

## The instability of the European Union? A quantitative approach

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### Abstract

*2012 was the year when the European Union (EU) has received the Nobel Peace Prize, an honored and prestigious distinction. The aim of this article is not to analyze the reason which led the Norwegian Parliament to award it, but its possible influence on the future evolution of the EU. This statement is understood as the starting point of our hypothesis that the EU has developed at such a level that nothing could undermine it. Our research consists in confirming this hypothesis from a quantitative approach that will measure the twenty-seven EU member-states, from 2007 until 2012, and their representation according to six variables (indices). Peace represents the dependent variable, while global partnership, human development, rule of law, civil rights, and democracy play the role of independent variables. Because the fact that determined us to write this paper was the Nobel Prize distinction awarded to the EU, the main point of our research is peace and its correlation with the other five elements. The results prove that the most relevant connection is found between peace and human development, even though the other ones are not to be neglected either. The interpretation of the results therefore focuses on peace and human development, democracy and civil rights from a theoretical point of view. In the end, peace in the EU is the result of twenty-seven members' efforts and its efficiency is real only to those states that are under its umbrella.*

**Keywords:** European Union, Nobel Peace Prize, peace, human development, democracy

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## 1. Introduction

In this article, we will demonstrate that the European Union has reached such a level of development that nothing – good or bad – could undermine it. This hypothesis represents the gathering of two other hypotheses: 1. The fact that the European Union has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize should not determine it to become more peaceful; 2. The European Union has reached such an optimum level of development that recent tensions or violent events in the European countries (contestations and protests in Greece, Spain, Hungary, Romania and so on) cannot affect its stability. In 2012, the EU received the Nobel Peace Prize, the reason being that “for over six decades [it] contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe” (Nobel Peace Prize, 2013a). We shall deal with the elements mentioned above and will transform them into the variables necessary for testing our hypothesis. Differently put, the Nobel Prize Committee’s motivation offered the main guidelines for our research. By this, we will test our hypothesis on four analytical directions: peace, democratic stability, respect for human rights, and European Union as an agent of reconciliation for its member-states.

Our analysis will focus on the period between 2007 (the year of the last wave of integration) and 2012; in addition, we will take into consideration the twenty-seven member-states. In fact, there is no coincidence between the member-states number and the temporal dimension of our research. We believe that the data collected for this research are relevant only when referring to the EU as it is now, more complex than ever. The four analytical directions will find their expression through six variables, namely: the global partnership index, human rights index, global peace index, rule of law index, democracy index, and the human development index. These indices are realized by renowned organizations and think-tanks, convincing reasons to give the necessary credit and to fructify their efforts.

## 2. A very short history of the Nobel Peace Prize

The first Nobel Peace Prize was offered in 1901 to two men, both engaged in the peace and humanitarian fields: Henry Dunant, the originator of the Geneva Convention and the founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross and Frédéric Passy, founder of French Peace Society. The Nobel Peace Prize was awarded in 2012 to the European Union. By analysing the history of this prize and its laureates, we discovered certain interesting facts concerning the evolution of international relations and the major figures implicated in these processes of activism for pacification and awards (Nobel Peace Prize, 2013a).

Since 1901 until nowadays, the prize has been offered every year, with several exceptions: during World War I, World War II, Suez War and Israel-Palestinian War (1966-1967). The majority of the laureates are from the North Atlantic area and only

thirty-one individuals are from outside it. Since 1973, in the middle of the Cold War, the Norwegian Parliament that decides upon the winners has opened its eyes toward other continents and territories, aside from the European ones and those culturally linked to it. Since 2000, there have been twelve laureates (individuals and institutions) outside Europe or North America who received the prize on their own or shared it with others. The Nobel Peace Prize enjoys such a prestige that laureates usually accept it. Its history has faced only one exception in 1973, when Le Duc Tho, president of North Vietnam, declined it. The award was supposed to be shared between him as a negotiator for North Vietnam and Kissinger, as a negotiator for the United States which controlled South Vietnam. Even if the award recognized the efforts of both sides to set up an armistice, Le Duc Tho refused to share it with his opponent (Nobel Peace Prize, 2013b).

