

# Global Peace in 2024: Analyzing Positive Peace and the Factors Undermining Stability

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Gina Bou Serhal

Understanding the state of international affairs at any point in history is inherently linked to the level of global peacefulness. There are currently 56 active conflicts worldwide involving at least one state, the highest number since the end of World War II.<sup>1</sup> Over the past five years, global peace and stability have steadily deteriorated with the conflicts in Gaza and Ukraine being major contributors to this decline.<sup>2</sup> It is important to consider whether peace is a relative concept and how individual cultures and states with varying forms of government interpret the meaning of peace and implement conflict resolution in distinct ways.

The Democratic Peace Theory states that democratic states are less likely to go to war with one another – as compared to other forms of government.<sup>3</sup> Democratic nations typically prioritize an inclusive, negotiated peace process where values such as human rights and democracy are upheld, ensuring that all stakeholders have a voice and that the resolution is fair and just. Democracies are built on core values that foster peaceful conflict resolution: political equality and representation, respect for the rule of law, accountability and transparency, and free and fair elections. By upholding these principles, democracies foster an environment that not only promotes peace, but actively deters aggression, terrorism, and crime.<sup>4</sup>

In his 1795 book *Perpetual Peace*, German philosopher Immanuel Kant argued that requiring citizen consent for war declarations would make governments more cautious and restrained in declaring war. His reasoning was straightforward: citizens bear the brunt of war's dangers, so they'd likely be more hesitant to embark on such a perilous

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<sup>1</sup> Institute for Economics & Peace. (2024). *Global Peace Index 2024: Measuring peace in a complex world*. <https://www.economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/GPI-2024-web.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Doyle, M. W. (2024). *Why they don't fight: The democratic peace theory*. *Foreign Affairs*. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/world/why-they-dont-fight-doyle>

<sup>4</sup> U.S. Department of State. (n.d.). *Human rights and democracy*. U.S. Department of State. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/policy-issues/human-rights-and-democracy/>

undertaking compared to leaders who wouldn't face the consequences directly.<sup>5</sup>In contrast, authoritarian states consistently prioritize stability and development over inclusive processes and individual rights. The conflict management style of these regimes often promotes illiberal, repressive, and violent methods intended to restore peace, effectively turning them into mechanisms for conflict resolution.<sup>6</sup>

The escalating divisions between today's superpowers—primarily the United States, Russia, and China—are reshaping the global order in profound ways. Unlike the rigid alignments of the Cold War era, we are witnessing the emergence of a new class of middle powers that are more neutral and less bound by traditional alliances. The growing neutrality of middle powers has also contributed to the perpetuation of protracted conflicts - such as those in Gaza and Ukraine, as these nations often opt for non-intervention or limited engagement. This shift is challenging the existing world order, as these rising powers assert greater independence and influence on the global stage. The result is a pivot towards a multipolar era, where power is more distributed and global dynamics are increasingly complex, exposed to intensified competition and unpredictable, prolonged conflicts.

## The 2024 Global Peace Index

Measuring peace is critical for states to evaluate whether actions and policies are promoting or obstructing peace efforts. Understanding the implications of peace for humanity, the economy, and also the planet, is crucial for this assessment as well. In order to measure global peacefulness, it is necessary to define what peace means - only with a well-defined concept can peace be effectively assessed and quantified. To broadly understand and categorize peace, the late Norwegian sociologist and founder of the discipline of peace studies, Johan Galtung distinguished two different types of peace: *negative peace*, the 'absence of war and violence,' and *positive peace*, the 'lasting peace, built on sustainable investments in economic development and institutions as well as the societal attitudes that foster peace.'<sup>7</sup>

These classifications' aid policymakers, peacebuilders, and researchers to analyse the concept and consequences of peace outside the confines of merely halting war or conflict. The framework can help decisionmakers and those who influence them, to instead prioritize conflict resolution, dialogue, and co-operation to promote the diplomatic, social, and economic structures which can create the conditions necessary for lasting peace.

