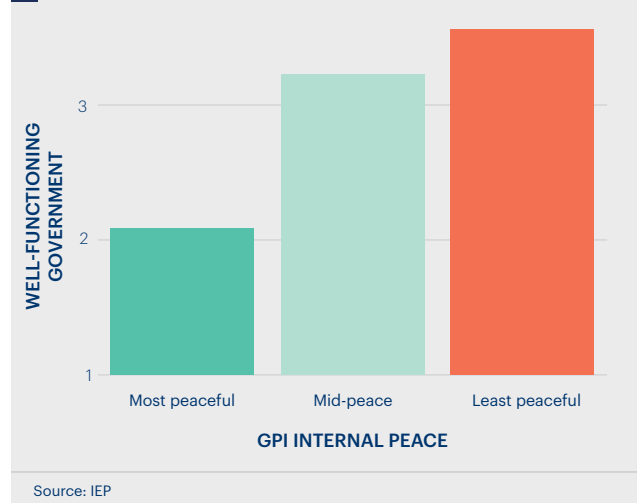
The Economist Intelligence Unit's (EIU) measure of *democratic political culture* uses a variety of survey questions and expert assessments to measure citizen attitudes toward government and the ability to participate in government. For example, the indicator includes societal perceptions of whether or not the government should be run by the military or the perceived importance of parliament. This variable serves as a proxy for participation, transparency and accountability.

The three key qualities mentioned earlier – service provision, participation and an effective justice system – reflect the government's dual role as arbiter and provider. A *Well-Functioning Government* should provide robust structures and institutions to support the collective pursuits of the society and provide mechanisms to reconcile grievances and disputes. Underpinning this is the formal justice system, which may be supported by alternative dispute-resolution (ADR) programs. Where culturally appropriate or if the formal system has not been fully developed, it is often complemented by community tribunals and truth and reconciliation commissions.

Effective interactions between citizens and government are more relevant to the levels of peacefulness than macro-indicators like broadly defined concepts of democracy. It is important that individuals and groups within society feel that the government is responsive to their needs and can protect them from violence.

FIGURE A.1 WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT AND INTERNAL PEACE

Well-Functioning Government is strongly related to levels of Internal Peace.



“...a country with a better functioning legal system is expected to be more likely to resolve grievances in a peaceful and equitable manner.

TABLE A.3 WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT CORRELATION MATRIX

Well-Functioning Government is strongly correlated to all Pillars of Peace.

Pillar	Indicator	People	Equality	Connectivity	Justice	Prosperity	Security	Participation	Accountability	GPI
Well-Functioning Government	Government effectiveness	0.79	0.82	0.69	0.7	0.87	0.93	0.93	0.96	0.76
Well-Functioning Government	Rule of law	0.81	0.8	0.73	0.74	0.82	0.96	0.93	0.97	0.79
Well-Functioning Government	Democratic political culture	0.65	0.57	0.6	0.57	0.55	0.7	0.65	0.84	0.65

SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT



A Sound Business Environment refers to the conditions that enable businesses to perform well and to operate efficiently. The strength of the economic conditions as well as the formal institutions that support the operation of the private sector determine the soundness of the business environment. Business competitiveness and economic productivity are both associated with the most peaceful countries, as is the presence of regulatory systems which are conducive to robust business operation.

The PPI includes three indicators of a *Sound Business Environment*, listed with their correlation coefficients in table A.4.

The *Index of Economic Freedom (IEF)* measures the right to control one's own labour and property. The IEF score includes a variety of measures related to government management of the economy, but the notable concept captured by this indicator is the security of property rights. The *business environment* indicator, an index produced by the Legatum Institute, measures a country's entrepreneurial environment, its business infrastructure, barriers to innovation, and labour market flexibility. GDP per capita serves as an indicator of the long-term strength and output of the economy. Although high levels of wealth do not guarantee high levels of peacefulness, per capita GDP does correlate with peacefulness at $r = 0.59$. This variable measures actual economic performance, complementing the other measures.

“ Although high levels of wealth do not guarantee high levels of peacefulness, per capita GDP does correlate with peacefulness...

A *Sound Business Environment* represents one of the principal ways that members of society routinely solve conflicts without violence. The challenge of distributing resources in human societies is universal and ongoing. An effective combination of a market-based economy and appropriate regulation can facilitate efficient and effective resource distribution.

Markets and profitable businesses do not automatically lead to peace, even when they produce other positive social outcomes. Other factors interact with markets and together propel a society

TABLE A.4 INDICATORS OF A SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT

Indicator	Definition	Source	Correlation with Internal Peace
Index of Economic Freedom	Measures individuals' freedom to work, produce, consume, and invest, with that freedom both protected by and unconstrained by the state.	Heritage Foundation, Index of Economic Freedom	0.62
Business environment	Measures a country's entrepreneurial environment, its business infrastructure, barriers to innovation, and labour market flexibility.	Legatum Institute	0.68
GDP per capita	GDP per capita	The World Bank	0.59

towards or away from peace and a better business environment. For example, everyone can benefit from a *Sound Business Environment* when barriers to entry are manageable and all groups have adequate access to employment. Where conditions are reversed, the benefits of economic development are unlikely to be evenly distributed and growing disparities can reinforce grievances between groups and fuel conflict that may escalate to violence. This may manifest as a lack of affordable healthcare facilities or arduous regulations that encourage corruption.

As shown in table A.5, *Sound Business Environments* are highly correlated with *Well-Functioning Government*. Governments at all levels are involved in formalising markets and facilitating the transparency and accountability that is necessary for robust economic activity. Governments also rely on formal markets to collect tax revenue. And yet it is simultaneously the role of government to ensure that business operations are not over-regulated, thus hampering economic development. Therefore it's important to find simple, context-appropriate solutions that provide the right level of formality and regulation.

There can be a role for informal economic activity in a *Sound Business Environment* – such as easily-started microenterprises. At the same time, the business environment benefits from formal organisations in the following ways:

- **Activities are more likely to be documented, transparent and regulated, making corruption more difficult to conceal.**
- **Incorporated organisations have formalised structures that are less likely to change based on the preferences of individuals or external pressures, such as the political climate.¹**
- **Formalised businesses contribute to tax revenue, which supports investments in other dimensions of the business environment, such as infrastructure.**
- **Formal organisations carry credibility, which can increase trust with the investment community.**

FIGURE A.2 SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT VS INTERNAL PEACE

Sound Business Environment is strongly related to levels of Internal Peace.



“...everyone can benefit from a Sound Business Environment when barriers to entry are manageable and all groups have adequate access to employment.

TABLE A.5 SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT CORRELATION MATRIX

Sound Business Environment is strongly correlated to all Pillars of Peace.

Pillar	Indicator	Icon 1	Icon 2	Icon 3	Icon 4	Icon 5	Icon 6	Icon 7	Icon 8	Icon 9	GPI
Sound Business Environment	GDP per capita	0.68	0.73	0.56	0.5	0.72	0.82	0.87	0.81	0.59	
Sound Business Environment	Economic freedom	0.63	0.58	0.64	0.7	0.65	0.75	0.84	0.78	0.62	
Sound Business Environment	Business environment	0.75	0.78	0.66	0.67	0.84	0.87	0.94	0.88	0.68	

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES



Equitable Distribution of Resources measures how society distributes essential resources and opportunities. Peaceful countries tend to ensure equity in access to resources like education and health, as well as adequate access to opportunity.

The PPI includes three indicators of an *Equitable Distribution of Resources*, listed with their correlation coefficients in table A.6.

The *Equitable Distribution of Resources* Pillar is built using the measures of inequality that show the strongest relationship to peacefulness. These are *inequality-adjusted life expectancy*, *social mobility* and the *poverty gap*.