Since its beginnings, the Nobel Peace Prize celebrated individuals and institutions which contributed to the peace movements or helped diminish the negative effects of war and alleviate human suffering (Nobel Peace Prize, 2013c). It nourished the pride of some and prejudiced the self-esteem of others. As every notorious annual event, this award is surrounded by criticism and controversies. The most relevant criticism refers to the neglect of Nobel's will when deciding the laureate. As Heffermehl, one of the severe critics, points out, "Nobel expressed his idea of the greatest benefits for mankind in the different fields he wished his prizes to cover with the words invention and improvement for the science prizes and in idealistic direction for the literature prize. In the area of peace, Nobel makes use of three expressions: brotherhood among nations, abolition or reduction of military forces (...), and promoting peace congresses" (Heffermehl, 2010, p. 20).

The recent laureates rose criticism regarding the motivation for their winning and Nobel's last will. Heffermehl gives the example of Al Gore and IPCC (laureates in 2007) who, according to Nobel's intentions, had nothing to do with the peace movement. He adds that Nobel "chose the words 'and' and 'plus', writing, 'worked the most and best for (A, confraternization) and (B, disarmament) plus (C, peace congresses)" (Heffermehl, 2010, p. 24). By taking this into account and putting it next to Gore and IPCC's activity, we see that they do not fully meet the exigencies imposed by the initiator himself.

The "champion of peace" (the name he gave to the laureate of this prize) would deserve it on behalf of peace, for his "*determined work in certain ways and certain fields to end war*" (Heffermehl, 2010, p. 39). For this reason, even though the efforts made in the humanitarian field or for the cause of certain human categories are worthy, they should not be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Their work is not directed to end a war, but to alleviate the negative effects of war. Regarding the situation in 2009, when US President Obama won the prize, he confesses that "As to the accusations of Obama not having achieved anything, I tend to disagree. Obama has done more than words, for example, by dropping

the antiballistic system in East Europe. In addition, words are deeds in international affairs. In the diplomatic discourse, fine nuances send subtle signals that are watched and interpreted with the utmost care” (Heffermehl, 2010, p. 145). In other words, he deserved the award.

While checking the list of all Nobel Prize laureates (2013b), we realized a fact relevant for our research. Taking into account the motivation for receiving the prize and the historical moment when it happened, the list of numerous winners can be divided in two main groups: the retroactive and the proactive ones. By ‘retroactive’ we mean those laureates awarded for their past career and by ‘proactive’ we mean those who should have been determined after receiving the Nobel to continue on that path.

From a formal point of view, all prize awards seem retroactive, but, at a closer look, they are not. In the history of Nobel Peace Prizes (ninety-three), we found only thirty-nine proactive awards. Usually, the ones which receive them are presidents, negotiators in recently-signed peace treaties or governmental organizations: for instance, in 1971, W. Brandt when he had just begun his exchanges with East Germany, in 1987, O. Sanchez from Costa Rica when he had just set up the Esquipulas Peace Agreement, in 1989, M. Gorbachev when he had initiated Perestroika and Glasnost, in 2009, to Obama in order to encourage him to make more efforts against wars initiated by G. W. Bush and so on. The last proactive award was given in 2012 to the EU; it would otherwise be difficult to understand why then and not two years earlier or later. In the context of the political crises in its member-states caused by the economic cuts in Greece, Portugal, Spain, Romania, Hungary, and so on, we think that the EU might need some encouragement. At least, in this manner, the decision could be explained. In the chain of proactive peace prizes, the explanation for the EU award seems reasonable. Does this supposition confirm from a statistical and probabilistic point of view? In other words, will the Nobel Peace Prize determine a positive change in the EU behavior? Will it become more peaceful?

### **3. Research methods**

In the context in which the EU obtained the Nobel Prize for Peace in 2012, this research is interested in discovering a relationship between the peace index and the relevant factors which determine peace, security and stability. At the normative level, this research aims to: i) identify a history of Nobel Peace Prizes and their impact in sustaining human security; ii) to correlate several variables for underlying the dynamics of Peace Index; iii) to propose a theoretical approach based on quantitative relations between research variables. The main question of research is: is it possible for the EU to be more developed and more peaceful? What are the main factors which generate peace and security in EU 27? Our work hypothesis is that the EU has already reached such a level of peace that nothing good or bad could undermine it.

On the empirical level of research we intend to test the statistical correlations between peace indicators and other relevant factors. Thus, the explicative or dependent variable of research is the EU Peace Index (EP). This variable is connected to five independent quasi-causal variables: i) Global Partnership (GP); ii) Human Development (HD); iii) Quality of Democracy (DEM); iv) Rule of Law (RL); v) Human Rights/ Civil Liberties (HR/ CL).