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<sup>5</sup> Baliga, S., Lucca, D. O., & Sjöström, T. (2007, January). Domestic political survival and international conflict: Is democracy good for peace? Retrieved from [https://rppe.princeton.edu/sites/g/files/toruqf901/files/2006-07\\_sjo.pdf](https://rppe.princeton.edu/sites/g/files/toruqf901/files/2006-07_sjo.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> Heydemann, S. (2024, February). No people, no problems: The growing appeal of authoritarian conflict management. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/02/no-people-no-problems-the-growing-appeal-of-authoritarian-conflict-management?lang=en&center=middle-east>

<sup>7</sup> Vision of Humanity. (n.d.). Johan Galtung and the quest to define the concept of peace. Vision of Humanity. <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/introducing-the-concept-of-peace/>

The recently published 2024 Global Peace Index (GPI) utilizes qualitative and quantitative indicators to measure the relative position of nations' and regions' peacefulness. The index serves as a barometer for governments, NGOs, IGOs (such as the World Bank and the United Nations), think tanks, and academic institutions to gauge the economic impact of violence and assess the current levels of positive peace or risk in specific countries or regions.

The 2024 GPI painted a dire outlook on the trending direction of global peacefulness, highlighting that global militarization has increased, with at least 108 countries becoming more heavily militarized. Militarization refers to various efforts by a state to prepare for war or conflict. At one end, it can include obvious actions such as strategically positioning military forces or militarizing local police forces—equipping, training, and organizing them in ways that resemble military operations. This also involves increased budgetary funding for defense and security measures. The militarization of foreign policy often prioritizes military strategies over diplomatic solutions, raising the likelihood of war and resulting in less effective conflict resolution strategies.<sup>8</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum is 'everyday militarization,' where military values, practices, and imagery penetrate the daily life and culture of society. Examples include the glorification of war and militarism in movies, television, and social media. While some militarized content targets consumers and civilians—such as marketing war-related video games and military recruitment—much of it aims to promote "national security as military security," normalizing the military's presence and ideals in everyday life.<sup>9</sup>

This article aims to analyse how the 2024 Global Peace Index (GPI) enhances our understanding of current global peace and conflict dynamics, and what insights its findings provide for addressing ongoing and potential conflicts through practical applications in policymaking and conflict resolution? It is also essential to analyse global challenges that extend beyond war and conflict, such as climate change and economic insecurity, which can also undermine peacebuilding efforts. Additionally, examining the factors that weaken the effectiveness of intergovernmental bodies like the United Nations in addressing global peace and conflict issues is crucial.

## Global Peace Index 2024 – Findings and Analysis

Defining peace allows us to identify measurable indicators. The GPI, developed by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), serves as a practical example of how defining peace allows us to pinpoint quantifiable metrics that contribute to a comprehensive understanding of global peacefulness. By analysing trends in peacefulness and conflict, governments can assess how effectively their policies are promoting positive social outcomes. Launched in 2008, the GPI ranks over 160 independent states and territories each year, according to their level of peacefulness. The GPI bases its findings on 23 indicators across three domains: safety and security, ongoing conflict, and militarization:

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<sup>8</sup> Schofield, J. (2007). Militarization and War. In: Militarization and War. Initiatives in Strategic Studies: Issues and Policies. Palgrave Macmillan, New York. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-07719-6\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-07719-6_2)

<sup>9</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. (2017, October). The impact of militarization on security and development: Policy brief. Retrieved from [https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/mil\\_2\\_policy\\_brief.pdf](https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/mil_2_policy_brief.pdf)

## Global Peace Index 2024 Indicators:

<b><i>Safety &amp; Security</i></b>	<b><i>Ongoing Conflict</i></b>	<b><i>Militarization</i></b>
▪ Incarceration rate	▪ Deaths from internal conflict	▪ UN peacekeeping funding
▪ Political terror scale	▪ External conflicts fought	▪ Military Expenditure (% of GDP)
▪ Police rate	▪ Internal conflicts fought	▪ Weapons exports
▪ Perceptions of criminality	▪ Neighbouring countries relations	▪ Weapons imports
▪ Refugees & internally displaced persons (IDP's)	▪ Deaths from external conflicts	▪ Nuclear and heavy weapons
▪ Homicide rate	▪ Access to small arms	▪ Armed Services personnel rate
▪ Political instability	▪ Intensity of internal conflict	
▪ Violent crime		
▪ Terrorism impact		
▪ Violent demonstrations		