Inequality-adjusted life expectancy is measured by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) as part of the Human Development Index project. This indicator reflects the difference in life expectancy that results from inequalities between groups in society. The measure of *social mobility* captures the degree to which upward mobility is independent of one's family background, ethnic group or social network. In more peaceful societies, opportunities are available to everyone rather than only those in a particular group.

“ Equitable distribution does not mean equal distribution or that absolute equality is best. Different countries have very different views on what is equitable.

The *poverty gap* is an assessment of how poverty is spread out over society. The World Bank calculates the average difference between actual incomes and a local income that would offer the purchasing power of US\$2 per day, referred to as the poverty line. When this average is calculated, those that are at or above the poverty line have an effective difference of zero. Then this average difference between actual income and the poverty line is expressed as a percentage of the poverty line. Thus countries which have a larger poverty gap have a larger proportion of their population living below US\$2 PPP per day.

TABLE A.6 INDICATORS OF AN EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

Indicator	Definition	Source	Correlation with Internal Peace
Inequality-adjusted life expectancy	The HDI life expectancy index adjusted for inequality scores countries based on both average life expectancy and the degree of inequality in life expectancy between groups.	Human Development Index, UNDP	0.55
Social mobility	Measures the opportunity for upward social mobility based on the degree to which either merit or social networks determine an individual's success.	Institutional Profiles Database	0.53
Poverty gap	The mean shortfall from the poverty line at \$2 per day PPP (counting the non-poor as having zero shortfall), expressed as a % of the poverty line.	The World Bank	0.33

By using these three measures, the *Equitable Distribution of Resources* Pillar captures a robust measurement of the forms of equity that have the strongest statistical relationship with peacefulness.

Equitable distribution does not mean equal distribution or that absolute equality is best. Different countries have very different views on what is equitable. What is important is that the social contract is considered fair. Access to health, education and opportunity also create an environment that is conducive to higher levels of human capital and more robust *business environments*.

Several measures of an *Equitable Distribution of Resources* have a quantitative relationship with peacefulness. Figure A.3 shows the relationship between the *Equitable Distribution of Resources* Pillar of the PPI and society's internal peacefulness as measured by the GPI.

FIGURE A.3 *EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES AND INTERNAL PEACE*

Equitable Distribution of Resources is strongly related to levels of Internal Peace.



Source: IEP

TABLE A.7 *EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES CORRELATION MATRIX*

Equitable Distribution of Resources is most correlated to *Well-Functioning Government*, *Sound Business Environment*, and *High Levels of Human Capital*.

Pillar	Indicator	Icon 1	Icon 2	Icon 3	Icon 4	Icon 5	Icon 6	Icon 7	Icon 8	Icon 9	GPI
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Inequality-adjusted life expectancy	0.67	0.83	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.68	0.77	0.72	0.55	
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Poverty gap	0.52	0.83	0.32	0.27	0.83	0.4	0.68	0.48	0.33	
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Social mobility	0.64	0.88	0.61	0.51	0.6	0.77	0.69	0.75	0.53	

ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS



Acceptance of the Rights of Others is designed to capture tolerance and respect between groups within a society.

A country’s formal laws that guarantee basic rights and freedoms and the informal social and cultural norms that relate to behaviours of citizens serve as proxies for the level of tolerance between different ethnic, linguistic, religious and socio-economic groups within a country. Similarly, gender equality, worker’s rights, and freedom of speech are important components of societies that uphold the *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*.

The PPI includes three indicators of the *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, listed with their correlation coefficients in table A.8.

The measurements included in the *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* Pillar construct a well-rounded and holistic indicator of society’s *attitudes, institutions and structures* to care for different groups in society. The *Empowerment Index* measures many of the formal institutions and structures of this Pillar, such as whether or not citizens have the right to free speech or the opportunity to join groups that protect their best interests, such as unions and political parties.

The *group grievance* rating is a qualitative expert assessment of the severity of divisions between groups in society. It is not only

“ Countries that perform well in gender equality create participatory communities and facilitate high levels of opportunity and engagement, and as a result consistently have higher levels of internal and external peacefulness.

important to have formal structures in place that protect the rights of different groups, but also to assess the level of grievance that exists between groups.

Finally, the *Gender Inequality Index* assesses the level of acceptance and development between society’s most basic two groups: men and women. Gender equality has a consistent and demonstrable relationship with peacefulness across many studies and data sources.² Countries that perform well in gender equality create participatory communities and

TABLE A.8 INDICATORS OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS

Indicator	Definition	Source	Correlation with Internal Peace
Empowerment Index	An additive index using indicators of freedom of movement, freedom of speech, workers’ rights, political participation, and freedom of religion.	CIRI, Human Rights Data Project	0.48
Group grievance rating	Measures the extent and severity of grievances between groups in society, including religious, ethnic, sectarian and political discrimination and division.	Fund for Peace, Fragile States Index	0.69
Gender Inequality Index	The Gender Inequality Index (GII) reflects women’s disadvantage in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market.	UNDP, Human Development Index	0.65

facilitate high levels of opportunity and engagement, and as a result consistently have higher levels of internal and external peacefulness.

It is often observed that homogenous societies are far less prone to conflict and violence. This observation has problematic implications for a world where globalization and migration increasingly integrate cultures. But it is possible to cultivate societies that value diversity and thrive.

While the relationship between the *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* and peacefulness seems intuitive, it can be difficult to deal with the practicalities of a diverse society. However, there are many examples of success in this area.

IEP's recent research on religion and peace demonstrates that societies with diverse religious practices and societies with high levels of religiosity can also be highly peaceful. Similarly, the rate at which people identify as a member of a religious group does not have a statistically significant relationship with peacefulness. Societies in which a high portion of the population reports being a member of a religion can be highly peaceful and societies with low levels of religious practice or identification can have low levels of peace.³

Full democracies have the best average performance in peace. They also have the lowest levels of religious restrictions and religious hostilities. Less regulation reduces the grievances of religious groups and decreases the ability of any single group to wield undue political power.⁴ The level of *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* heavily impacts how individuals and groups will respond when a conflict arises. As such, this Pillar can serve as the antidote to what is termed 'cultural violence', or a culture that facilitates violence towards certain groups by portraying and normalizing it in media, literature, art and other cultural spaces.⁵ In societies with a high level of *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, violence becomes less acceptable.



TABLE A.9 ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS CORRELATION MATRIX

Acceptance of the Rights of Others is most correlated to *Well-Functioning Government, Sound Business Environment, Low Levels of Corruption and High Levels of Human Capital*.

Pillar	Indicator	Icon 1	Icon 2	Icon 3	Icon 4	Icon 5	Icon 6	Icon 7	Icon 8	Icon 9	GPI
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Group grievance rating	0.82	0.4	0.55	0.53	0.43	0.56	0.53	0.59	0.69	
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Gender inequality	0.79	0.81	0.56	0.6	0.91	0.72	0.8	0.77	0.65	
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Empowerment Index	0.75	0.41	0.8	0.53	0.39	0.46	0.47	0.51	0.48	

GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS



***Good Relations with Neighbours* describes a country's capacity and proclivity for using diplomacy and negotiation to pre-emptively manage disagreements before they become violent. It also describes a country's ability to manage positive relationships with other countries, such as trade relations.**

The PPI includes three indicators of *Good Relations with Neighbours*, listed with their correlation coefficients in table A.10.

While many different attributes, both formal and informal, are necessary to establish *Good Relations with Neighbours*, the indicators used in this Pillar indicate whether a society has positive attitudes toward foreigners and their property, whether tourists visit the country and the level of integration of its trade with other states.

The extent to which foreigners feel safe, directly relates to tourist numbers which have wider economic flow on effects. Formal interactions are complex to measure, particularly closed door diplomacy. Trade and tourism data however is publically available and shows patterns and working relationship between parties.

“ Good Relations with Neighbours is a unique Pillar in the Positive Peace framework because it is the only outwardly looking Pillar.