The research data is measured on an algebraic scale of R by several institutes of research. In this context, all data for EU Peace are measured through Global Peace Index (Vision of Humanity, 2013a) for EU 27 countries. Research data is measured on a scale between 1-5, where 1 represents the most peaceful countries and 5, the less peaceful countries. Global Partnership (Eurostat, 2013) is measured by Eurostat as a numerical value between 0-1, where 0 represents the absence of cooperation and 1 represents total cooperation and assistance in the EU countries. Human Development is measured through Human Development Index elaborated by United Nations Development Program (2013b). This index is measured on the 0-1 scale, where 0 represents the absence of human development and 1 a high level of human development. This indicator could be viewed as a composite statistical indicator between several social, economic, political and health variables. The Economist Democracy Index (Democracy Index, 2013) measures the quality of Democracy under 1-10, where 10 represents a high level of democracy. Rule of Law is a composite index created in the sphere of the World Justice Project (Rule of Law Index) for measuring the level of governmental intervention in the public and economic space. This index is measured on a scale between 0-1, where 1 is the best value from this statistical range. Human Rights and Civil Liberties are measured by Freedom House and The Economist Intelligent Unit (Vision of Humanity, 2013b) under a scale between 0-10.

Although our data of research have different measures, in order to create a homogenous measure, we have transformed all statistical values on a scale based on three levels: 1. minimum algebraic value  $[X_{\min}; X_{\text{mean}}]$ ; 2. Medium value based on arithmetic mean  $[X_{\text{mean}}]$ ; 3. Maximum Value based on the maximum number from the statistical range  $[X_{\text{mean}}; X_{\text{max}}]$ . This transformation was possible through a linear function between the index measures and our referential measure. If X represents the measures of all indices and  $[0-3]$  is the referential we can develop  $f: X \rightarrow [0; 3]$ , where

$$f(x) = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{if } x \in [X_{\min}; X_{\text{mean}}] \\ 2, & \text{if } x = \text{mean of range} \\ 3, & \text{if } x \in [X_{\text{mean}}; X_{\text{max}}] \end{cases}$$

The research design is based on longitudinal analyses between EU countries in a long-term series in the 2007-2012 period. We use this statistical temporal range because 2007 is the latest moment of EU integration and 2012 is

the year of obtaining the Nobel Peace Prize. This study is based on cross-national analyses in 27 countries in the EU. Our research design has several limits generated by the absence of quantitative data in Malta for the Global Peace Index, and for the different instruments of investigation used by research institutes.

This longitudinal case study intends to create a co-relational model for explaining the dynamics of peace measures in EU 27 in interaction with the independent variables. Starting from these premises, we introduce our research results based on the dynamics of peace and security.

## 4. Research results

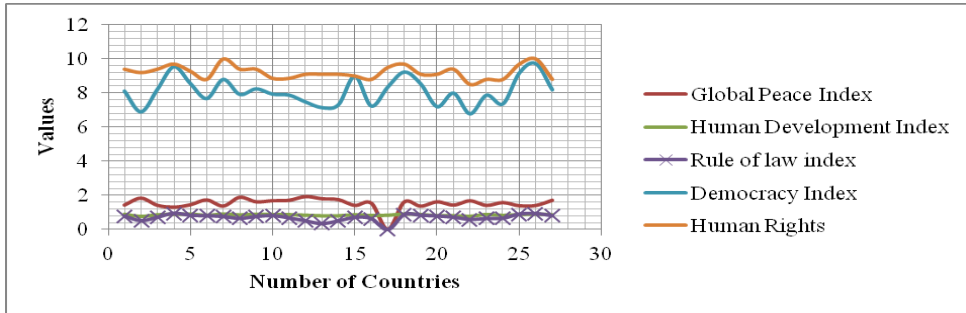
### 4.1. Descriptive statistics

The methodological guidelines and perspectives have generated a formal framework for explaining the evolution of peace and security in EU countries. At this level, we propose an analysis based on three directions: descriptive statistics, exploratory design and probabilistic determinations. Descriptive statistics will facilitate a kind of “radiography” of each variable of our phenomenon. The exploratory design is achieved through several equations which reflect the level of concordance between variables. In the third framework, the probabilistic design of research is used for understanding the future dynamics of peace in EU countries, both in a simple and conditional manner. The next matrix shows all the central tendency indicators for the research variables:

**Figure 1. Descriptive statistics by variables**

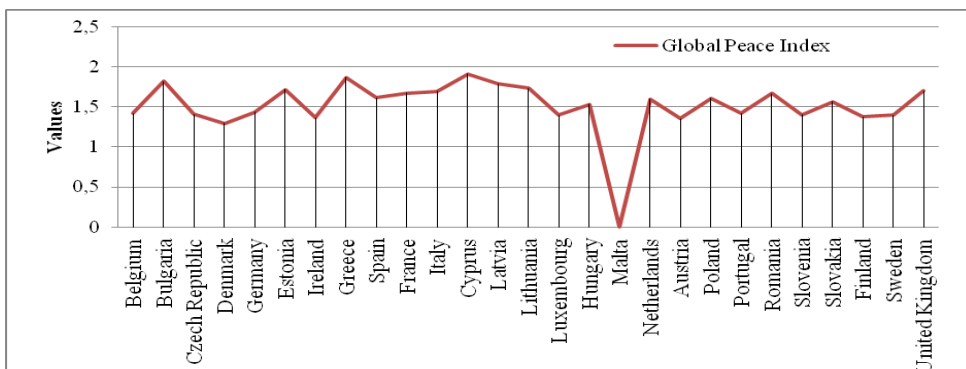
<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Global Partnership</i>	<i>Global Peace Index</i>	<i>Human Development Index</i>	<i>Rule of law</i>	<i>Democracy Index</i>	<i>Civil Liberties</i>
Mean	0.362923077	1.515038462	0.861310769	0.680384615	8.063692308	9.207692308
Standard Error	0.060142419	0.069871117	0.008216255	0.038791279	0.159254366	0.077420545
Median	0.226	1.583916667	0.8725	0.71	7.941	9.1
Standard Deviation	0.306667367	0.35627419	0.041894843	0.197797488	0.812041121	0.394768871
Sample Variance	0.094044874	0.126931298	0.001755178	0.039123846	0.659410782	0.155842462
Kurtosis	-0.251704447	13.45673159	-0.904392034	4.607120509	-0.658097428	-0.468812238
Skewness	0.97561003	-3.164369398	-0.413462478	1.753736361	0.356020119	0.432463823
Range	0.936	1.914166667	0.1406	0.93	2.938	1.5
Minimum	0.064	0	0.7774	0	6.76	8.5
Maximum	1	1.914166667	0.918	0.93	9.698	10

**Figure 2. Dynamics of variables in EU 27**



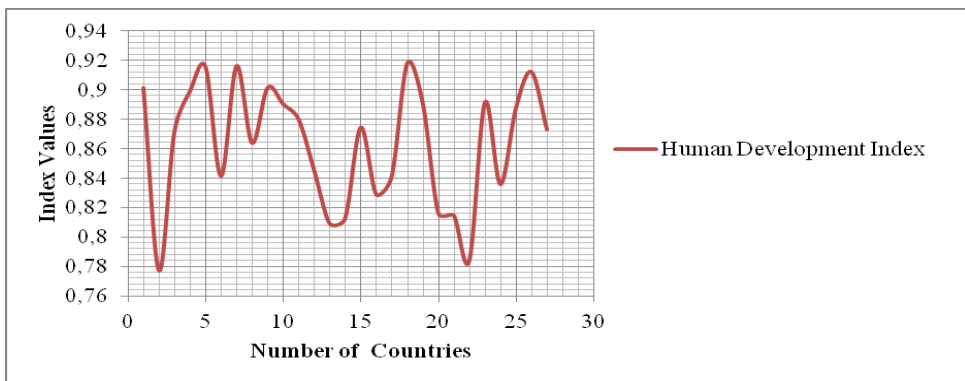
In figure 3, the dependent variable - Peace Index - has a mean rate around 1.51 with a standard deviation of 0.12. These values demonstrate a good position for EU countries both in managing conflicts and preserving peace in the EU sphere. The numerical dispersion of Global Peace Index for EU countries reflects a small rate of asymmetry based on the relation between mean and median ( $1.51 < 1.58$ ). From this point of view the most probable values for Peace Index are placed in [1.58; 1.93]. States like Bulgaria, Greece and Cyprus have a score around 1.8-1.9, which reflects a partial level of peace and security. All three countries could be integrated to a borderline model of security and peace. Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia have a score higher than 1.7 with several aspects of political and economic instability. In this context, the main characteristic of the Peace Index distribution is the geographical cleavage between Southern Europe (Bulgaria, Greece and Cyprus) and Northern Europe (Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia). This cleavage reflects two spheres of partial security generated by the political and historical heritage. Post-authoritarian practices from Bulgaria or ex-Soviet influence in Estonia or Latvia are relevant in explaining the dynamics of Peace Index. EU Peace index has to be associated with the level of human development, the quality of democracy, and the rule of law.