In 2023, 97 countries deteriorated in peacefulness, while 67 became more peaceful, according to the index. In the Middle East, the United Arab Emirates recorded the largest improvements across all three domains, attributed to bettering relations with its neighbours, more specifically, restoring diplomatic relations with Iran in 2023.

Improvements in overall global peacefulness have been driven by various indicators, including a decrease in violent demonstrations, the overall decline in the number of terror-related incidents, and a reduction in homicide rates. Conversely, deterioration in global peacefulness has been attributed to the growing increase of global military expenditures which recorded the largest deterioration in a single year since the inception of the GPI. Eighty-six countries have recorded an increase in military expenditures compared to just fifty who witnessed a decrease. Further adding to global deterioration, ninety-two countries are presently involved in an active conflict outside their borders – the highest number recorded since the launch of the GPI sixteen years ago.

The war in Ukraine has attributed to much of this increase, with 23 European nations increasing their military expenditures (% of GDP) in 2023, with a number of others committed to increasing their spending in the coming years. Poland, for instance, contributed 3.92% of its GDP on defence in 2023, with aims to increase spending to 4.12% in 2024 – the highest among all NATO members, and more than double the 2% as agreed upon within the alliance.<sup>10</sup>

Funding for UN peacekeeping operations rated as the highest deterioration out of all 23 GPI indicators and has continued to experience the largest year-on-year deterioration with funding from 93 countries declining, compared to 58 that improved. The approved UN peacekeeping budget for 2023-2024 - \$6.1 billion - is intended to support 9 active

<sup>10</sup> Kozłowska, H. (2024, June 19). Poland to be NATO's biggest defence spender this year as proportion of GDP. Notes from Poland. <https://notesfrompoland.com/2024/06/19/poland-to-be-natos-biggest-defence-spender-this-year-as-proportion-of-gdp/>

peacekeeping operations<sup>11</sup>, a decline from \$6.38 billion compared to 2021-2022.<sup>12</sup> To put these figures into perspective, global military expenditures in 2023 increased for the 9<sup>th</sup> consecutive year, reaching \$2.44 trillion, a 6.8% increase from 2022.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, expenditures on peacekeeping amounted to \$49.6 billion, representing only 0.6% of the total global military budget.<sup>14</sup>

For instance, India's Ministry of External Affairs recently announced a 35% reduction in funding for international bodies as part of its interim 2024-2025 budget. The most significant cut affects the United Nations and its peacekeeping missions, with the budget reduced to \$21 million, a 54.25% decrease from the 2023-2024 allocation. Indian politicians have long advocated for reforms within the UN, particularly in their bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. These budget cuts could have serious implications for global security, as India is the third-largest contributor of troops to UN peacekeeping missions.<sup>15</sup>

### Beyond War: The impact of Climate Change on Peacebuilding and Stability

In 2014, former US Defence Secretary Chuck Hagel was one of the first officials to dub climate change as a “threat multiplier,” stating the physical impacts of global warming have the potential to intensify existing challenges, from infectious disease to armed insurgencies.<sup>16</sup> Higher temperatures, resource scarcity, and rising sea levels can exacerbate existing security risks, leading to increased instability and potential conflict. Seventy percent of the world's most climate-vulnerable states also suffer from weak governance and economic instability, making them particularly fragile.<sup>17</sup> Further underscoring this point, according to the United Nations Environmental Programme, 8 out of 15 global UN peacekeeping missions are being hosted in nations susceptible to climate-related risks.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> United Nations. (2023, June 30). Fifth Committee approves \$6.1 billion budget for 9 active peacekeeping operations, averting shutdown, as it concludes second resumed session. UN Meetings Coverage and Press Releases. <https://press.un.org/en/2023/gaab4423.doc.htm>