Having peaceful relations with other countries is as important as good relations between groups within a country. Countries with positive external relations are more peaceful and tend to be more politically stable, have better functioning governments, are regionally integrated and have low levels of organised internal conflict. This is also beneficial for business and supports foreign direct investment, tourism and human capital inflows. Figure A.5 highlights the clear relationship between *Good Relations with Neighbours* and internal peacefulness.

TABLE A.10 INDICATORS OF *GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS*

Indicator	Definition	Source	Correlation with Internal Peace
Hostility to foreigners	Measures social attitudes toward foreigners and private property.	Economist Intelligence Unit	0.48
Number of visitors	Number of visitors as per cent of the domestic population.	Economist Intelligence Unit	0.69
Regional integration	Measures the extent of a nation's trade-based integration with other states.	Economist Intelligence Unit	0.65

Good Relations with Neighbours is a unique Pillar in the Positive Peace framework because it is the only outwardly looking pillar. The rest deal with the internal state of the society. Since the active processes of relations between states are often the Pillar of a small portion of a country's government, to understand it within the PPI framework it is important to view relations between states systemically.

Representatives of countries require predictability and credibility from each other. If two countries are entering into an agreement, they are both taking a risk that the other country may not hold up its end of the bargain. This risk is mitigated when we think of diplomacy and good relations between neighbours as the outcome of the other PPI factors.

Good Relations with Neighbours is highly correlated with good governance. When entering into an agreement with another country, one needs to know that the other country's government can reconcile domestic political issues within its international agreements, treaties and international law. Government continuity also requires citizen support, so *Free Flow of Information* is also a critical factor affecting good relations between countries.

Acceptance of the Rights of Others is also crucial to *Good Relations with Neighbours*. There is a strong correlation between these two Pillars, as seen in table A.11. This implies that positive international relationships occur when internal differences are better managed. Furthermore, cultivating a high level of *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* likely aids in approaching international relationships in a manner conducive to compromise and seeking mutual benefit.

FIGURE A.5 GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS AND INTERNAL PEACE

Good Relations with Neighbours is strongly related to levels of Internal Peace.

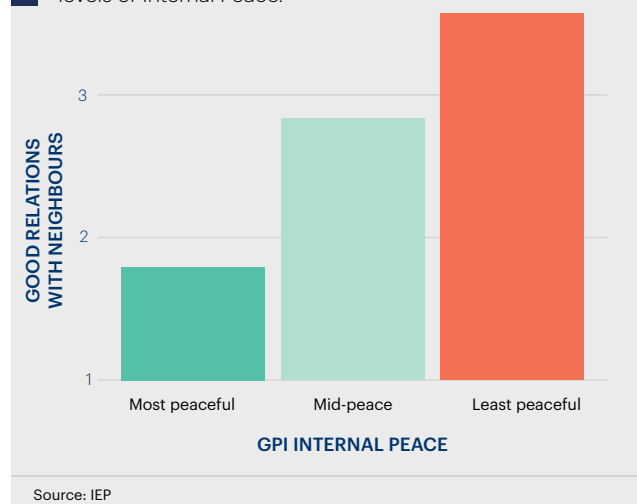


TABLE A.11 GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS CORRELATION MATRIX

Good Relations with Neighbours is most correlated to *Well-Functioning Government*.

Pillar	Indicator	People	Equality	Wired	Communication	Lightbulb	Dollar	Briefcase	Building	GPI
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	0.56	0.32	0.49	0.9	0.41	0.56	0.53	0.6	0.67
Good Relations with Neighbours	Number of visitors (% of domestic population)	0.39	0.42	0.29	0.34	0.45	0.44	0.49	0.44	0.34
Good Relations with Neighbours	Regional integration	0.67	0.57	0.65	0.83	0.64	0.6	0.66	0.65	0.61

FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION



The Free Flow of Information Pillar explores the degree to which citizens can easily access and exchange information while being free from restrictions or censorship.

Peaceful countries tend to have free and independent media that disseminates information in a way that leads to greater openness and helps individuals and society work together. This is reflected in the extent to which citizens can gain access to information, whether the media is free and independent and how well-informed citizens are. This leads to better decision-making and more rational responses in times of crisis.

The PPI includes three indicators for *Free Flow of Information*, listed with their correlation coefficients in table A.12.

Peaceful countries tend to have free and independent media that disseminates information in a way that leads to greater openness and helps individuals and society work together. This is reflected in the extent to which citizens can gain access to information, whether the media is free and independent and how well-informed citizens are. This leads to better decision-making and more rational responses in times of crisis.

Freedom House’s *Freedom of the Press Index* and Reporters Without Borders’ *World Press Freedom Index* measure freedom of the press based on the economic, political and legal

framework that a country’s press operates within. Measurements include formal structures such as laws that protect freedom and informal constraints, such as self-censorship or diversity of content. Both indices account for freedom of content online as well as offline.

The *mobile phone subscription rate* serves as a proxy for what portion of the population has access to information. The rate accounts for all types of mobile phones because information access can include access to the internet as well as information received via word-of-mouth and SMS.

Access to quality and reliable information is essential to a well-informed society capable of making considered decisions. Information can be from a range of sources including media, government, civil society and academia. Information can be disseminated through many means including books, schools, family and friends, public forums, the internet, television and radio.

Freedom of information can have many flow-on effects for society, as the open and unbiased dissemination of information plays a key role in keeping governments accountable, driving

TABLE A.12 INDICATORS OF THE *FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION*

Indicator	Definition	Source	Correlation with Internal Peace
Freedom of the Press Index	A composite measure of the degree of print, broadcast, and internet freedom.	Freedom House	0.62
World Press Freedom Index	Ranks countries based on media pluralism and independence, respect for the safety and freedom of journalists, and the legislative, institutional and infrastructural environment in which the media operate.	Reporters Without Borders	0.54
Mobile phone subscription rate	Number of mobile phone subscriptions per 100 inhabitants.	International Telecommunications Union	0.31

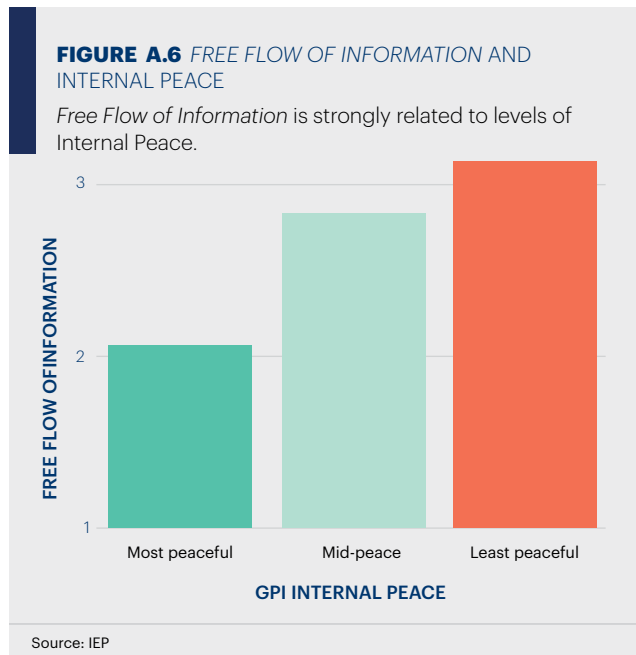
economic efficiency and enabling civil society to better participate in political processes and express opinions without fear or prejudice.⁶

Media is also an important driver of community perceptions, with research suggesting that the way in which information is presented can have a powerful impact on community perceptions of reality.⁷ In addition, because media can potentially be dominated by government, the elite or other interest groups, *Free Flow of Information* requires sufficient competition in the supply of information in order to ensure the quantity of information available to communities is also matched with quality.⁸

Peaceful countries tend to have free and independent media that disseminates information in a way that leads to greater openness and helps individuals and society work together. This leads to better decision making and more rational responses in times of crisis.

