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Introduction

Betty Jean Stoneman

Utah Valley University

For the past four years, JustPeace has provided a platform for undergraduate students at Utah Valley University to publish their interdisciplinary research in the field of Peace and Justice Studies. The breadth of the research has truly been phenomenal. Students have studied such issues as understanding the unique problems faced by Palestinian refugees (Luma Al-Awajneh), the poverty trap in Zimbabwe (Jacque Baume), post-traumatic stress disorder among Palestinian children (Denise Windley), and ethnic and religious minorities in Iran (Aaron Wood). In other studies, students have engaged with timely discussions on the inclusion of the LGBT community in international Human Rights Law (Amanda Duran) and an analysis of U.S. citizens’ views on global warming (Gregory Haddock). Still in other projects, students have taken philosophical approaches to examining how philosopher Immanuel Kant’s Perpetual Peace provides necessary, yet not sufficient, principles for maintaining peace (Luis Alfonso Miranda Perez), how conventional views of state sovereignty poses problems for preventing and intervening in cases of human rights violations (Angelina Lucille DeMarco), and how major tenets of egalitarian liberal feminism lend support to restrictions on non-violent pornography (Betty Jean Stoneman).

This recent edition of JustPeace marks an exciting transition for the journal. In addition to moving from a print-only version to an online format, the journal has expanded its call for submissions to include graduate and undergraduate students, as well as writers, photographers, and artists worldwide. Along with academic, peer-reviewed research, the journal seeks to include all creative works, such as music, film, photography, and literature, in future editions. With this transition, the journal hopes to promote a diverse dialogue among students and peacebuilders centered on creating and sustaining justice and peace worldwide. We hope to provide a multivocal and multiperspectival approach to understanding and engaging in issues of justice and peace worldwide.
All of the pieces in this edition are interconnected by an overarching theme. Each piece provides insight into the perspectives of those impacted by injustice and violence, or of those working toward sustainable peace. To begin, William Sheehan’s case study of the kidnappings of Japanese citizens by North Korea integrates a remarkable depth of factual and historical analysis with first-hand accounts from abductees and their family members. In our next piece, Bibhusha Karki’s fictional work based on events reported by the international media, we meet a young man trying to provide for his family yet finding himself held hostage to a system built on worker exploitation. Next, in Jessica K. Kratzer’s photo series, we gain a glimpse into a Philadelphia peace rally, replete with moments of hope, collaboration, and reflection. We then present Paul Wilcox’s examination of Jane Addams’s “social ethics,” which not only offers a compelling argument for Addams’s work as a forbearer to democratic peace theory, but also highlights a perspective of peacebuilding grounded in empathy and care. Next, Lauren Pak incorporates her own unique personal reflections on her volunteer work in South Africa with an insightful argument supporting the need for the inclusion of grassroots peacebuilders in order to create positive peace. To conclude, Brady Williams outlines an innovative approach to fostering compassion for victims of injustice and violence, as well as educating the public on peace efforts, through reality television programming that documents the efforts of peacebuilders worldwide.

The release of this edition comes at a time of tremendous suffering and violence. Hundreds of thousands of people have been injured or killed in the violence in Syria and millions have been internally displaced, moving from one besieged area to the next, victims of a variety of warfare tactics, as well as suffering from a lack of food, shelter, and healthcare. Many other people seek asylum in numerous countries, facing an overwhelming
number of bureaucratic difficulties, racism, and physical hardships to do so.\textsuperscript{1} Such violence has reached across the world, most recently to Europe and Africa.\textsuperscript{2}

It is of significant debate as to whether empathy is a necessary or sufficient condition for moral action.\textsuperscript{3} However, empathy requires understanding the perspective of the other individual, from their own circumstances. At the very least, it does no harm to peacebuilding efforts to encourage such understanding. At the very best, such understanding may foster compassionate acts in a myriad of different ways, ranging from reducing racism in interpersonal interactions, to increasing one’s willingness to either individually or socially take steps toward reducing poverty, or to initiating volunteer service.\textsuperscript{4} In addition to promoting dialogue, we also offer this edition of \textit{JustPeace} in this vein. We offer this edition in the hopes that it will become one more resource for nurturing our abilities to perspective take in the lived experiences of those whom we share our world with.

This site has a significant amount of research and documentation on the issue.

William Sheehan
Georgetown University

Hands masked Megumi’s eyes. Someone violently grabbed her. The event happened too quickly for the thirteen-year-old schoolgirl to understand. She could hear the waves of the ocean as her assailants threw her into a boat in a small town in Niigata Prefecture, Japan. On the boat, these unknown kidnappers dumped the junior high girl into a shipping container where she screamed and cried for her mother. Blood, coming from cuts on her fingers as she scratched the walls of the container, covered her hands and dripped onto the floor. When the boat reached its destination, Megumi Yokota found herself in a foreign land. Her captors had taken her to North Korea.¹

Sakie looked at the clock. Megumi normally arrived home shortly after badminton practice, but not tonight. Megumi had not mentioned anything about being late. Sakie began to worry and rushed to Megumi’s junior high school. Nothing. Her daughter had disappeared. The police and Megumi’s family searched for hours, days, weeks, and months to no avail. Megumi had vanished without a trace.²

After arriving in North Korea that night in November 1977, Megumi was taken to Pyongyang. Following a long period of isolation and North Korean re-education, Megumi taught Japanese at Kim Jong-il Political and Military University.³ After several years, she married a South Korean named Kim Chol Jun who many believe to have also been abducted by North Korea. Together, Kim and Megumi had a single, DNA confirmed, daughter named Eun-gyeong.⁴

Conflicting reports, hope, and politics have clouded the rest of Megumi’s story. In

² Ibid.
2002, North Korea said that Megumi committed suicide after a nervous breakdown in 1993, but other evidence indicates that she still lives in North Korea. Her story, along with the stories of at least twelve other Japanese abducted by North Korea, has captured the hearts of the Japanese people.

In addition to the emotional impact of this issue, the Japanese media, public, advocacy groups, and politicians have all pushed the abductions issue to the forefront of Japanese domestic politics. Moreover, the abductions have “hijacked” Japanese foreign policy. As a result of Japanese frustrations, politicians and diplomats have refrained from fully engaging in the Six-Party Talks to prevent North Korean nuclear weapon development.

This paper seeks to evaluate the question “What is the value of a life?” by showing the massive, potentially disastrous costs of the lives of the abductees in domestic and world politics. To do this, I will first offer a brief introduction to the history of the abduction issue. Next, I discuss how the Japanese media, public, advocacy groups, and politicians have forced the abduction issue to the head of North Korean policy in Japan. Finally, I will examine how this issue has reached into the world of international relations through discussing the reactions and consequences of Japanese foreign and military policy, North Korean diplomacy, United States efforts to prevent a North Korean nuclear program, and the positions of the other members of the Six-Party Talks including China and South Korea.