<sup>12</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping. (n.d.). How we are funded. United Nations. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/how-we-are-funded>

<sup>13</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. (2024). Trends in world military expenditure, 2023. SIPRI. <https://www.sipri.org/publications/2024/sipri-fact-sheets/trends-world-military-expenditure-2023>

<sup>14</sup> Institute for Economics and Peace. (2024). Global Peace Index 2024: Measuring peace in a complex world. <https://www.economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/GPI-2024-web.pdf>

<sup>15</sup> Bipindra, N. C. (2024, February 16). *India cuts UN funding; Expert calls to end peacekeeping missions until UNSC permanent membership*. EurAsian Times. <https://www.eurasiantimes.com/india-cuts-un-funding-expert-wants-end-to-peacekeeping/>

<sup>16</sup> U.S. Department of Defense. (2014, October). Conference of Defense Ministers of the Americas. U.S. Department of Defense. Retrieved from <https://www.defense.gov/News/Speeches/Speech/Article/605617/>

<sup>17</sup> United Nations Environment Programme. (2023, July 10). Climate action holds the key to tackling global conflict. United Nations Environment Programme. <https://www.unep.org/ndc/news-and-stories/story/climate-action-holds-key-tackling-global-conflict>

<sup>18</sup> Mrema, E. M. (2024, June 5). Celebrating the natural treasures of our planet: World Environment Day. United Nations Environment Programme. <https://www.unep.org/news-and-stories/speech/celebrating-natural-treasures-our-planet-world-environment-day>

The physical and environmental impacts of climate change are particularly severe in regions that rely heavily on the agricultural sector for sustaining livelihoods. Changes in temperature and precipitation patterns, along with increased frequency of extreme weather events, can drastically reduce crop yields and water availability. These disruptions threaten food security and undermine economic prosperity in affected communities. As farmers and agricultural workers struggle to adapt to these changes along with the repercussions of resource scarcity propelling food costs, local grievances and social unrest can emerge.<sup>19</sup>

The relationship between conflict and environmental vulnerability is often aggravated by the physical impacts of climate change, which can lead to grievances and civil unrest. Climate change disproportionately affects vulnerable and underserved populations, further exacerbating political and social instability. Additionally, war-related greenhouse gas emissions can have devastating consequences for humans, wildlife, and ecosystems. Likewise, damages to industrial or oil facilities can severely pollute air quality, soil, and groundwater sources.<sup>20</sup>

Military emissions are in a unique category when it comes to accountability and reporting. The lack of international guidelines and loose regulations regarding military-related emissions mean they are typically not accounted for within international reporting frameworks. Moreover, countries are only required to report emissions produced within their own territories. A recent peer reviewed study published in the journal *Science of the Total Environment*, found that throughout the first 18 months of war in Ukraine, unaccounted CO2 war-related emissions 'exceeded the annual emissions of some European countries, such as Austria, Hungary, and Portugal.'<sup>21</sup>

During a recent UN Security Council open debate on climate change and food insecurity, a delegate from South Sudan highlighted that climate change could "fuel conflicts by increasing competition for essential resources," making populations vulnerable to "radicalization and recruitment by armed groups." A permanent observer from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) present at the debate also noted the significant challenges in implementing proactive or reactive climate actions in conflict zones, where "unstable environments" pose obstacles to effective climate adaptation efforts.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Krampe, F. (2019). Climate change, peacebuilding and sustaining peace (SIPRI Policy Brief). Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. <https://www.sipri.org/publications/2019/sipri-policy-briefs/climate-change-peacebuilding-and-sustaining-peace>

<sup>20</sup> United Nations Environment Programme. (2022, December 13). The environmental legacy of explosive weapons in populated areas. United Nations Environment Programme. Retrieved from <https://www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/environmental-legacy-explosive-weapons-populated-areas>

<sup>21</sup> International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis. (2024, February). Significant greenhouse gas emissions resulting from conflict in Ukraine. <https://iiasa.ac.at/news/feb-2024/significant-greenhouse-gas-emissions-resulting-from-conflict-in-ukraine>