Technology in recent years has successfully increased both the speed and amount of information that can be shared across the globe. While these changes make it possible to spread both sound information and misinformation more readily, these new technologies have the potential to reduce and prevent violence, promote better accountability and improve transparency in both government and business.

Mobile phones are an example of a new technology that is expanding quickly throughout the world. Companies like Safaricom and its parent Vodafone are using their cellular infrastructure and transmission capacity to better support business, civil society and governments to improve transaction efficiencies. The Safaricom product M-Pesa, an SMS text message-based money transfer system, allows rural communities to participate in the formal economy. The system helps farmers access information – like crop prices in the surrounding villages – and has the added effect of reducing the impact of shocks such as natural disasters and health crises, since people can easily send money to where it is needed. Safaricom, in cooperation with the UNDP and the Kenyan government, has also been



“...new technologies have the potential to reduce and prevent violence, promote better accountability and improve transparency in both government and business.

instrumental in disseminating information to prevent violence in the Kenyan elections in 2013. This example underscores how mobile phone technology and information access contribute to Positive Peace by empowering individuals with new ways of communicating and trading.

Like the other Pillars, *Free Flow of Information* has an interdependent relationship with the other Pillars of Positive Peace. Table A.13 shows that *Free Flow of Information* correlates most strongly with *Well-Functioning Government* and *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*.

TABLE A.13 FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION CORRELATION MATRIX

Free Flow of Information is most correlated to Acceptance of the Rights of Others and Well-Functioning Government.

Pillar	Indicator	People	Equity	Information	Justice	Prosperity	Resilience	Well-Functioning Government	Acceptance of the Rights of Others	GPI
Free Flow of Information	Freedom of the Press Index	0.78	0.57	0.96	0.63	0.56	0.69	0.65	0.72	0.62
Free Flow of Information	Mobile phone subscription rate	0.44	0.44	0.5	0.38	0.54	0.45	0.55	0.44	0.31
Free Flow of Information	World Press Freedom Index	0.69	0.44	0.92	0.6	0.42	0.56	0.55	0.58	0.54

HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL



Human capital refers to society’s “stock” of human potential and represents an economic value to society that comes from increased education, health and the state of youth.

The PPI includes three indicators of a *High Levels of Human Capital*, listed with their correlation coefficients in table A.13.

The *Youth Development Index* includes a range of related variables: both measures of wellbeing such as deaths from violence, self-harm, drug use and prevalence of HIV and the social norms which can have a significant effect on increasing human capital, such as levels of employment, political participation and civic participation. This indicator also captures how well society prepares and empowers its young people for the coming decades of economic and social progress.

“ ...there is a strong relationship between innovation and peace, likely reflecting society’s ability to engineer solutions and be adaptable.

As a high level of education is arguably the most significant factor leading to innovation and technical change within the labour force, IEP has placed significant importance on it. In particular, *secondary school enrolment* and the *Global Innovation Index* have been included. High levels across these areas in society can foster the required skills and social cohesion to increase a country’s level of stability, peace and economic development.

A skilled human capital base is reflected in the extent to which societies educate citizens and promote the development of knowledge. This improves economic productivity, care for the young, enables better political understanding and increases social capital. Education is a fundamental building block through which societies can build resilience and develop mechanisms to learn and adapt.

A *High Level of Human Capital* which is equitably spread through society can be a significant determinant of economic

TABLE A.13 INDICATORS OF HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL

Indicator	Definition	Source	Correlation with Internal Peace
Secondary school enrolment	The ratio of children of official school age who are enrolled in school to the population of the corresponding official school age.	The World Bank	0.52
Global Innovation Index	The Global Innovation Index (GII) aims to capture the multi-dimensional facets of innovation and provide the tools that can assist in tailoring policies to promote long-term output growth, improved productivity, and job growth.	Cornell University	0.66
Youth Development Index	The YDI measures the status of 15-29 year-olds according to five key domains: education, health and well-being, employment, civic participation and political participation.	IEP	0.62

progression and growth. By increasing the overall skill base, an economy can significantly decrease its level of poverty and social exclusion, increase its stability and improve its levels of peace.

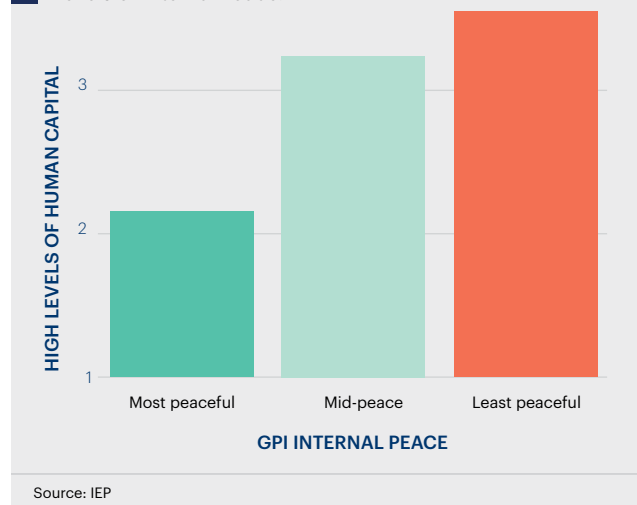
Increased levels of human capital can assist the development of new innovative sectors. Notably, there is a strong relationship between innovation and peace, likely reflecting society's ability to engineer solutions and be adaptable. Being able to progress into more advanced sectors is integral for economic and social stability.

Increased levels of human capital can build the institutions that foster peace. In Rwanda, significant investment was placed in education and health following the civil war which ended in 1994. By 2005 the primary school enrolment rate had reached 95 per cent, up from 67 per cent, while the percentage of the population living in poverty had decreased from 78 per cent to 57 per cent.¹⁰ Economic development and peacefulness substantially improved in the years following the end of the armed conflict. In 2008 Rwanda ranked 67th on the Global Peace Index, higher than most African countries.

Societies which encourage the development of human capital show higher levels of peace compared to those which do not. The 20 most peaceful countries on average place nine per cent more government expenditure in health than the 20 least peaceful countries, as well as around two per cent more on education. Internal peace correlates significantly with levels of infant mortality. This conveys how societies that place emphasis on health tend to be more peaceful.

FIGURE A.7 HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL AND INTERNAL PEACE

High Levels of Human Capital is strongly related to levels of Internal Peace.



“ The 20 most peaceful countries on average place nine per cent more government expenditure in health than the 20 least peaceful countries...

TABLE A.14 HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL CORRELATION MATRIX

High Levels of Human Capital is most correlated to Equitable Distribution of Resources.

Pillar	Indicator	Icon 1	Icon 2	Icon 3	Icon 4	Icon 5	Icon 6	Icon 7	Icon 8	Icon 9	GPI
High Levels of Human Capital	Secondary school enrolment	0.61	0.73	0.5	0.48	0.89	0.61	0.69	0.63	0.52	
High Levels of Human Capital	Youth Development Index	0.74	0.81	0.57	0.54	0.94	0.73	0.8	0.77	0.62	
High Levels of Human Capital	Global innovation index	0.73	0.76	0.64	0.66	0.91	0.8	0.88	0.85	0.66	

LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION



Low Levels of Corruption captures the extent to which society’s attitudes, institutions and structures which prevent corruption or hold individuals and organizations accountable when corruption does occur.

Levels of corruption have a strong statistical relationship with levels of peacefulness. High levels of corruption can misdirect resources, compound inequities and undermine trust throughout society. The resulting inequities can lead to civil unrest and in extreme situations can be the catalyst for more serious violence. *Low Levels of Corruption*, by contrast, can enhance confidence and trust in institutions. Managing corruption is one of the most important factors for peaceful societies.

The PPI includes three indicators for *Low Levels of Corruption*, they are listed with their correlation coefficients in table A.15.