**Background**

**The Abducted**

North Korean agents likely began abducting Japanese citizens in September 1977 and probably stopped in July 1983. Human Rights Without Frontiers splits the abductees into the following three categories:

1. Individuals: Kume Yutaka* (September 1977), Matsumoto Kyoko* (October 1977), Yokota Megumi (November 1977), Taguchi Yaeko (June 1978), Tanaka Minoru*

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6 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 14.
7 Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 364.
(June 1978) Soga Miyoshi* and Hitomi (mother/daughter, August 1978), and Hara Tadaaki (June 1980)
2. Couples on dates: Chimura Yasushi and Hamamoto Fukie (July 1978), Hasuiki Kaoru and Okudo Yukiko (July 1978), and Ichikawa Shuichi and Masumoto Rumiko (August 1978)

Of the seventeen individuals mentioned above, North Korea has acknowledged kidnapping thirteen and denied that four have entered the country (marked with a *).⁹ However, Japan has not limited suspicions of North Korean abductions to these seventeen: The Japanese Police Agency believes that North Korea abducted 40 people, while some advocacy groups believe that North Korea may have seized as many as 500 Japanese citizens.¹⁰ In May 2014, Japan asked North Korea to investigate a list of 470 names of missing Japanese citizens that North Korea may have taken.¹¹

**Reasons for the Abductions**

Following strengthened measures by South Korea to obstruct North Korean espionage in the mid-1970s, the North turned to kidnapping Japanese.¹² They used the identities of the abducted Japanese to travel in the South with fewer restrictions and forced the abductees to teach them Japanese language and culture.¹³ Additionally, some suspect that North Koreans kidnapped Taguchi Yaeko to give as a bride to a Japanese man that played a role in

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⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 4-5.
¹⁰ Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 367.
hijacking a plane to North Korea.\textsuperscript{14} North Korea also planned on training the kidnapped young people and sending them back to Japan as North Korean agents. None of the young abductees became spies, however, likely because the trauma of the kidnappings led them to resist ideological brainwashing.\textsuperscript{15}

One question remains: Why did North Korea kidnap these unassuming people rather than scientists, linguists, teachers, bureaucrats or cultural experts? What could a thirteen-year-old badminton player have to offer a North Korean spy program? This question is especially curious because, at the time, many North Korean supporters lived in Japan and would have willingly left Japan for the North.\textsuperscript{16}

This question has significant consequences. Both South Korea and North Korea have openly expressed anger over the hypocrisy of the Japanese abduction outcries against the backdrop of Japanese atrocities in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, including forcibly taking millions of Koreans to Japan.\textsuperscript{17} Could the spies have chosen random individuals as revenge for the Japanese colonial rule over North Korea? If the agents kidnapped the Japanese under North Korean government direction in revenge for the actions of WWII, the abductions would be state-sponsored terrorist acts. In today's post-September 11\textsuperscript{th} world, state-sponsored terrorism has implications that extend beyond an immoral spy training program that further complicate the problem, as described below.

\textbf{Evidence of Abductions}

Before a 2002 confession to the abductions by Kim Jong-il, North Korea fervently denied any wrongdoing. In 1997, North Korea claimed that South Korea had recruited Megumi to work as a spy for the Agency for Security Planning.\textsuperscript{18} In December 2001, the North Korean Red Cross stated that " riffraffs in Japan are these days making much fuss about the issue of the ‘suspected kidnapping’, a fiction, at the connivance and instigation of the government

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\textsuperscript{16} Beal, "Multilayered Confrontation," 340.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 341.

\textsuperscript{18} DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 139.
authorities to seriously get on the DPRK's nerves.”¹⁹

Despite the North Korean claims, however, evidence of the abductions gradually came to light:

- May 1985- South Korea arrested a North Korean spy attempting to enter the South using the name and falsified passport of Hara Tadaaki, who disappeared from Japan in 1980. As the South Koreans questioned the spy, he confessed to kidnapping Hara and living in Japan under Hara’s name for some time. The Japanese government did not follow up.²⁰

- January 1988- A member of the Japanese Communist Party, during a period of disagreements with the North Korean government, contacted the families of several of the abductees and suggested that North Korea kidnapped their family members.²¹

- January 1988- one of the North Korean agents responsible for the 1987 bombing of a Korean Airlines jet confessed that she had learned Japanese from Taguchi Yaeko, who had disappeared from Japan in 1978. This confession led to the Japanese government’s first major reaction to the abductions.²²

- September 1988- Abductee Ishioka Jun sent his mother in Japan a letter that stated that he lived with fellow abductee Arimoto Keiko in Pyongyang.²³

- Throughout 1995- Asahi Television producer Ishitaka Kenji met with a former North Korean spy and defector who explained that Ichikawa Suichi and several of the other abductees worked as language teachers in a spy training school. The general public, however, questioned the legitimacy of the spy.²⁴

- December 1996- Korea expert Satou Katsumi reported on Ishitaka’s interviews and made the connection that Megumi taught in the spy training school.²⁵

- January 1997- The North Korean spy saw pictures of Megumi for the first time and

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¹⁹ Ibid., 140.
²¹ Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 368.
²² Lynn, "Vicarious Traumas," 489.
²³ Williams and Mobrand, "Explaining Divergent Responses," 517.
²⁴ Johnson, "The North Korea Abduction Issue.”
²⁵ Ibid.
instantly confirmed that he saw her teaching at the school.\textsuperscript{26}

- August 2001 - A South Korean newspaper quoted anonymous North Korean sources that identified eight Japanese abductees as living in Pyongyang, including one that was abducted as a teenager.\textsuperscript{27}

- March 2002 - The wife of a Red Army airplane hijacker confessed to kidnapping Arimoto Keiko in Europe,\textsuperscript{28} and apologized directly to the Arimoto family on television.\textsuperscript{29}

With the evidence mounting, Prime Mister Koizumi Junichiro traveled to North Korea for a summit with Kim to discuss normalizing relations, which included addressing the abduction issue.

**Kim’s Confession**

In a September 17, 2002 Japan-North Korean summit, Kim Jong-il shocked Japan and the world by confessing to North Korea’s abduction of thirteen Japanese citizens, three of whom Japan did not strongly suspect as abductees before the talks.\textsuperscript{30} Of these thirteen, North Korea reported that eight, including Megumi, had died, and five were alive. Kim also told Koizumi that one of the suspected abductees never entered North Korea. Several weeks after the confession, North Korea allowed the five surviving abductees to visit Japan temporarily. Not surprisingly, the Japanese government did not allow them to return to North Korea.\textsuperscript{31} In another summit in 2004, Koizumi reached an agreement to allow the five children of two abductee couples, who had married in North Korea, to reunite with their parents in Japan. Shortly thereafter, the three family members of the fifth abductee were also able to move to Japan.\textsuperscript{32}

Predictably, Kim did not confess to playing a role in the abductions. Rather, he stated that the abductions were conducted by “some elements of a special agency of the

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Arrington, ”The Abductions Issue,” 126.
\textsuperscript{29} Johnson, ”The North Korea Abduction Issue.”
\textsuperscript{30} Beal, ”Multilayered Confrontation,” 343-44.
\textsuperscript{31} Difilippo, ”Still at Odds,” 142-43.
state” that had been “excessively enthusiastic.” He claimed that North Korea tried the agents that kidnapped Megumi in 1998 resulting in one’s execution and other’s death while in prison. Some scholars, however, refute Kim’s claim of innocence and argue that he directed the abductions.