**Figure 3. Peace index in EU 27**



In figure 4, Human Development Index has a normal dispersion in EU countries with a mean = 0.86, and a standard deviation from the mean = 0.041. This variable has a very small rate of variability among EU 27. Its fluctuations are placed in [0.77; 0.92] with the lowest value in Bulgaria and Romania. Latvia and Lithuania have a medium level of Human Development with values between [0.82; 0.83]. It is necessary to reintroduce the geographical cleavage hypothesis for explaining the evolution of peace, security and development in the EU. Thus, our cleavage is between Western and Scandinavian countries (with a good level of Human Development Index) and Eastern or North-Eastern countries (with a low or median level of Human Development Index). This variable has a Gaussian normal distribution with the congruence between arithmetic mean and statistical median (0.861 and 0.87). This fact reflects, in addition to the Skewness coefficient (-0.41), a normal probabilistic distribution for Human Development Index. Thus, this variable could be a strong indicator for our approach and explanation.

**Figure 4. Human development index in EU 27**

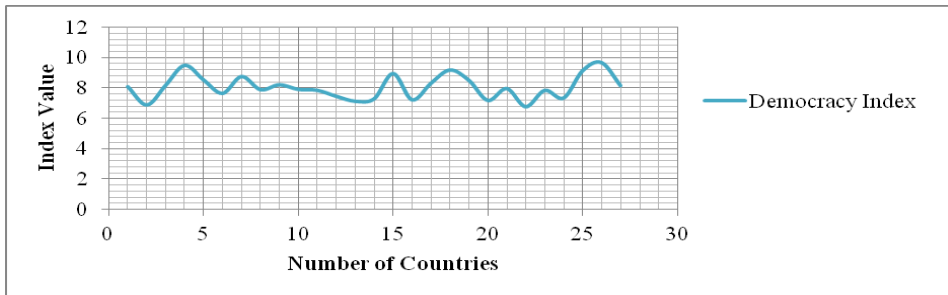


Beyond the Human Development Index, this research is focused on the relation between the quality of democracy and respect for civil liberties. The quality of democracy in EU countries could be an important measure of state integration and EU durability. Thus, the end of Cold War has generated a new political “wave” of democracies in Eastern Europe. All these fragile democracies have imported the political, social, and economic insecurity in the EU political system. From this point of view, we can identify a kind of pendulum between “flawed” democracies from Central and Eastern Europe and functional democracies from Western and Northern Europe. At the statistical level, we can identify a kind of borderline democracy, between a “flawed process” and a “functional process”, with the mean = 8.06 and the median = 7.94. Skewness coefficient (0.43) and the algebraic relation between the mean and the median

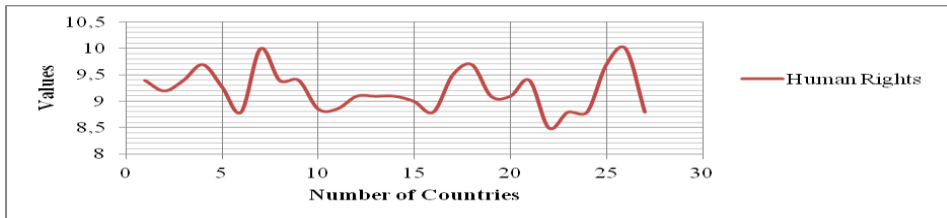


(8.06 > 7.94) confirm our methodological premise of borderline democracy in EU countries. Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania, and Hungary are the most representative examples for testing the methodological assumption. In association with Democracy Index, this research is focused on the respect for human rights and civil liberties. Starting from the central tendency indicators, the “human rights” one has a good mean value (9.20). All the indicators reflect a normal Gaussian distribution, with several exceptions in states like France, Great Britain, Portugal, and Estonia. Our explanation derives from their public policy in configuring social mechanisms for good governance and tolerance, and from their political strategies in recognition of minorities or other vulnerable groups.