Transparency International’s *Corruption Perceptions Index* aggregates the best available data to create a measure of perceived corruption across the world. It should be noted that individual concepts of corruption are greatly influenced by social norms and what citizens believe to constitute corrupt behaviour will differ across cultures and societies. Globally-comparable measures of corruption are typically based on surveys that measure individual perceptions of the severity and pervasiveness of corruption.

The World Bank’s *control of corruption* indicator and the Corruption Perceptions Index use a variety of data sources to produce an estimate of corruption at the national level. However, the control of corruption measure, which is part of the World Governance Indicators, has a stronger focus on government mechanisms in place to address corruption. Taken together, these two indicators provide a picture of the formal institutions and structures in place to combat corruption and the perception among citizens of how widespread and severe corruption is.

Factionalised elites is an outcome of pervasive corruption: the tendency for bribery, favours and social privileges to result in factions and schisms between the elite of different social groups. This variable is particularly relevant to peace because it can be a channel for destructive conflict. Factionalisation can facilitate corruption, exacerbate *group grievances*, prevent trust-building and undermine peacebuilding.

The Pillars of Positive Peace are all highly interrelated, and this is especially true for *Low Levels of Corruption*. This indicator has a statistically significant relationship with both internal peace and with the other Pillars of Positive Peace. Previous

TABLE A.15 INDICATORS OF LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION

Indicator	Definition	Source	Correlation with Internal Peace
Perceptions of Corruption Index	Scores countries based on how corrupt the public sector is perceived to be.	Transparency International	0.78
Control of corruption	Captures perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption.	World Governance Indicators, The World Bank	0.77
Factionalised elites	Measures the fragmentation of ruling elites and state institutions along ethnic, class, clan, racial or religious lines.	Fragile States Index, Fund for Peace	0.73

research by IEP, using regression analysis, indicated that *Low Levels of Corruption* were a precursor to high levels of negative peace, whereas changes in negative peace did not seem to affect corruption in the short term.

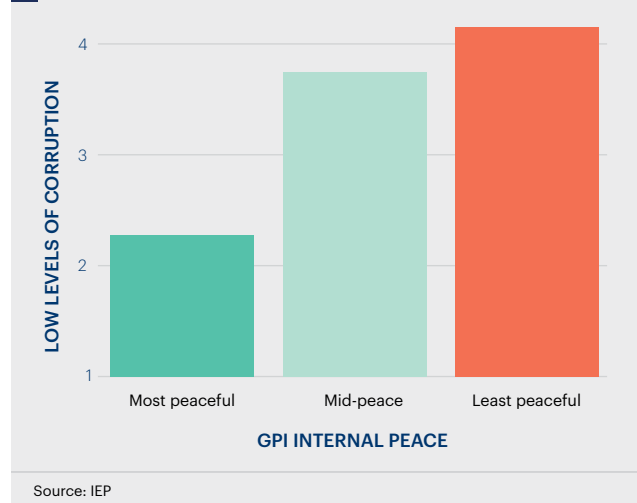
The relationship with other aspects of Positive Peace can be partially explained by endogeneity: *Low Levels of Corruption* and a *Sound Business Environment* will both impact upon each other. Nonetheless, it is important to note the mutually reinforcing relationship between the absence of corruption, the absence of violence and the presence of several other desirable social characteristics. *Low Levels of Corruption* and *High Levels of Human Capital* have a very strong statistical relationship.

The relationship between *Low Levels of Corruption* and *High Levels of Human Capital* is particularly clear among countries that score poorly in both Pillars. Countries that score well on *Low Levels of Corruption* seem to have varying levels of human capital. But among the countries with poor scores in corruption, scores are also consistently poor in human capital.

This implies that tackling corruption and building human capital are twin challenges. High-performing, transparent institutions require *High Levels of Human Capital* to operate effectively. Institutional accountability requires a well-educated population prepared to take action in changing corrupt institutions. Furthermore, corruption in the police and judiciary are particularly detrimental to peace – two institutions which require professional, well-educated human capital with highly specialized training.¹¹ Of the 98 countries with below average scores on *Low Levels of Corruption*, 80 per cent of those countries also score below average on *High Levels of Human Capital*.

FIGURE A.8 LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION AND INTERNAL PEACE

Low Levels of Corruption is strongly related to levels of Internal Peace.



“...corruption in the police and judiciary are particularly detrimental to peace – two institutions which require professional, well-educated human capital with highly specialized training.

TABLE A.16 LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION CORRELATION MATRIX

Low Levels of Corruption is most correlated to *Well-Functioning Government* and *Sound Business Environment*.

Pillar	Indicator	👥	=	📶	💬	💡	💰	📁	🏛️	GPI
Low Levels of Corruption	Control of corruption	0.79	0.79	0.7	0.73	0.79	0.98	0.9	0.94	0.77
Low Levels of Corruption	Factionalized elites	0.86	0.67	0.74	0.72	0.68	0.9	0.78	0.82	0.73
Low Levels of Corruption	Perceptions of corruption	0.81	0.79	0.73	0.75	0.78	0.98	0.9	0.95	0.78

APPENDIX B: POSITIVE PEACE INDEX METHODOLOGY

The Positive Peace Index is the first known attempt to build a statistical index measuring the latent variables of positive peace, based on the definition of “the attitudes, institutions and structures which when strengthened, lead to a more peaceful society.” The PPI is similar to the GPI in that it is a composite index attempting to measure a latent multidimensional concept. It covers the same set of 163 countries included in the GPI, capturing over 99 per cent of the world’s population.

The starting point for developing the PPI was to correlate the Internal Peace score from the GPI against over 4,700 cross-country harmonized datasets measuring a variety of economic, governance, social, attitudinal and political factors. This aggregation of data attempted to cover every known quantitative and qualitative dataset measuring factors at the nation-state level. Each dataset which was significantly correlated was then organised under eight distinct factors collectively termed as the Pillars of Positive Peace. The pillars were derived by empirical inspection and from the large body of qualitative and quantitative literature highlighting the importance of these factors. Rather than attempting to isolate singular factors associated with peace, this approach is focused on identifying the broad and complex associations that exist between the drivers of violence and a multitude of formal and informal cultural, economic and political variables.

After identifying the eight pillars, three indicators were identified to measure each. Indicators were chosen first and foremost based on the strength of the relationship with Internal Peace. Then, where it was necessary to narrow down specific indicators of the same concept, variables were chosen based on country and time coverage, with the requirement that data sources cover at least three years and at least 95 countries, and measurement of distinct aspects of each domain, to the extent possible.

The 2017 PPI has the following key features:

- ➔ 24 indicators under eight domains
- ➔ 163 countries covered
- ➔ time series from 2005 to 2016.

INDICATOR WEIGHTINGS AND SCORING

All indicators are scored between one and five, with one being the most ‘positively peaceful’ score and five the least ‘positively peaceful’. This means countries which score closer to one are likely to have relatively more institutional capacity and resilience in comparison to nations which score closer to five.

The weightings are between 0.2 and 0.5 and have been derived by the strength of the indicator’s statistical correlation to the 2016 GPI score. The stronger the correlation to the Global Peace Index, the higher the weighting portioned in the PPI. The lowest weighting is given to the mobile subscription rate which accounts for 2.13 per cent of the index. This is in comparison to the most heavily weighted factor, rule of law, which accounts for 5.4 per cent of the PPI.

TABLE B.1 POSITIVE PEACE INDEX PILLARS AND INDICATORS

IEP has used the following indicators and weights in the construction of the Positive Peace Index.