Regardless of Kim’s involvement, the unprecedented written confession, the verbal apology for the abductions, and loss of face showed North Korea’s desire to move past the abduction issue and normalize relations with Japan. Additionally, Kim agreed that he would “take appropriate measures so that these regrettable incidents, that took place under the abnormal bilateral relationship, would never happen in the future.”

While both leaders likely thought that they had made significant steps to normalizing relations and overcoming abduction issue, the confession did the opposite. Following Kim’s apology, the Japanese media, public, advocacy groups and politicians picked apart his words, found inconsistencies, and took the issue to an entirely new level.

**Inconsistencies with Kim’s Confession**

About a month after the first summit, Japan presented North Korea with 150 inconsistencies found in North Korea’s confession and report on the abductions. Over time, more evidence appeared that caused the Japanese to question North Korea’s statements about the abductees, especially surrounding their deaths. The North Korean report stated that Ichikawa Shuichi had died a year after arriving in North Korea from a heart attack while swimming. Japan, however, questioned this claim because Ichikawa was abducted at the age of twenty-three, a young age to have a heart attack, and Ichikawa did not swim while in Japan. The North Koreans claimed that his girlfriend Matsumoto

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33 Lynn, “Vicarious Traumas,” 490.
34 Ibid.
36 Beal, “Multilayered Confrontation,” 344.
38 Lynn, “Vicarious Traumas,” 503.
39 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 6.
40 DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 156.
Rumiko died of heart disease at twenty-seven, despite lacking a single case of heart disease in her family history. North Korea, a country with little traffic, also reported that two of the abductees died in separate car accidents. After a DNA examination of the reported remains of Matsuki Kaoru, the Japanese stated that the remains belonged to someone else.

The inconsistencies surrounding Megumi’s death received the most attention. Following her alleged suicide, her husband buried her remains but later had them dug up and cremated. In 2004, North Korea returned Megumi’s cremated remains, but DNA tests initially indicated that the remains belonged to two other unrelated individuals. Although several nonpolitical sources later revealed that the tests were not scientifically conclusive, Japan had already lost trust in North Korea’s story.

In addition to the potentially falsified remains, Japan questioned the integrity of Megumi’s husband. Initially, he reported that Megumi committed suicide in March 1993, but upon evidence that indicated that she was alive after that date, he said that he made a mistake and claimed that she actually died in April 1994. The Japanese government reasonably questioned how a husband could forget both the year and the month that his wife died. Additionally, one of the returned abductees reported that Megumi moved into an adjacent house in June 1994, and British military satellite surveillance showed that Megumi was still alive in 2004.

North Korea’s problematic evidence caused Japan to question the reality of the deaths of the abductees. Despite the likelihood that at least some of the abductees died in North Korea, Japan maintained an attitude that the abductees were alive until proven dead. The abductions enraged the Japanese public, and the issue became the most pressing

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42 Ibid.

43 DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 143.


46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.
matter in North Korean-Japanese relations, even above North Korean nuclear weapons.48

The Rise of the Abduction Issue inside Japan
Before Kim’s Confession

Due to disbelief and attempts to normalize relations with North Korea before Kim’s confession, the public, media, and government ignored the abductees’ families’ claims that North Korea kidnapped their loved ones. On one occasion, the mother of one of the abductees attempted to collect signatures for a petition asking for more government assistance at Tokyo’s Sukiyabashi intersection, one of the world’s busiest crosswalks. In the space of about an hour, she only collected one signature.49 Some criticized the families for seeking attention50 while others accused the families of spreading lies or engaging in North Korean espionage themselves.51

During the first sixteen years after suspicions began, only one major newspaper, the conservative Sankei Shimbun, actively reported on the abduction issue.52 Despite growing evidence of the abductions, liberal and moderate media sources did not report on the issue until the 2002 confessions by Arimoto Keiko’s abductor and Kim Jong-il.53

The Japanese government also failed to respond to the families’ calls for assistance. As previously mentioned, the Japanese government’s first response to the abduction issue came in 1988, three years after a North Korean spy confessed to kidnapping Hara Tadaaki. Initially, the government told the families that their loved ones had run away,54 but as evidence of the abductions grew, the Foreign Ministry instructed the families to remain silent to protect the abductees.55 On one poignant occasion, as the mother of an abductee requested help from the police, and an officer threw away a letter that an abductee smuggled to his mother.56 Although the government attempted to downplay the issue in the

49 Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 368.
50 Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 368.
51 Dudden, Troubled Apologies, 52.
52 Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 369-70.
54 Dudden, Troubled Apologies, 52.
56 Ibid.
public sphere, behind closed government doors, the issue was a “hot topic.”

The government, which had worked to normalize relations with North Korea for years, likely told the families to stay quiet, in part, to prevent the abductions from becoming a distraction to diplomatic talks. The North Koreans refused to discuss the abductions and in one November 1992 meeting, the North Koreans walked out of talks after Japan requested an investigation into the status of the suspected abductees. Consequently, this walk-out ended bilateral negotiations for several years.

Angered by the government’s failure to provide any assistance, the families of the abductees turned to politicians, activists, and advocacy groups to support their cause and influence the Foreign Ministry. The families united with several major figures, mostly conservative politicians and activists felt that the North Koreans had violated Japanese national sovereignty. They sought to use the issue as a tool to end North Korean normalization talks and to modify Japan’s pacifist constitution. Moderate and liberal politicians ignored the families’ calls for help, some even called the abductions a “myth,” leaving the families with no choice but to work with the extreme conservatives. In one interview, Megumi’s father commented on Satou Katsumi, a controversial activist that supported the families, saying “We know Satou is a right-winger, but we need all the help we can get from whomever we can get it from.”

The confessions by Arimoto’s abductor and Kim Jong-il outraged Japan’s general public. For years the media, government, and many politicians portrayed the issue as a conspiracy theory held by right-wingers. After the confessions, however, the public’s demands for answers caused the abduction issue’s influence to spin out of control.

The Media

Following the confessions, the public’s anger over the abductions compelled the media to attempt to compensate for previous indifference. They did this by inundating the public

57 Johnson, "The North Korea Abduction Issue."
58 Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 371.
59 Johnson, "The North Korea Abduction Issue."
61 Ibid., 114.
62 Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 368.
with daily, angry, and one-sided information about the abductions, including news reports, television dramas and cartoons. The outlets seemed to compete to see which could provoke the most outrage or sorrow. Interest in the abductions caused public ratings to soar. Major televised events, such as the reuniting of the returned abductees with their children, had millions of viewers. According to a 2012 government survey, 96 percent of the Japanese public understood the details of the abductions issue, and another 3.6 percent knew of the issue but not all of the details. Only 0.3 percent of those surveyed had not heard of the problem. Of the 99.6 percent familiar with the issue, 99.3 percent of the respondents had seen it on television, and 88.3 percent had read about it in newspapers. As public interest in the matter declined over the years, advocacy groups would use their influence to keep the abductions relevant to current issues. For example, following the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Satou arranged televised interviews with Megumi’s parents’ reactions to the events to ensure that the abductions remained at the forefront of Japanese foreign policy.