<sup>22</sup> United Nations. (2024). Security Council 15591st Meeting (AM). United Nations. Retrieved July 18, 2024, from <https://press.un.org/en/2024/sc15591.doc.htm>

## Global Conflict and the Failure of International Governance

Bureaucratic inefficiencies, political gridlock, and self-serving national interests pose significant challenges that undermine the effectiveness of intergovernmental bodies like the United Nations in addressing global peace and conflict. Such institutions were purpose-built following WWII to prevent future conflicts by fostering international cooperation and dialogue among nations, with the primary goal of not only preventing war, but also maintaining international peace and security.<sup>23</sup> Because differences are inevitable, the UN aims to ensure nations resolve their disputes peacefully. To do so effectively, the UN utilizes organizational synergy, linking diplomatic, economic, humanitarian, and peacekeeping mechanisms.

The Security Council, the most powerful organ of the UN, was created to maintain peace and security and is entrusted with the authority to impose sanctions, deploy UN peacekeeping missions, and approve legally binding resolutions. The five permanent members - United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, and China - all maintain veto powers, allowing them to block resolutions of other members of the UN General Assembly, irrespective of the number of nations who support it, undercutting the notion of equal representation and collective decision-making within the organization.

The world is experiencing a growing trend of increased geopolitical polarization, driven by intensified geo-strategic, technological, economic, and military competition, particularly between the U.S., Russia, and China – all permanent security council members. Additionally, ideological divides are widening with the rise of authoritarian leaders and far-right ideologies - including in Western democracies. As a result, nations are increasingly prioritizing national interests and opposing agendas over global peace and stability.

From the outset of the conflict in Ukraine, the UN General Assembly has consistently voted to denounce Russia's actions, which have tragically resulted in the loss of 11,520 civilian lives.<sup>24</sup> In February 2023, the General Assembly passed a significant resolution with 141 votes in favor of an immediate end to hostilities and the withdrawal of Russian forces from Ukraine.<sup>25</sup> Despite this strong support for ending the conflict, Russia continued to ignore the Assembly's demands by vetoing two UNSC draft resolutions aimed at resolving the crisis. In response, many U.S. policymakers have called for Russia to be expelled from its seat on the UNSC.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> United Nations. (n.d.). Charter of the United Nations. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>

<sup>24</sup> United Nations. (2024). Protection of civilians in armed conflict (July 2024). [https://ukraine.un.org/sites/default/files/2024-08/Ukraine%20-%20protection%20of%20civilians%20in%20armed%20conflict%20%28July%202024%29\\_ENG.pdf](https://ukraine.un.org/sites/default/files/2024-08/Ukraine%20-%20protection%20of%20civilians%20in%20armed%20conflict%20%28July%202024%29_ENG.pdf)

<sup>25</sup> United Nations. (2023, February 23). UN General Assembly calls for end to Russian invasion of Ukraine. United Nations News. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/02/1133847>

<sup>26</sup> Senator Joni Ernst. (2024, July 23). Ernst calls for Russia to be expelled from UN Security Council. U.S. Senator Joni Ernst. <https://www.ernst.senate.gov/news/press-releases/ernst-calls-for-russia-to-be-expelled-from-un-security-council>



Nonetheless, the U.S. has since mirrored Russia's actions with regards to its stance on the brutal war in Gaza which has so far taken the lives of more than 40,000 Palestinians<sup>27</sup> - by also vetoing three resolutions on ending Israeli aggression. Following the most recent veto this past February, Linda Thomas-Greenfield, the US ambassador to the United Nations, claimed the resolution which called for an immediate, unconditional cease-fire without forcing Hamas to release all remaining hostages would not 'bring enduring peace.'<sup>28</sup>

The continued use of veto power by two sitting permanent members of the UN Security Council, both directly and indirectly involved in ongoing conflicts, underscores the failure of the international security architecture. This lack of consensus on collective action reveals the UN's growing ineffectiveness in fostering solutions for global peace and stability, leading countries to become increasingly reluctant to defer to the United Nations on matters of national security.<sup>29</sup>