POSITIVE PEACE PILLAR	INDICATOR	DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	WEIGHT, AS A % OF TOTAL INDEX
WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT	Democratic political culture	Measures whether the electoral process, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation and culture support secular democracy.	Economist Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index	4.49%
	Government effectiveness	Reflects perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies.	World Bank	5.24%
	Rule of law	Reflects perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence.	World Bank	5.45%
SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	Business environment	Measures a country's entrepreneurial environment, its business infrastructure, barriers to innovation, and labour market flexibility.	Legatum Institute	4.69%
	Economic freedom overall score	Measures individual freedoms to and protection of freedoms to work, produce, consume, and invest unconstrained by the state.	Heritage Foundation, Index of Economic Freedom	4.28%
	GDP per capita	GDP per capita	World Bank	4.07%
LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	Factionalised elites	Measures the fragmentation of ruling elites and state institutions along ethnic, class, clan, racial or religious lines.	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index	5.03%
	Perceptions of corruption score	Scores countries based on how corrupt the public sector is perceived to be.	Transparency International, Corruption Perceptions Index	5.38%
	Control of corruption	Captures perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption.	World Bank, World Governance Indicators	5.31%
HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL	Secondary school enrolment	The ratio of children of official school age who are enrolled in school to the population of the corresponding official school age.	World Bank	3.58%
	Global Innovation Index	The Global Innovation Index (GII) aims to capture the multi-dimensional facets of innovation and provide the tools that can assist in tailoring policies to promote long-term output growth, improved productivity, and job growth.	Cornell University	4.55%
	Youth Development Index overall score	The YDI measures the status of 15-29 year-olds in according to five key domains: Education, Health and Well-being, Employment, Civic Participation and Political Participation.	Commonwealth Secretariat	4.27%
FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	Freedom of the Press Index overall score	A composite measure of the degree of print, broadcast, and internet freedom.	Freedom House	4.27%
	Mobile phone subscription rate	Number of mobile phone subscriptions per 100 inhabitants.	ITU	2.13%
	World Press Freedom Index overall score	Ranks countries based on media pluralism and independence, respect for the safety and freedom of journalists, and the legislative, institutional and infrastructural environment in which the media operate.	Reporters Without Borders	3.72%
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS	Hostility to foreigners	Measures social attitudes toward foreigners and private property.	Economist Intelligence Unit	4.62%
	Number of visitors	Number of visitors as per cent of the domestic population.	Economist Intelligence Unit	2.34%
	Regional integration	Measures the extent of a nation's trade-based integration with other states.	Economist Intelligence Unit	4.20%
EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES	Inequality-adjusted life expectancy	The HDI life expectancy index adjusted for inequality scores countries based on both average life expectancy and the degree of inequality in life expectancy between groups.	UNDP, Human Development Index	3.79%
	Social mobility	Measures the potential for upward social mobility based on the degree to which either merit or social networks determine an individual's success.	Institutional Profiles Database	3.65%
	Poverty gap	The mean shortfall from the poverty line at \$2 per day PPP (counting the nonpoor as having zero shortfall), expressed as a % of the poverty line.	World Bank	2.27%
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	Empowerment Index	An additive index using indicators of freedom of movement, freedom of speech, workers' rights, political participation, and freedom of religion.	CIRI, Human Rights Dataset	3.31%
	Group grievance rating	Measures the extent and severity of grievances between groups in society, including religious, ethnic, sectarian and political discrimination and division.	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index	4.76%
	Gender inequality	The Gender Inequality Index (GII) reflects women's disadvantage in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market.	UNDP, Human Development Index	4.48%

DATA AVAILABILITY AND IMPUTATION METHODS

This methodology has been designed in line with other prominent global indicators, and substantial effort has been made to populate the index with the best existing country information. However, the major challenge to developing a harmonized peace index is in attempting to overcome the paucity of consistent and comprehensive data coverage across countries which vary significantly in terms of land mass, population, level of economic development and regional location. One of the major outputs of this process is a summary not only of the available data, but also of the data that cannot be currently sourced.

The issue of low availability for current or historical data has been a factor in a number of the methodological decisions made, from what indicators to include to how calculate the final scores. The smallest number of countries covered is the dataset for the poverty gap indicator, which includes 100 countries. All other datasets range from 106 countries to complete coverage of the 163 countries included in the index. However, there may still be cases where data points are missing for a particular country and year. There are many empirical and statistical techniques that can be employed to deal with these missing data issues when creating a composite index. Table B.2 lists these and how they are applied to the Positive Peace Index.

TABLE B.2 DATA IMPUTATION METHODS IN ORDER OF APPLICATION

IEP used a number of different imputation techniques in the construction of the PPI.

IMPUTATION METHOD	DESCRIPTION	APPLICATION IN THE PPI
TIME SERIES IMPUTATION	Replace missing values using linear interpolation.	When at least two data points exist in time for an indicator-country pair, linear interpolation is used to estimate data for unreported years.
COLD DECK IMPUTATION	Replacing the missing value with a value from another source.	When only one data point exists for an indicator-country pair, this data is used for all years.
HOT DECK IMPUTATION	Assign missing data the value of a “similar” data point.	<p>Where time series and cold deck imputations fail, indicator-country pairs are assigned averages of other countries in the same year in the following order of preference:</p> <p>Where time series and cold deck imputations fail, indicator-country pairs are assigned averages of other countries in the same year in the following order of preference:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The average of the country's region. 2. The average of other countries in the same income bracket as the country as defined by the World Bank. 3. The average of all other countries with the same government type as the country as defined by the Economist Intelligence Unit. 4. Assign the global average. <p>Only the most preferable of the four hot deck imputation techniques listed is used for any single missing data instance.</p>

APPENDIX C: POSITIVE PEACE INDEX RANKINGS

TABLE C.1 RESULTS OF THE 2017 POSITIVE PEACE INDEX

Sixteen of the top 20 countries in the PPI all score in the strongest quartile in each of the eight pillars globally. This shows the importance of all eight domains in achieving low levels of violence and fear of violence.

COUNTRY	RANK	PPI OVERALL SCORE	WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT	LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES	ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL	GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS
Sweden	1	1.26	1.14	1.11	1.46	1.07	1.28	1.41	1.23	1.43
Finland	2	1.27	1.18	1.01	1.39	1.2	1.45	1.35	1.44	1.25
Switzerland	2	1.27	1.08	1	1.2	1.27	1.7	1.45	1.28	1.38
Norway	4	1.29	1.12	1.01	1.43	1.08	1.66	1.45	1.57	1.09
Denmark	5	1.34	1.12	1.06	1.34	1.16	1.77	1.42	1.32	1.66
Ireland	5	1.34	1.28	1.37	1.37	1.32	1.39	1.67	1.32	1
Netherlands	7	1.38	1.29	1.33	1.41	1.32	1.66	1.41	1.39	1.27
New Zealand	8	1.43	1.26	1.01	1.1	1.21	1.83	1.62	1.47	2.14
Germany	9	1.44	1.37	1.26	1.38	1.19	1.87	1.66	1.34	1.55
Iceland	9	1.44	1.33	1.2	1.51	1.78	1.28	1.56	1.64	1.38
Austria	11	1.46	1.53	1.56	1.57	1.18	1.67	1.53	1.5	1
Canada	12	1.48	1.25	1.26	1.18	1.32	1.77	1.79	1.58	1.85
United Kingdom	12	1.48	1.26	1.41	1.22	1.34	2.2	1.87	1.18	1.47
Australia	14	1.49	1.31	1.18	1.17	1.15	1.65	1.75	1.56	2.38
Belgium	15	1.58	1.78	1.65	1.64	1.2	1.76	1.54	1.58	1.32
Singapore	16	1.67	1.47	1.43	1.02	1.26	1.99	2.92	1.84	1.75
United States	17	1.72	1.51	1.84	1.24	1.43	2.35	1.87	1.45	2.05
France	18	1.74	1.88	1.64	1.77	1.67	2.37	2.05	1.49	1
Japan	19	1.77	1.54	1.56	1.57	1.99	1.82	1.96	1.43	2.53
Portugal	20	1.83	1.93	2	2.38	1.98	1.5	1.76	1.72	1.28
Estonia	21	1.85	1.91	2.14	2.1	1.8	2.27	1.44	1.82	1
Slovenia	22	1.91	2.27	1.98	2.53	2.12	1.61	1.88	1.72	1