**Figure 5. Democracy index in EU 27**



**Figure 6. Human rights index in EU 27**



## 4.2. Correlations and data explorations

On the second level of research, this kind of design is based on the statistical correlation between dependent and independent variables. In this context, our methodological approach follows several steps: i) identifying a general view under regression statistics and the calculus of linear correlations ( $R$ ) and the adjust  $R$  in  $R^2$ ; ii) creating a mathematical model for explaining the causal relationship between Peace Index for EU 27 and the main representative variables. The figure below (Figure 7) reveals all the statistical regressions and correlations between Peace Index and Global Partnership, Human Development, Rule of Law, Democratic Index and Civil Liberties:

**Figure 7. Regression statistics**

<i>Regression Statistics</i>					
	<i>Global Partnership</i>	<i>Human Development</i>	<i>Rule of Law</i>	<i>Democratic Index</i>	<i>Civil Liberties</i>
Multiple R	0.085539892	0.706351284	0.378501101	0.68060817	0.392672985
R Square	0.007317073	0.498932137	0.143263083	0.463227481	0.154192073
Adjusted R Square	-0.032390244	0.478889422	0.108993606	0.441756581	0.120359756
Standard Error	0.776506898	0.551681368	0.721379477	0.570998778	0.716763559
Observations	27	27	27	27	27

In this table, the main explicative variables for the dynamics of Peace Index are Human Development, Democratic Index, and Civil Liberties/ Human Rights. For all three variables the mechanical correlation is a medium-high positive association with R (Peace Index- Human Development) = 0.705, R (Peace Index- Democratic Index) = 0.68 and R (Peace Index- Civil Liberties) = 0.39. All these statistical correlations have to be adjusted by the R square for creating nonlinear and non-mechanical associations between variables. Although numerical values are placed in [0.15; 0.49], human development, democratic order and respect for civil liberties are the main explicative vectors for EU security and stability. In this meaning we agree to test this assumption through a mathematical model based on the linear regression. There are two kinds of explicative models: i) a model based only on a causal relationship between Peace Index and Human Development; ii) a mixed model based on the interaction, and interaction and intersection between human development, the quality of democracy, and the level of respect for human rights. All statistical results are synthesized below in figures 8, 9, 10 and 11:

**Figure 8. Model of regression statistics. Human development index**

Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		95% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations			
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero-order	Partial	Part
1	(Constant)	.534	.362		1.475	.153	-.211	1.279			
	Human Development Index	.728	.146	.706	4.989	.000	.427	1.028	.706	.706	.706

a. Dependent Variable: Peace Index

**Figure 9. Model of regression statistics. Human development index, Democratic index and Civil liberties**

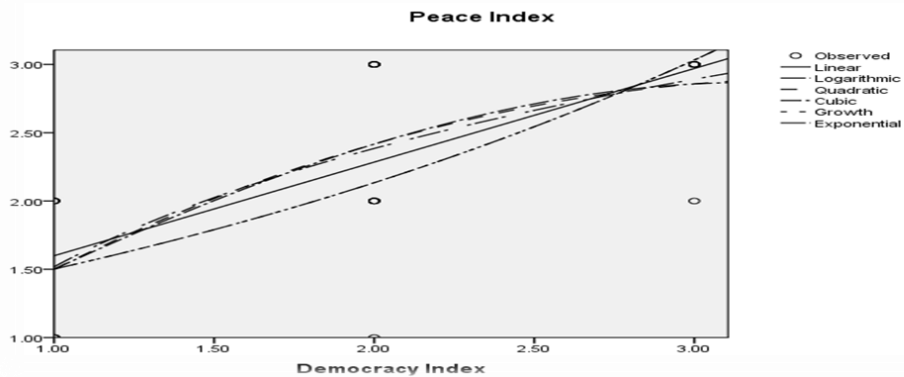
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		95% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations			
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero-order	Partial	Part
2	(Constant)	.642	.891		.720	.479	-1.211	2.495			
	Global Partnership	.086	.155	.088	.553	.586	-.237	.409	.086	.120	.079
	Rule of Law	-.210	.282	-.149	-.746	.464	-.796	.376	.379	-.161	-.107
	Democracy Index	.343	.293	.340	1.169	.256	-.267	.953	.681	.247	.168
	Human Development Index	.546	.277	.530	1.973	.062	-.030	1.122	.706	.395	.283
	Civil Liberties	.032	.286	.023	.110	.913	-.564	.627	.393	.024	.016