This flood of reports changed the abduction issue. Rather than seeking a solution to the issue, the kidnappings became a reality show, a “vicarious trauma” that viewers could experience in the comfort of their living rooms. Lynn describes the issue in the following manner:

The abductions issue offered a compelling cast of characters that allowed viewers to personalize the information. On one side, ‘evil’ Kim Jong-il, his dysfunctional extended family and his ‘weird’ country; on the other, the grieving families most often represented by the polite and polished Bank of Japan employee Yokota Shigeru and his wife Sakie, whose daughter, Megumi, remains the symbol of a tragic break-up of the family and a childhood lost, a woman whose fate remains unresolved.

Providing additional layers to the story were a supporting cast of villains and quasi-heroes. The ‘conniving’ and ‘weak-kneed’ Foreign Ministry bureaucrats, especially Minister Director Tanaka Hitoshi, and the allegedly
‘pontificating’ and ‘obfuscating’ ‘pro-North Korean’ intellectuals and politicians detached from real tears and pain, have been painted as villains [...] Then there are the supporters, conservative politicians intellectuals who claim to have the best interest of the abductees and families at heart. Tears, bombs, conspiracies, DNA tests, broken combined with North Korea’s intractable behaviour have merged into potent story line.\(^70\)

This entertainment-style reporting removed reason and facts from the abductions, creating an endless cycle of hate and anger.\(^71\) Initially following the confessions, the families and their supporters, rather than those seeking normalization of North Korean relations, had moral authority over the issue.\(^72\) The families had spent years seeking access to the media and had prepared to present their story, while those supporting normalizing relations with North Korea lacked the preparedness to counter the arguments made by the families and their conservative supporters.\(^73\) One television executive said that criticizing the way that the issue was evolving was “like stepping on a religious icon”.\(^74\) The media exaggerated the events and put them in a negative light. For example, the media portrayed the return of the abductees’ children in 2004 as a failure of Prime Minister Koizumi to secure the release of the other abductees still in North Korea.\(^75\) Additionally, the media largely ignored reports that invalidated the original study of Megumi’s remains that identified them as belonging to someone else.\(^76\)

Studies have shown that these negative reports of the abductions soured Japanese public perception of North Korea.\(^77\) The outraged public had, to a certain degree, lost its ability to think rationally about North Korean-Japanese relations. Lynn describes the effects of the media portrayal as follows:

While I certainly would not consider the Japanese government to be ‘despotic,’ under any type of state, the priming, framing and agenda-setting effects generated by the media shape the reality of national agendas in a way

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\(^{70}\) Ibid., 493.
\(^{71}\) Ibid., 508.
\(^{73}\) Ibid.
\(^{74}\) Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 370.
\(^{75}\) Lynn, "Vicarious Traumas," 503.
\(^{76}\) Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 370.
\(^{77}\) Lynn, "Vicarious Traumas," 495.
that do not leave as much room for individual freedom as might be expected in a country with highly developed communications infrastructures [...] The challenge for all countries is to avoid simply mobilizing the media to advocate specific policy positions, and instead to transform television from a well-tuned amplifier of anger and funnel for tears to a more useful tool for facilitating sustained and diverse dialogue and analysis through the communication of larger, historical, social, and international contexts.\textsuperscript{78}

**The Public**

Furthermore, the abduction issue and the plight of the families symbolized other social issues in Japan. Megumi, ripped from her parents, symbolized the declining birthrate in Japan and the decreasing role of the family in society. The failures of the government to react to the abduction issue represented the public's frustrations with the bureaucracy. The issue symbolized significant population decreases in rural areas because most of the abductions occurred in the countryside. The abduction issue gave the public a new enemy to their socioeconomic problems: North Korea.\textsuperscript{79} As some of the abductees returned, so did hope for a return to a traditional Japan.

Following the confessions, the public's perception collectivized against North Korea and contributed to the already growing support for a more conservative political ideology.\textsuperscript{80} Surprisingly, in polls asking about Japanese concerns with North Korea, more than 80 percent of the population consistently expressed concern with the abductions issue from 2002-2013. During this period, no other North Korean issue, including missile and nuclear threats, exceeded 80 percent in these same surveys.\textsuperscript{81} Public support for normalizing relations with North Korea also decreased. Immediately following Kim's 2002 confession, support for continuing normalization talks fell from 81 percent to 44 percent.\textsuperscript{82} Even after Koizumi secured the abductees' children's return to Japan, 60 percent of the

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., 508.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 499.
\textsuperscript{80} Hagström and Hanssen, "The North Korean Abductions Issue," 87-88.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 75.
\textsuperscript{82} Lynn, "Vicarious Traumas," 503.
Japanese public opposed providing humanitarian aid to North Korea.\(^8^3\) In a 2006 petition, five million people called for economic sanctions.\(^8^4\) In 2012, 8.5 million signed a petition encouraging the government to rescue the abductees in Japan.\(^8^5\) Without overcoming the public's concerns with on the abductions, the world can expect little to result in North Korean-Japanese normalization and nuclear talks as politicians lack motivation to make concessions.\(^8^6\)

**Advocacy Groups**

As the abductions came to light before the confessions, three major advocacy groups formed. The first, *Kita Chousen ni yoru Rachi Higaisha Kazoku Renrakukai* (Association of the Families of Victims Kidnapped by North Korea), known as *Kazokukai*, was established by the families of the abductees to support one another and make their voice heard. The second, *Kitachosen ni Rachi sareta Nihonjin o Kyuushutsu suru tame no Zenkoku Kyougikai* (National Association for the Rescue of Japanese Kidnapped by North Korea), or *Sukuukai*, was developed by combining local groups that provided support to the families of the abductees. The final group, *Kitachousen Rachi Giwaku Nihonjin Kyuuen Giin Renmei* (Parliamentary Members Alliance to Help Japanese Allegedly Abducted by North Korea), or *Rachi Giren*, is a large group of supporters in the Japanese legislative body, the National Diet.\(^8^7\)

Following Kim’s 2002 confession, these groups rose in prominence and support due to their moral authority over others that opposed the abductions before the confession.\(^8^8\) Because these groups dominated the media’s reporting on the abduction, their authority further increased. The press rarely, if ever, criticized the views of these groups, especially *Kazokukai*.\(^8^9\) At one point, the groups could meet with any political official in Japan or the U.S., including Prime Ministers and Presidents.\(^9^0\) The government also kneeled down before

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\(^8^3\) Ibid.
\(^8^4\) Ibid., 504.
\(^8^5\) DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 157.
\(^8^7\) Williams and Mobrand, "Explaining Divergent Responses," 512-16.
\(^9^0\) Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 368.
these organizations by accommodating many of their requests including the creation of a cabinet minister for the abductions issue, withholding concessions in missile/nuclear talks, creating a law to prevent North Korean ships from entering Japan waters, a government-funded campaign to increase awareness of the abductions, establishing the government-funded Headquarters for the Abduction Issue, and presenting North Korea with the organizations’ list of 470 names of potentially abducted people.\textsuperscript{91}

The influence of these advocacy groups, however, has extended far beyond the abductions issue, some have even questioned if ulterior motives are the primary reason for their activism.\textsuperscript{92} All three of these groups have connections with nationalist organizations that seek to enact a variety of domestic and international reforms including creating a military, removing Japanese atrocities during WWII from textbooks, and isolating North Korea. In particular, the organizations have worked with the \textit{Nippon Kaigi} (Japan Conference), Japan’s largest nationalist organization that seeks to revise Japan’s Constitution to allow the creation of an aggressive military.\textsuperscript{93}

Members of \textit{Kazokukai} often advocate for more nationalist agendas and policies. One mother spoke in the Diet supporting constitutional amendments, another spoke in favor of textbook revision to promote a nationalistic agenda, and several of the family members have advocated rounding up and deporting all ethnic North Koreans living in Japan.\textsuperscript{94} Through the news media’s portrayal of the families as characters on a reality television show, the public has grown emotional ties with these families and is willing to listen to their opinions. Additionally, the families have a moral authority. Before the confessions, the families had truth on their side and would, theoretically, have a greater likelihood of still having truth on their side on related issues. While \textit{Kazokukai}’s main purpose serves to secure the release of their family members, they have taken advantage of their prominence to advocate for policies that extend beyond their unfortunate situations.