The international paralysis in bringing an end to the crises in Ukraine and Gaza have further created global condemnation of the international body, with members calling for long-needed reforms. In 2008, the UN voted in favour of intergovernmental negotiations on increasing the size of the UNSC to ensure equitable representation. However nearly 16 years later, members continue to spar over the process, with some preferring a formal method of text-based negotiation while others felt such a process was too premature and that such a move might disrupt the existing agreement or consensus.<sup>30</sup>

The Security Council's capacity to address global crises is increasingly hampered by escalating geopolitical tensions among its permanent members. This discord not only hinders the Council's effectiveness but also erodes its credibility. As a result, many nations, particularly those in the Global South, are turning to regional organizations for crisis management. Given the Council's inability to resolve pressing conflicts, it seems unlikely that the permanent members will agree to reforms that would diminish their power and influence. Without these reforms, the UN's relevance will continue to decline, allowing emboldened leaders to act unilaterally, thereby exacerbating global instability and human suffering.

## Conclusion

The nature and resolution of war has changed drastically in the last half-century. Conflicts that seem to have no foreseeable end and deliver a decisive win to either side, have decreased over the years from 50% in the 1970s to 9% in the 2010s, signalling a shift

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<sup>27</sup> Berger, M. (2024, August 15). More than 40,000 killed in Israel's war in Gaza, Health Ministry says. The Washington Post. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/08/15/gaza-death-toll-israel-hamas/>

<sup>28</sup> Bengali, S. (2024, March 22). A look at the three previous U.N. cease-fire resolutions the U.S. vetoed. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/22/world/middleeast/us-cease-fire-resolution-vetoes.html>

<sup>29</sup> Haass, R. (2020). *The world: A brief introduction*. Penguin Press.

<sup>30</sup> United Nations. (2022, July 12). Following debate over text-based process, General Assembly adopts oral decision to continue intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reforms. UN Press. <https://press.un.org/en/2022/ga12435.doc.htm>

towards stalemates and negotiated settlements.<sup>31</sup> This shift has resulted in an increase in international mediation and peacekeeping efforts, and more recently, changes to warfare tactics. The rise of asymmetrical warfare and the involvement of multiple actors, including non-state actors, creates dynamic challenges for governments in successfully restoring peace and stability in conflict regions. Further compounding the economic challenges that arise from conflict, the GPI estimated that the global economic impact of violence in 2023 was equivalent to \$19.1trillion – equal to 13.5% of the global GDP.<sup>32</sup>

Concerns regarding the conflict in Ukraine reaching a devastating stalemate, with the potential to become a prolonged ‘forever’ war with no significant gains for either side, have been reinforced by the grim reality that nearly 2,000 lives have been lost each month since the conflict began in February 2022.<sup>33</sup> This continuous cycle of violence has been attributed to a transition in the world order, shifting from a unipolar to a multipolar world with increasing great-power competition creating repetitive conflict. Rivalries between the world’s leading superpowers often result in significant external military assistance to opposing factions, escalating the risk of severe and perpetual violence as they vie for influence and power on the global stage.<sup>34</sup>

Positive peace – the method of relying on ‘the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies,’ remains central in developing lasting peacebuilding efforts - both in times of crisis and uncertainty, and in times of relative calm. Conflict will always exist in some form, although it will adapt and evolve in response to technology and growing geopolitical competition, especially as we shift towards a multipolar international order. Key for decisionmakers however, is how conflict can be transformed in a way that it can be resolved without the introduction of violence.

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<sup>31</sup> Institute for Economics & Peace. (2024). Global Peace Index 2024: Measuring peace in a complex world. <https://www.economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/GPI-2024-web.pdf>

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Institute for Economics and Peace. (2024). Global Peace Index 2024: Measuring peace in a complex world. Retrieved from <https://www.economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/GPI-2024-web.pdf>

<sup>34</sup> Nanlohy, S. (2024). Geopolitics and genocide: Patron interests, client crises, and realpolitik. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 9(1), ogad023. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogad023>