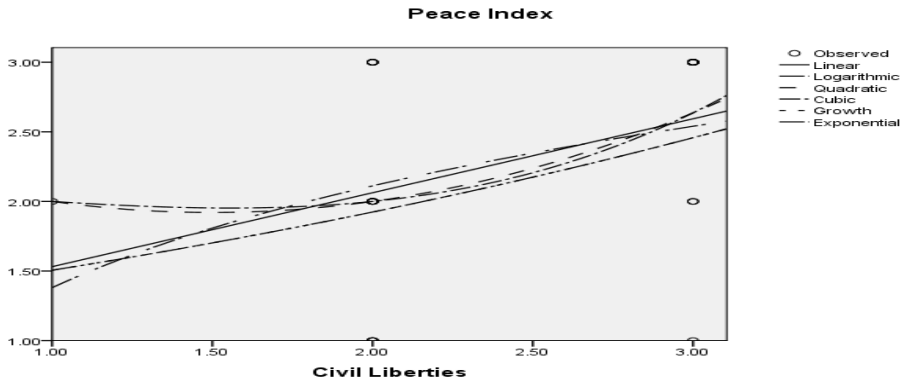
a. Dependent Variable: Peace Index

**Figure 10. Correlation graph for Human development and Peace index**



**Figure 11. Correlation graph for Democracy index and Peace index**



**Figure 12. Correlation graph for Civil liberties and Peace index**

To conclude, the probabilistic determination between all factors generates a comprehensive framework for understanding European security and peace. In a conjunctive manner, we can postulate the idea of security/ peace mechanisms associated only with civil liberties and human rights. In a disjunctive manner, we can identify a relation of partial independence between peace building and functional democracies. On the conditional level, we can enforce the main idea of this article that the level of security and peace in EU 27 depends on the high level of human development. All the confidence intervals confirm our assumptions that a good score of peace could be the result of interconnections between the level of human development and the respect for human rights and civil liberties.

## 5. Peace, human development and democracy

As our research reveals, the strongest relation is between peace and human development. If progress depends on the freedom of people and development is determined by the freedom of them as agents, then, development is not possible in the absence of freedom. “Freedom not only the primary ends of development, also among its principal means.” (Sen 2000, p. 11) The reason why Sen, a Nobel laureate in Economics, offers such important “tasks” to freedom is the fact that it expresses similar concerns with the need to provide a certain quality of life. Moreover, as he reveals, “the motivation underlying the approach of ‘development as freedom’ is not so much to put all states – or all alternative scenarios – in one ‘complete ordering’, but to draw attention to the important aspects of the process of development, each of which deserves attention”. (Sen, 2000, p. 33) Human development represents a cumulus of processes conditioned by the expression of freedom which should be described and understood in their dynamic behaviour and not in a static and causal manner.

The Human Development Index whose data have been used in this paper offers a clear understanding of the United Nations Development Program understanding of its meanings. When achieving this index, UNDP takes into account three major coordinates such as life expectancy, level of education, and income per individual. Moreover, this perspective on human development should be regarded as linked to what Sen wrote on this matter, since he contributed to its creation in the early '90s. Human development might seem to involve a dominant economic dimension because reducing poverty determines the decrease of inequalities. Confronted with the problem of inequalities, the developing countries would put into practice measures such as unbalanced growth (Hirschman, 1958), industrialization through large corporations (Galbraith, 2007), concern for poverty, population growth, implication of conflict, harmonization of national economy and global economy (Todaro and Smith, 2011).

Recent studies have proved that human development is a much larger and difficult target, impossible to reach by using only the economic instruments. If human development is to be understood from the capability approach (Alkire and Deneulin, 2010), then it should answer the question: "What are people actually able to do and to be? What real opportunities are available to them?" (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 10). At least ten capabilities are absolutely necessary: the possibility to live a life without being forced to renounce at it at a young age or under pressure, good health and integer body (against all kinds of violence), the ability to use senses, thought and imagination and to have emotions, the possibility to formulate and express evaluative and critical conceptions on the world, the existence of social grounds of mutual respect to ensure life with others and toward them, the possibility to share living with other beings from the natural environment, the creation of those circumstances favourable to playing or laughing and the possibility to enjoy political and material control through political participation and the right to possess properties (Nussbaum, 2011, pp. 33-34).

Peace represents a *sine qua non* condition for human development, since conflict impedes it. The consequences of war do not only refer to economic aspects, but also to the basic features which ensure the quality of life. Misery, disease, migration camps, the use of arms and the impossibility to control their circulation, the suspension of norms are practically hostile to life and living. No matter the type of war and its location (Middle East, Africa or Balkans), it mostly affects children (Sagi-Schwartz, 2012, Chamarbagwala and Moran, 2011) – the adults of the future who will have the task to rebuild a destroyed society. The manner in which peace and war affect human development is to be observed in the UNDP report (2013a). Countries which have not recently faced conflicts on their territories have the highest rankings, while the lowest ones characterize the states where war has recently manifested.