The ultraconservative leader of \textit{Sukuukai}, Satou Katsumi, has a well-known

\textsuperscript{91} Hagström and Hanssen, “The North Korean Abductions Issue,” 80.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., 519-21.
\textsuperscript{94} Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 371.
nationalist agenda. Satou, a former North Korean supporter,\textsuperscript{95} participates as a member of several nationalist organizations and political groups. He serves as an advisor to the nationalist political party *Ishin Seito Shinpu* (Restoration Party—New Wind) that seeks to revitalize several elements of WWII colonial Japan including an emperor system, a nationalistic education, a strong military and re-colonizing Asia.\textsuperscript{96} While the *Sukuukai* has undoubtedly impacted the abduction issue, its real motivations for assisting the families remains in question.

The final group, *Rachi Giren*, has membership that includes over 200 of the 722 Diet members, most of whom have strong anti-North Korean views. These Diet members have kept the abductions high on the Japanese legislative agenda and often invite the members of *Kazokukai* and *Sukuukai* to testify.\textsuperscript{97} The role of these politicians has significantly affected Japanese politics.

**Politicians**

Following the 2002 confessions, the power of advocacy groups coupled with the public’s anger fed by enraged media forced politicians of all parties to speak against North Korea. In fact, no politician could seek to further his or her career and ignore the abductions.\textsuperscript{98} Samuels noted, “One Diet member said that it would be ‘political suicide’ even to suggest that proliferation of nuclear weapons ought to be of equal or greater concern than the release of the abductees.”\textsuperscript{99} Immediately following the confessions, political parties and politicians among the entire political spectrum received criticism failing to respond sooner, which led them to make significant efforts to ensure they showed a clear devotion to the abductees and their families.\textsuperscript{100} The leaders of both major parties began to wear blue ribbons to show solidarity with the abduction issue.\textsuperscript{101} Even when the left-of-center Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) gained control of the Diet in 2009, membership in the

\textsuperscript{95} Williams and Mobrand, "Explaining Divergent Responses," 513-14.
\textsuperscript{96} Johnson, "The North Korea Abduction Issue."
\textsuperscript{97} Williams and Mobrand, "Explaining Divergent Responses," 516.
\textsuperscript{98} DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 151.
\textsuperscript{99} Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 370.
\textsuperscript{100} Hagström and Hanssen, "The North Korean Abductions Issue," 79.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., 73.
Rachi Giren increased from 208 to 226, with a majority of the new members coming from the ranks of the DPJ.\textsuperscript{102}

Many politicians have used the family members as pawns in their political careers and actively seek pictures with the families of the abductees to show their solidarity with the cause. Megumi’s mother, annoyed with the never-ending bombardment of photo requests with politicians, said, “I really don’t know who I can believe among those politicians or journalists and what the truth really is.”\textsuperscript{103} Clearly, the abductees have become tools for politicians to gain political support.

The confessions shattered support for normalizing relations with North Korea within the Diet. One right-wing hard-liner said, “Kim Jong-il’s abduction apology brought death upon some North Korea experts and debaters.”\textsuperscript{104} Deputy Foreign Minister Tanaka Hitoshi, who right-wingers accused of prioritizing normalizing relations over the abduction issue, had a bomb placed in his garage. Although the bomb did not explode, the message showed intolerance towards politicians that supported normalizing North Korean relations. Later, Ishihara Shintarou, the right-wing mayor of Tokyo, publicly stated that Tanaka “had it coming” and “deserves to die for his treachery.”\textsuperscript{105} Nicchou Yuukou Giren (Japan-North Korea Friendship Organization), an organization of about 100 Diet members that supported normalizing relations with North Korea, disbanded following political attacks that called these Diet members traitors and North Korean spies.\textsuperscript{106} The leader of the organization, a centrist named Nonaka Hiromu, had his house circled with sound trucks demanding that he disband the organization and retire from politics to which he obliged.\textsuperscript{107} The high political costs for politicians silenced all reasoned Diet debates on North Korean issues.

Following the confessions, those that previously made arguments that downplayed the abductions were seen as enemies of public security. Several conservative articles in Japanese weekly magazines featured headlines such as “(Those) Pretending Not to Know

\textsuperscript{102} Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 372.
\textsuperscript{103} DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 157.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 79.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., 77.
\textsuperscript{106} DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 79.
\textsuperscript{107} Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 371.
about the Abduction Incident: (We) Won’t Forget Your Heartlessness!” and “The Politicians, Bureaucrats and Debaters Who Have Stood By and Watched Eight (Abductees) Die: Atone for Your Great Sins through Death.” The public felt that the government had covered up the abductions to pursue normalizing relations. Along with a shift to the right that began in the 1990s, the frustrations with this cover-up increased the legitimacy of right-wing politicians and their platforms. These politicians believe that Japan failed in its fundamental duty to protect its citizens from foreign threats. Currently, Article 9 of Japan’s constitution prohibits the military from engaging in aggressive measures abroad and could not attack North Korean territory or send special forces to rescue the abductees. The result of the legitimacy gained by the confessions, however, led to increased support for nationalistic platforms including reinterpreting Article 9 in the short-term and amending the Constitution in the long-term. The renewed strength of the Japanese military threatens the security status quo of East Asia and would serve as a blow to pacifists that see Japan as the forerunner for global peace.

Of the conservative politicians, one stands far beyond the rest for his support of the families and the abductees. As he rose to power, the families believed that a “divine dispensation” had arrived to save their loved ones. This supporter is the current, third-term Prime Minister Abe Shinzou. Abe’s support for the families began long before the 2002 confessions. In 1988, Abe first heard of the issue while working as a secretary for a former foreign minister when the parents of Arimoto Keiko came seeking help. Motivated by a firm belief that North Korea violated Japanese sovereignty, the hawkish Abe took personal responsibility for solving the issue. Despite lacking an immediate political incentive to do so, Abe supported the families behind-the-scenes following his election to the Diet in 1993. Abe also likely played a significant role in the 2002 confession by pressuring Koizumi to refuse to sign any agreements without progress on the abduction

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110 Lynn, "Vicarious Traumas," 494.
112 Hagström and Hanssen, "The North Korean Abductions Issue," 82-83.
113 See, for example, David Cortright, Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 11-12.
114 Williams and Mobrand, "Explaining Divergent Responses," 518.
During his first run for Prime Minister in 2006, many considered Abe’s firm positions on the abduction issue to make him a one-issue politician. Others found his uncompromising stance on the issue to symbolize his support for hardline nationalist policies. Just three days after becoming Prime Minister, Abe announced the creation of the government-funded Headquarters for the Abduction Issue. In his first term (2006-07), he also instigated unilateral sanctions for a North Korean missile launch that he tied to the abductions issue, and ordered Japan’s national broadcasting organization, NHK, to increase the reports on the abduction issue in international radio broadcasts. His cabinet also created the Law Concerning Measures to Address the Abduction Issue and Other North Korean Human Rights Violations, which required the government to educate the public about the abductions.