COUNTRY	RANK	PPI OVERALL SCORE	WELL-FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT	LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION	SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES	ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS	FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL	GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS
Spain	23	1.94	1.83	2.78	2.04	1.67	2.15	2.01	1.7	1
Czech Republic	24	1.99	1.99	2.69	2.22	1.92	1.98	1.65	1.9	1.2
Chile	25	2	1.91	1.75	2.34	1.52	2.25	2	2.11	2.06
Lithuania	26	2.05	2.09	2.27	2.45	1.89	2.12	1.75	2.22	1.33
Uruguay	26	2.05	2.2	1.71	2.44	1.65	2.01	1.65	2.63	1.99
Cyprus	28	2.08	2.13	2.89	2.1	1.47	2.33	1.9	1.94	1.38
Israel	29	2.09	1.78	2.77	1.68	1.09	3.34	2.12	1.7	1.93
Korea	29	2.09	1.96	2.53	1.88	1.94	1.76	2.13	1.44	3.07
Italy	31	2.11	2.26	3	2.19	2.03	1.86	1.96	1.89	1.26
Poland	32	2.12	2.57	2.31	2.6	1.6	1.99	1.71	2.24	1.53
Costa Rica	33	2.16	2.41	2.35	2.65	1.56	2.41	1.48	2.2	1.83
Latvia	34	2.18	2.09	2.55	2.46	2.18	2.78	1.93	1.96	1.27
Mauritius	35	2.2	1.79	2.45	2.54	2.16	2.37	1.98	2.52	1.65
Slovakia	35	2.2	2.56	2.75	2.55	1.89	2.46	1.73	2.17	1
United Arab Emirates	37	2.29	2.27	2	1.61	2.39	2.82	2.82	2.78	1.75
Hungary	38	2.3	2.4	2.98	2.74	2.3	2.31	2.27	1.98	1.03
Qatar	39	2.32	2.28	2.35	1.67	2.23	3.49	2.75	2.35	1.38
Greece	40	2.37	2.62	2.94	2.81	1.45	2.27	2.52	2.25	1.66
Croatia	41	2.43	2.65	2.8	3.1	1.98	2.32	2.38	2.21	1.66
Taiwan	42	2.46	2.06	2.15	2.79	2.17	2.43	1.93	3.29	2.89
Botswana	43	2.51	2.22	2.19	2.95	3.2	2.89	2.09	3.21	1.42
Bulgaria	44	2.56	2.95	3.28	3.04	2.29	2.42	2.3	2.31	1.4
Jamaica	44	2.56	2.68	3.1	2.84	2.66	2.35	1.66	2.73	2.07
Malaysia	46	2.57	2.3	3.11	2.38	2.3	3.12	2.91	2.34	1.94
Romania	47	2.62	2.94	3.05	2.79	2.68	3.02	2.24	2.29	1.56
Panama	48	2.65	2.92	2.95	2.48	2.68	2.82	2.19	2.63	2.24
Trinidad and Tobago	49	2.71	2.95	3.53	2.58	2.86	2.28	1.8	2.92	2.33
Montenegro	50	2.72	3.01	3.29	3	2.25	2.94	2.22	2.52	2.04
Oman	51	2.74	2.89	3.2	2.58	2.77	2.65	2.85	2.6	2.22
Bahrain	52	2.75	2.75	3.32	2.09	2.27	3.41	3.33	2.29	2.41
Albania	53	2.79	3.08	3.5	3.15	2.49	2.4	2.59	2.55	2.16
Kuwait	53	2.79	3.07	3.56	2.3	2.77	2.88	2.38	2.52	2.46
Namibia	55	2.81	2.74	2.72	3.3	3.32	2.89	1.99	3.62	1.81
Argentina	56	2.84	2.97	3.12	3.39	2.23	2.46	2.32	2.75	3.16
Macedonia	57	2.88	3.09	3.58	2.93	2.48	2.56	2.92	2.4	2.73
Serbia	57	2.88	2.97	3.62	3.33	2.51	3.28	2.34	2.36	2.12

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South Africa	59	2.9	2.88	3.14	3	3.03	2.97	1.94	2.98	3.12
Georgia	61	2.91	2.76	3.15	3	2.56	3.63	2.44	2.56	2.94
El Salvador	62	2.92	3.24	3.28	3.1	2.62	2.83	2.06	3.1	2.72
Ghana	63	2.93	2.82	3.13	3.4	3.27	2.86	1.9	3.3	2.56
Tunisia	64	2.97	2.73	3.56	3.47	2.44	3.13	2.63	3.02	2.44
Brazil	65	2.98	3.29	3.29	3.28	2.55	2.75	2.46	2.66	3.23
Saudi Arabia	66	2.99	3.12	3.45	2.47	2.62	3.71	3.35	2.36	2.67
Colombia	67	3	3.18	3.68	2.74	2.85	3.16	2.74	2.46	2.84
Bhutan	68	3.02	2.78	2.63	3.51	2.83	3.63	2.82	3.01	2.97
Dominican Republic	68	3.02	3.03	3.78	3.3	3.14	3.31	2.48	2.83	1.87
Peru	68	3.02	3.33	3.73	2.94	2.53	3.18	2.5	2.66	2.8
Mongolia	71	3.03	3.23	3.42	3.39	3.1	2.29	2.33	2.55	3.69
Jordan	72	3.05	2.88	3.15	3.3	2.77	3.94	2.69	2.89	2.56
Morocco	72	3.05	2.92	3.52	3.39	2.49	3.6	2.92	3.18	1.98
Bosnia and Herzegovina	74	3.06	3.34	3.82	3.4	2.27	2.93	2.59	2.76	2.78
China	74	3.06	2.76	3.55	3.26	2.47	3.56	3.96	2.28	2.56
Kazakhstan	76	3.1	3.21	4.01	2.86	3.23	3.38	3.35	2.43	2.01
Thailand	76	3.1	2.9	4.06	3.1	2.26	3.45	2.99	2.62	2.96
Armenia	78	3.11	3.52	3.74	3.24	2.83	2.94	2.76	2.75	2.7
Guyana	78	3.11	3.34	3.56	3.64	3.02	3.19	2.44	2.86	2.41
Turkey	80	3.13	2.82	3.53	3.06	2.4	3.6	3.24	2.38	3.88
Belarus	81	3.14	3.18	3.75	3.58	2.07	3.14	3.53	2.59	2.87
Ukraine	82	3.17	3.39	4.15	3.79	2.43	2.86	2.56	2.65	2.85
Moldova	83	3.18	3.4	4.14	3.48	2.53	3.06	2.61	2.72	2.88
Sri Lanka	83	3.18	2.65	3.9	3.34	2.63	3.75	3.24	2.5	3.21
Viet Nam	85	3.22	2.74	3.72	3.57	2.76	3.42	3.74	2.53	3.19
Senegal	86	3.24	3.06	3.26	3.65	3.38	3.32	2.53	4.01	2.53
Indonesia	87	3.25	2.98	3.65	3.36	3.22	3.67	2.55	3.14	3.23
Philippines	87	3.25	3.15	3.83	3.22	2.88	3.31	2.61	2.88	3.88
Rwanda	89	3.27	3.06	3.08	3.16	3.65	3.79	3.67	3.77	2.16
India	90	3.28	2.86	3.61	3.56	3.55	3.85	2.67	3.08	2.96
Guatemala	91	3.29	3.61	3.9	3.17	2.82	3.41	2.79	3.37	2.81
Ecuador	92	3.3	3.54	4.02	3.6	2.49	3.25	3.01	2.78	3.19
Azerbaijan	93	3.31	3.44	4.06	3.27	2.96	3.31	3.62	2.72	2.8
Kyrgyz Republic	93	3.31	3.58	4.21	3.51	3.07	3.5	2.79	2.8	2.46
Nicaragua	93	3.31	3.35	4.05	3.51	2.86	3.4	2.57	3.54	2.72