The theoretical implications of using human development as a pivotal concept guide us through its liaisons with democracy and human rights. In other words, we sustain that it is impossible to separate human development and democracy or human rights. According to the results of our research, the latest variables are not as severely connected to peace as human development is, but their relation is nevertheless undeniable.

The mutual influence between peace and democracy is most suitably revealed under the umbrella of the democratic peace theory according to which democratic states wage war much less than authoritarian ones. Conceived at the beginning of the '80s, the researches on democratic peace were developed in the context of the liberal theory of international relations promoting cooperation between states, respect for human rights and the international interest in putting an end to the Cold War. One of the first authors concerned with a possible and desirable relation between peace and democracy was Doyle. By analysing the states from 1850 until 1978, he discovered that liberal regimes were involved in many conflicts with the non-liberal ones, but avoided war with the similar ones (Doyle 1983). Later, Rummel statistically confirmed what Doyle revealed (Rummel 1995). His research of impressive proportions covers the 20<sup>th</sup> century (from 1900 until 1987) and all the conflicts in the world.

However, scholars avoid picturing democratic states as a block of nonviolence. In this respect, there is a significant difference between monadic peace (when democracies never declare or make war) and dyadic peace (when democracies do not fight against democracies, but keep fighting with non-democracies). Usually, the studies on democratic peace assume the dyadic perspective because the monadic one cannot be statistically confirmed. (Quackenbush & Rudy 2009) The explanation to this peculiar situation consists in the fact that it is possible to describe, from a historical perspective, the intentions of democratic states, but no one can anticipate their reactions as matter of principle.

Democracy is the political regime able to guarantee human rights. Even if in our research the strongest liaisons manifest between peace and human development, peace and democracy, the third one (peace-human rights) is not to be neglected. Our results do not prove a significant correlation, but it would be unfair to treat democracy in the absence of human rights. The undeniable link between peace and human rights is suitably reflected regarding the human implications at the individual level. "In this respect, peace cannot be achieved without human rights being protected and achieved, and human rights cannot be achieved in the absence of peace. Peace without human rights would be weak and flawed. People cannot be said to be living in peace if human rights are violated, as the structural and institutional violence inherent in human rights abuse is the antithesis of peace [...]. Similarly, human rights cannot be achieved in the absence of peace; war is itself an abuse against human rights both for the

military personnel involved and for civilians, and it also creates other human rights abuses, from censorship and denial of civil liberties, to torture, rape and summary executions” (Ife, 2007, p. 160).

As part of human rights, the civil ones are usually the most sensitive with respect to peace and war. When restoring the post-conflict social justice, civil rights and peace represent the mandatory tasks in a recovering territory (Mohl, 2010). Civil rights – the freedom of persons, speech, thought, belief, the right to property and to set up valid contracts (Marshall, 1997) – are thus interconnected to peace. Their guarantee is annulled in times of conflict, but it is not confirmed in times of peace and, sometimes, it seems easier to ensure peace than civil rights in the absence of hostilities. This should be the key for interpreting the fact that according to our results, peace does not determine the strengthening of civil rights.

From a normative point of view, it is difficult to underline the necessary liaisons between peace, human development, democracy and civil rights. Perhaps this constitutes the reason why studies on these matters usually focus on the implications of war on the latter aspects. Differently put, scholars usually treat these matters in a dialectic manner. Therefore, if war undermines democracy, human development and/or human rights, then the opposite should work as well.

## **6. Conclusions**

The quantitative result of this research emphasizes the human development mechanism for peace building in the EU community. In this sense, peace and security are relevant variables and factors for EU stability. This assumption is based only on the intersection and collaboration between a democratic theory of peace, a human security perspective and an integrated model, the respect for human rights. The first assumption, which we can derive from our approach, is centred on the geographical cleavage between North-West, West and countries from Southern Europe and Northeastern Europe. This cleavage reflects a EU community characterized by a complex of security in developed countries, and the insecurity area and risk are generated by systems like Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus or Baltic countries. Beyond this minimal insecurity risk, we have to underline a stable peace mechanism, with a very low variation rate in 2007-2012. The second purpose/ aim of this research is to create a theoretical model for peace building, based on the quality of social life, the quality of democracy and development. In this context, we must focus on borderline democracies and the political strategies for the augmentation of the security complex. In the third assumption, this research presents the „leverage” effect of human development and democracy in maintaining a transnational framework for security and peace. All these assertions demonstrate our working

hypothesis and paint a new framework of analyses based on the mix strategy between development and democratic theory of peace.

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