Following his second election to Prime Minister in 2012, Abe pursued his conservative agenda by increasing government support for Japan’s Self-Defense Forces and redefining the definition of self-defense in the Constitution. In 2014, he made a breakthrough in the abduction issue by creating an agreement to cease unilateral sanctions as North Korea reinvestigated the fates of the abductees. After North Korea had failed to produce results from their investigations, however, Abe reinstated economic sanctions for two years. The abductions issue will continue to play an important role under Abe’s future administration.

115 Ibid., 516-518.
118 Lynn, “Vicarious Traumas,” 506.
121 DiFilippo, “Still at Odds,” 164.
122 For more information about Abe’s efforts to redefine self-defense, contact the author to read his article: “A discussion of Japan’s rights and responsibilities to engage in collective self-defense under international law,” (Unpublished, 2014).
The Role of the Abductions in International Politics

The abductions have spread far beyond the borders of Japan. The abduction issue has influenced Japanese foreign policy, and, consequently, international politics in the entire region. Most significantly, Japan’s obsession with the issue has damaged the Six-Party Talks and contributed to the stalemate of the talks since 2009.

Japan’s Foreign and Military Policy

Since the 2002 North Korean confessions to the abductions, Japan has refused to make any concessions to normalize relations with North Korea or create a deal to end North Korean nuclear or missile programs. While Tokyo has often demanded North Korea to solve the issue, many have criticized Japan’s failure to propose a reasonable resolution. On one occasion, U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney frankly asked Prime Minister Abe to define the definition of a resolution to the abductions issue. The conservatives in Tokyo argue that the abductees are alive until proved dead, and feel that Pyongyang has failed to adequately prove the abductees have died. Thus, they refuse to accept anything less than every abductee returning alive. Further increasing the difficulty of improving diplomatic relations, the public also holds this hardliner view. One Japanese scholar noted that “the more we become conformed and united as one nation based on a cunning form of frenzied nationalism, the further away we stray from the path leading to a natural (peaceful) solution (to the abduction issue). Rather, the only option which awaits us (on our current path) is war.”

Japanese conservatives’ refusal to accept any resolution other than a return of the abductees may have political origins. Indeed, if North Korea returned the abductees alive, conservatives like Prime Minister Abe would become national heroes. If the abductees have died, as North Korea has stated, Japanese conservatives benefit from allowing the issue to remain unresolved. Indeed, a diplomatic solution could result in decreased support for

129 Curtis, "Abe’s Game Plan."
130 Hagström, "Normalizing Japan," 843.
building a military.

Due to Article 9, conservatives believe that Japan plays an abnormal role in the international community. Events like the abductions issue legitimize conservatives’ claims that Japan needs to become “normal” to protect its sovereignty and its citizens. Hagström and Hanssen, however, have pointed out that “Although the Japanese political right often emphasizes the necessity to ‘normalize’ Japan and to accelerate changes in the country’s foreign and security policy, perhaps it is not surprising that they seem to be aiming for the unique and superior rather than the ‘normal’ defined as ‘average.’” One example of conservative’s desires to become “unique and superior” is the increasing, although subtle, debate of a future nuclear weapons program.

While much of international concern over the North Korean nuclear program has focused on North Korea exporting nuclear weapons to terrorist organizations, North Korea’s nuclear program, combined with the abduction issue, has given Japan a potential reason to develop its own nuclear weapons program. Currently, Japan has the capacity to build nuclear weapons but lacks a purpose and the public support for a nuclear program. Conservatives, including Abe, have raised the call to begin a debate over the creation of Japanese nuclear weapons to counter North Korea’s nuclear threat and sovereignty violations. Criticism from the public and political opposition, however, makes a Japanese nuclear weapons program, and perhaps even formal debate of a program, highly unlikely in the short-term. However, without an end to North Korea’s nuclear program, which would probably require a resolution to the abductions issue, a Japanese nuclear weapons program may become a reality in the future. In a worst-case scenario, this could begin a Northeast Asian nuclear arms race.

Japan’s reputation within the international community has also influenced the prolonged nature of the abduction issue. Immediately following WWII, the global community viewed Japan as an aggressor that had significant responsibility for the war. Following the abductions, however, Tokyo had become the victim within the international community.
The Japanese public had grown weary of criticism, apologies, and compensation required for their actions during WWII and welcomed the title of “victim.”

Reparations for WWII may have contributed to Japan’s resistance to providing a proposed resolution to the abduction issue. Following normalization relations with China and South Korea, Japan gave the countries significant sums of official development assistance (ODA) which acted as war reparations. In today’s dollars, Japan gave South Korea US$1.614 billion and China US$17.531 billion. Following a normalization of Japan/North Korean relations, scholars have predicted that Japan would provide North Korea with an amount between US$1.6 billion and more than US$10 billion. This ODA could damage Japan’s already struggling economy and anger the Japanese public. Additionally, conservatives see Japanese ODA as an acknowledgment of Japanese aggression during the war, which they deny. The unresolved abductions issue has given conservatives permission to delay paying ODA and normalizing relations.

Moreover, Japan has used the abduction issue to “free-ride” through the Six-Party Talks negotiating North Korean nuclear disarmament. The abductions give Japan an excuse to receive the short-term security benefits from the talks without making any contributions to the negotiations. In a 2007 agreement, the US, China, South Korea, and Russia agreed to provide economic aid to North Korea. Although North Korea claims that Japan also agreed to provide aid, Japan has refrained from doing so and has repeatedly said that it will not provide economic aid, even within the frame of the Six-Party Talks, without a resolution to the abductions.

Despite Japan’s reasons to prevent a resolution of the abduction issue, diplomats have made efforts to work with North Korea. In 2007, Yamasaki Taku, the vice president of the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), visited North Korea and attempted to

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137 Lynn, “Vicarious Traumas,” 494.
139 Ibid.
140 DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 166.
142 Ibid., 173-175.
persuade Japan to make concessions in the Six-Party Talks and the abductions issue. In response, Prime Minister Abe said, “we cannot extend any aid unless the abduction issue moves forward.”\(^\text{143}\) Japanese diplomats lack the political flexibility to re-engage with Pyongyang and solve the abductions issue.\(^\text{144}\) While this may frustrate other governments, the public has not allowed officials to marginalize the abductions issue regardless of potential benefits.\(^\text{145}\)

**North Korea**

Since 2002, North Korea has constantly argued it has resolved the abductions issue. On one occasion, North Korea’s chief negotiator in the Six-Party Talks remarked, “It’s the Japanese that keep raising (the abduction issue). We accounted for all of the cases, living and dead. Abe knows that. He was standing next to Prime Minister Koizumi in 2002 when we agreed. He was nodding in agreement, too. And now he’s raising the issue for political gain. We can never work with (Abe).”\(^\text{146}\) North Korea has described another Japanese abduction official as a “politically-motivated fraud” with the intention “to win popularity by portraying the dead persons as alive.”\(^\text{147}\)

If the abductees have not died, North Korea has reasons to fake their deaths. While training spies, the abductees may have received access to North Korean secrets.\(^\text{148}\) Although DiFilippo has questioned the ability of foreigners to gain access to state secrets,\(^\text{149}\) the abductees could have formed relationships with the spies and learned sensitive information. North Korea might still see the abductees as essential to their espionage program. Additionally, the abductees may not want to return to Japan. After spending more than half of their lives in North Korea, they may have families and not want to separate. If North Korea released information that these abductees are still alive, the international

\(^{143}\) Ibid.
\(^{145}\) Lynn, "Vicarious Traumas," 506.
\(^{146}\) DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 153.
\(^{147}\) DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 159.
\(^{148}\) Ibid., 168.
\(^{149}\) Ibid.
community would likely demand their return to Japan.