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Honduras	96	3.32	3.63	3.81	3.43	3.1	3.13	3.04	3.3	2.8
Paraguay	96	3.32	3.59	4.09	3.36	2.8	2.83	2.75	3.02	3.68
Swaziland	96	3.32	3.13	3.46	3.43	4.09	3.07	3.57	3.84	2.07
Lesotho	99	3.34	3.14	3.47	3.9	4.19	2.79	2.55	3.93	2.71
Benin	100	3.36	3.26	3.73	3.72	4.05	2.98	2.42	3.96	2.57
Gabon	100	3.36	3.37	3.79	3.41	3.58	2.83	2.68	4.16	2.78
Burkina Faso	102	3.37	3.23	3.67	3.69	4.01	3	2.43	4.15	2.58
Cuba	102	3.37	3.27	3.26	4.2	2.09	3.21	4.29	3.14	3.44
Zambia	104	3.4	2.93	3.43	3.37	3.59	3.36	2.93	4.42	3.21
Bolivia	105	3.42	3.75	4	3.93	2.8	2.97	2.63	2.95	3.86
Cote d'Ivoire	105	3.42	3.28	4.04	3.55	3.16	4.04	2.55	4.03	2.21
Russia	107	3.45	3.66	4.12	3.28	2.96	3.8	3.14	2.5	3.75
Tanzania	107	3.45	3.2	3.71	3.66	4.05	3.31	2.76	4	2.86
Lebanon	109	3.46	3.47	4.32	3.27	2.8	3.65	2.77	2.88	4.11
Malawi	109	3.46	3.09	3.99	3.96	4.23	3.11	2.75	3.88	2.56
The Gambia	111	3.47	3.46	3.97	3.79	3.73	3.04	3.37	3.66	2.52
Timor-Leste	112	3.48	3.38	3.97	4.12	3.62	3.18	2.22	3.66	3.31
Uganda	113	3.49	3.04	4.39	3.57	3.77	3.86	3	3.83	2.19
Egypt	114	3.53	3.57	4.01	3.54	2.82	4.27	3.38	3.13	3.17
Algeria	115	3.54	3.2	3.81	3.88	2.95	3.76	2.89	3.44	4.19
Cambodia	116	3.57	3.49	4.38	3.51	3.18	3.34	2.97	3.64	3.71
Kenya	116	3.57	3.12	4.35	3.4	4.01	4.14	2.84	3.26	3.23
Madagascar	118	3.58	3.5	4.1	3.81	4.04	3.37	2.99	4.04	2.59
Nepal	118	3.58	3.43	4.04	3.83	3.34	3.77	2.78	3.28	3.9
Mali	120	3.59	3.3	3.57	3.8	4.38	3.6	2.26	4.1	3.74
Papua New Guinea	120	3.59	3.36	4.05	3.82	3.81	3.32	2.34	3.94	3.9
Tajikistan	120	3.59	3.36	4.3	3.82	3.53	3.48	3.3	2.8	3.99
Palestine	123	3.6	3.41	4.15	3.92	2.4	3.69	3.85	3.48	3.54
Kosovo	124	3.61	3.25	3.67	3.89	3.93	3.3	2.76	4.44	3.62
Liberia	124	3.61	3.68	3.9	3.83	3.98	3.32	2.84	4.23	2.92
Bangladesh	126	3.62	3.52	4.4	3.82	3.23	3.85	3.07	3.69	2.92
Ethiopia	127	3.64	3.22	3.88	3.99	3.43	4.13	3.63	3.79	2.96
Laos	127	3.64	3.37	4.12	3.78	3.47	3.85	4.05	3.41	2.97
Sierra Leone	129	3.65	3.46	4.03	3.93	4.35	3.58	2.67	4.41	2.58
Mozambique	130	3.66	3.39	3.97	3.89	4.38	3.55	2.62	4.19	3.2
Togo	130	3.66	3.6	3.94	3.92	3.96	3.41	2.92	4.13	3.22

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Venezuela	132	3.67	4.1	4.55	4.1	2.18	3.46	3.27	3.1	3.89
Haiti	133	3.72	4.17	4.66	3.89	3.41	3.54	2.68	4.12	2.57
Uzbekistan	133	3.72	3.53	4.5	4.01	3.35	3.92	4.02	2.6	3.58
Djibouti	135	3.73	3.46	3.88	4.02	3.74	3.72	3.95	4.45	2.53
Myanmar	136	3.74	3.46	4.23	3.95	3.17	4.34	3.31	3.64	3.56
Iran	137	3.79	3.64	4.24	3.85	2.44	4.32	4	2.9	4.62
Burundi	138	3.82	3.69	4.47	4.03	4.52	3.58	3.56	4.12	2.37
Libya	139	3.84	3.95	4.9	4.34	2.71	3.55	2.96	3.32	4.29
Republic of the Congo	140	3.85	3.83	4.24	4.1	4.01	3.46	2.71	4.53	3.58
Niger	141	3.86	3.46	4.01	3.96	3.81	3.94	2.8	4.5	4.24
Nigeria	141	3.86	3.61	4.48	3.48	4.36	4.38	2.76	3.7	3.91
Cameroon	143	3.9	3.52	4.43	3.76	3.96	4.12	3.13	3.91	4.26
Mauritania	144	3.91	3.85	4.28	4	3.72	3.95	2.61	4.55	4.01
Pakistan	145	3.92	3.83	4.14	3.76	3.28	4.35	3.32	3.87	4.62
Guinea-Bissau	146	3.96	4.19	4.81	4	4.31	3.11	2.92	4.68	3.24
Angola	147	4	3.73	4.41	4.11	4.33	4.11	3.26	4.25	3.6
Guinea	147	4	3.8	4.46	3.94	4.34	4.13	2.96	4.19	3.96
Turkmenistan	149	4.04	3.7	4.37	4.12	3.6	3.97	4	3.84	4.67
Zimbabwe	149	4.04	3.67	4.66	4.35	3.6	4.11	3.25	3.9	4.52
Syria	151	4.12	4.04	4.91	3.84	2.48	4.54	4.2	4	4.45
Equatorial Guinea	152	4.16	3.96	4.64	3.62	4.2	3.75	4.08	4.7	4.29
Sudan	152	4.16	3.81	4.91	4.14	3.3	4.43	4	4.07	4.28
Democratic Republic of the Congo	154	4.17	4.08	4.67	4.26	4.51	4.57	3.55	4.5	2.97
Chad	155	4.19	4	4.71	4.24	4.45	3.99	3.47	4.77	3.62
South Sudan	156	4.2	4.31	4.95	3.99	3.92	4.02	3.17	4.4	4.41
Afghanistan	157	4.21	4.3	4.65	4.02	4.04	4.38	3.1	4.2	4.62
Iraq	158	4.22	3.94	4.77	4.45	3.49	4.4	3.25	4.12	4.98
North Korea	159	4.23	4.53	4.62	4.66	3.11	3.91	4.64	3.4	4.67
Eritrea	160	4.25	3.63	4.52	4.58	3.43	4.06	4.65	4.49	4.66
Yemen	161	4.28	3.88	4.82	4.12	3.51	4.74	3.91	4.09	4.97
Central African Republic	162	4.39	4.48	4.74	4.32	4.25	4.4	3.01	4.97	4.61
Somalia	163	4.62	4.96	4.96	4.76	4.26	4.44	3.99	4.26	5

ENDNOTES

SECTION 1 POSITIVE PEACE INDEX, RESULTS & TRENDS

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