If the abductees died, North Korea still has reasons to limit the release of information. DiFilippo has argued that Pyongyang would receive “no harm” in allowing Japan to independently investigate the abductions within North Korea. He forgets, however, that in addition to appearing weak before the global community, the Japanese could find information that damages the Kim regime. For example, information about the full extent of the North Korean abduction program could prove that North Korea kidnapped hundreds of Japanese or citizens of other countries. The information could increase the evidence of human rights abuses or state-sponsored terrorism by North Korea. Finally, complying with any Japanese requests, especially an investigation into the abduction issue, would make the Kim regime appear weak before the international community.

Additionally, the North Koreans may have released all of the information that it has on the abductions. Indeed, regardless of Japanese anger over the abductions, North Korea cannot resurrect the dead. Several inconsistencies found within the documents provided by North Korea to Japan may stem from poor record keeping rather than an attempted cover-up. With regards to this possibility, one Japanese official remarked, “If it were some other country Japan could accept poor-record keeping, but not with North Korea.” Because the abductions later embarrassed the Kim regime, low-level officials may have hidden the truth from their superiors. In an act of self-preservation, officials may have covered up their involvement in the abductions following the execution and incarceration of the abductees that kidnapped Megumi.

Another reason for North Korea’s failure to satisfactorily resolve the abduction issue lays in the government’s ability to profit from not resolving it. On several occasions, North Korea has made promises to reinvestigate the abduction issue following agreements that Japan would ease unilateral nuclear and missile sanctions. Thus, during a North Korean

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150 Ibid.
151 Ibid., 148.
152 Ibid., 168.
155 As previously mentioned on page 7.
156 See, for example, Abe’s aforementioned easing of sanctions or Brown, “North Korean Nuclear Weapons Threat,” 169.
humanitarian or other crisis, the Kim regime can agree to reinvestigate, get the economic assistance it needs, and fail to produce any major results. While a failure to provide new information would lead to Japan reinstating sanctions, North Korea can feel confident that Japan would likely remove the sanctions for future agreements to reinvestigate. Additionally, if North Korea resolved the abduction issue, Japan would likely find other reasons for economic sanctions. Similarly, Brown argues that North Korea’s participated in the Six-Party Talks because the United Nations Security Council’s decision to lift economic sanctions during the negotiations.

To fully normalize relations with Japan, North Korea has demanded restitution for the Japanese atrocities committed during WWII. In 2005, North Korea stated that “Japan had savagely plundered Korea of its resources for over 40 years after occupying it by force of arms early in the past 20th century. It took away, or abducted, more than 8.4 million innocent Koreans and mercilessly killed at least one million of them and forced 200,000 women into sexual slavery for the Imperial Japanese Army.” In 2007, North Korean official Ri Pyong Dok said, “The settlement of crimes committed by Japan is a priority. Without that, there will be no normalization of relations between the two countries.” In 2007, North Korea’s chief negotiator, Song Il Ho, said “North Korea cannot consider reinvestigating the abduction issue until Japan lifts sanctions against Pyongyang over the North’s missile and atomic tests last year, stops ‘suppressing’ pro-North Korean residents living in Japan, and agrees to reparations for the colonial rule.” With a purchasing power parity GDP of a mere US$40 billion in 2008, Japanese ODA of US$1-$10 billion could drastically improve North Korea’s economy. Moreover, new business ties would also boost the economy, which could result in growth similar to that in China and South Korea throughout the last 50 years.

Japan, however, requires a resolution of the abduction issue before paying

157 For an example of this attitude, see Takahashi, "Japan to Extend Sanctions."
158 Curtis, "Abe’s Game Plan."
160 Ibid., 175.
161 Ibid.
162 Ibid., 176.
163 Hagström, "Normalizing Japan," 841.
164 Ibid.
reparations. In 2007, Japan’s Foreign Minister Asou Tarou, who would later become Prime Minister, stated, “If no progress is made on the abduction (issue), we will not even pay one yen. We deliver this as our message.”\(^{165}\) The rhetoric of leaders in Japan and North Korea has developed into a never-ending cycle. Both sides have refused to make concessions to the others’ demands without concessions being made on their own demands. A normalization of Japanese-North Korean relations will not occur unless this changes.

**The United States**

The U.S.’s promises of support for the abductions issue have varied but strongly supports Japan when nuclear deals seem unlikely.\(^{166}\) In April 2006, Megumi’s parents met President George W. Bush to request U.S. assistance in obtaining the release of their daughter. Following the meeting President Bush stated that he had “just had one of the most moving meetings since I’ve been the President here in the Oval Office.”\(^{167}\) While he did not always support the Japanese stance on the abduction issue, he often used the abductions to support his North Korean policies.\(^{168}\)

President Barrack Obama’s administration has also prioritized the abductions. In 2012, U.S. Special Representative for North Korea Policy Glyn Davies stated that “there will be no ultimate resolution of the differences between North Korea and the U.S. and the Six Parties unless they (North Korea) resolve this issue — and, in particular, unless they keep their promise, their undertaking that they made back in August of 2008 to reinvestigate the cases of the abductees.”\(^{169}\) Since this statement, North Korea has not substantially reinvestigated the abductees, and the U.S. has not made major progress in North Korean relations. While serving as Secretary of State, U.S. presidential candidate Hillary Clinton met with several of the abductees’ families and stated:

> Well, I was very touched by their stories. It’s one thing to read about pain that families have been suffering because of the abduction of their loved ones. And it is very personal to sit with a brother who lost a sister and

\(^{165}\) Brown, “North Korean Nuclear Weapons Threat,” 175.
\(^{166}\) Williams and Mobrand, “Explaining Divergent Responses,” 532.
\(^{168}\) Ibid., 144.
\(^{169}\) DiFilippo, “Still at Odds,” 152.
parents who lost a daughter and to see their pictures at the time that they disappeared, and to hear about the daily anguish that the families feel, because they have – they heard no word for years, did not know what happened, and then they learn that their loved ones have been ab ducted. And it seems so cruel to have done it in the first place, and then not to provide information and let these people come home with, you know, their own families. So I reassured the families that I met with that the abductee issue is part of the Six-Party Talks; it remains a matter of grave concern to the United States.\textsuperscript{170}

Additionally, the U.S. needs Japan’s support to reach a nuclear and missile deal with North Korea. The U.S. sees the Japanese ODA and other aid to North Korea as a major bargaining chip for reaching an agreement through the Six-Party Talks.\textsuperscript{171} Hagström noted that “Japan is indeed widely recognized as one of the very few countries that could play the role of major donor to North Korea.”\textsuperscript{172} Thus, the U.S. needs to maintain the strength of their alliance with Japan to pressure Japan in the Six-Party Talks. U.S. diplomats have also worked for a solution to the issue. One Senior U.S. State Department official attested to “spend[ing] a lot more time working with North Korean diplomats on the abduction issue than the Japanese diplomats do.”\textsuperscript{173}

While the U.S. has shown dedication to the abduction issue, the U.S. top priority is suppressing North Korean nuclear and missile threats.\textsuperscript{174} The U.S. is willing to set aside the abduction issue, and the concerns of its ally, to denuclearize North Korea. Despite intense pressure from Japan, President Bush removed North Korea from the State Department’s list of countries sponsoring terrorism in October 2008 to progress nuclear talks.\textsuperscript{175} Japan countered the U.S. by introducing new unilateral economic sanctions,\textsuperscript{176} which somewhat tainted U.S.-Japanese relations.\textsuperscript{177}

Finally, the U.S. fears how the issue could affect American hegemony in East Asia.\textsuperscript{178}

\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., 150.
\textsuperscript{171} Hagström, "Normalizing Japan," 839.
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., 847.
\textsuperscript{174} Samuels, "Kidnapping Politics," 374.
\textsuperscript{175} DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 148.
\textsuperscript{176} Hagström, "Normalizing Japan," 837.
\textsuperscript{177} DiFilippo, "Still at Odds," 148.
\textsuperscript{178} Beal, "Multilayered Confrontation," 355.
When Prime Minister Abe stated that he might visit North Korea to negotiate the abductions in 2012, President Obama, Secretary of State John Kerry, and White House Deputy National Security Advisor Ben Rhodes, all urged Abe to consult with the U.S. beforehand and to refrain from making a deal that could affect multilateral sanctions currently in place. While the U.S. does not want the abductions to prevent a North Korean denuclearization agreement, Washington also doesn’t want Japan to solve the issue without American involvement. Indeed, this would damage the U.S. position as the most powerful country in East Asian affairs.

Other Members of the Six-Party Talks: China, South Korea, Russia

The other three members of the Six-Party Talks have repeatedly expressed their frustration with the role that the abductions have played in preventing a nuclear deal. Because Japan refuses to provide economic aid in the nuclear discussions, China, South Korea, Russia, and the U.S. have all had to increase their contributions. Seeing the abductions as a dangerous nuisance to stabilizing the region, Beijing, Seoul, and Moscow have sought to keep the issue off of the agenda at the Six-Party Talks.

The reasons for the frustrations held, especially by South Korea and China, may extend far beyond the denuclearization talks. South Korea has argued that North Korea has used the abduction issue to bait Japan into disrupting unity between Japan, South Korea, and the U.S. Along with South Korea, China has expressed concerns over the abduction issue and has worked with the U.S. to pressure Pyongyang to quickly resolve the issue. At a time of increased territorial tensions in the Pacific Ocean, China worries that Japan has used the abduction issue to gain domestic support for a more powerful military. China believes that Japan uses North Korea as an excuse to build strength to compete with the Chinese. Beal noted “Japan may talk a lot about the dangers of North Korea, but the real

179 Miller, "Abe's North Korean Advances."
180 Ibid.
182 Ibid., 848.
183 Ibid., 836.
184 Miller, "Abe's North Korean Advances."
185 Hagström, "Normalizing Japan," 847.
object of its armament is China.”\textsuperscript{186} Continued Japanese-North Korean tensions could result in a decay of relations with China and South Korea which would further destabilize the region.\textsuperscript{187}

\textbf{Conclusion}

In the immediate term, a resolution to the abduction issue is unlikely and could contribute to increased tensions in East Asia. The issue has taken control of Japan’s domestic and foreign policy agenda and the international community has not found any potential solutions to the issue. A solution to this issue requires Japan and North Korea to make politically unpopular, difficult steps or they risk the consequences of a long-term conflict or, in an extreme and unlikely scenario, a nuclear war.

This evaluation now returns to the question that it originally presented: What is the value of a human life? The lives of the abductees have had various costs. For Japan, the abductions have ended reasoned debate within society about normalizing relations with North Korea. They also have, to varying degrees, soured the Japan’s relations with its neighbors, including the U.S. The abductees’ lives have cost the benefits that would have resulted from normalizing relations with North Korea and the security that could result from a deal that ends North Korea’s nuclear and missile programs.

For North Korea, the lives have cost the economic boost that would accompany between US$1.6 billion and US$10 billion in Japanese ODA and increased business relations with Japan. The lives have also forced the Kim regime to lose face in front of the international community.

Most tragically, the abductions and the politics surrounding them have caused suffering among the abductees’ family members. The costs of the lives of the abductees have not yet been paid in full. Indeed, the lives come with a price tag that will increase as time continues. In an extreme scenario, these abductions could result in a violent, long-term, and nuclear war.

Now is the time for Japan, North Korea, the United States, China, South Korea, and

\textsuperscript{186} Beal, “Multilayered Confrontation,” 354.
Russia to unite to find a solution to the abduction issue. Because the nuclear negotiations have failed to progress, the six nations in the talks need a new path to find a solution. The abductions issue is that path. Now is the time for policymakers to take the risks to gain the reward of a more stable East Asia and international sphere.
We Return Home in Boxes

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Ram described Qatar as “A place where a bed will last longer than its previous three owners.” From a visitor’s perspective, Qatar is a luxurious country where Ferraris and gold ATMs are a common sight. However, immigrant workers who helped build Qatar have a very different point of view.

I had been assigned the task of reporting on the progress of the World Cup 2022 stadiums in Qatar. I noticed some workers trying to help an injured worker on the sidewalk and immediately went to help them. This injured worker’s leg looked like a deflated balloon and was bleeding profusely. I offered them a ride to the hospital. After introducing ourselves there was an uneasy silence in the car. In order to start a conversation, I told them about my task of reporting on the World Cup stadiums. I asked for their opinions, but the boys didn’t talk much. As Ram was getting out of the car he invited me to his home. My conversation with Ram changed my life.

Ram’s home was located in an area that showed another side Qatar. I saw Ram sitting by the footsteps. Ram was as thin as a rake. The yellow building looked shabby with broken windows and traces of brown spots near the pipes, like something was leaking from the building. Ram’s big brown eyes lit up when he saw me. When we entered the building, I noticed it reeked with the stench of sewage. Ram led me into a 600 square foot room shared by nine immigrants.

Shocked and staring at the bunk beds I asked, “How do you live here?” Ram responded, “Everyone living in this building shares a room with at least eight immigrants.” Ram gestured for me to sit down and continued, “We also work for 16 hours a day and are paid $125 a month and get no holidays.” I finally understood why Ram looked so frail. He was almost as thin as the skeleton mannequin displayed at my son’s science fair. Ram warned me about the recent arrest of a BBC crew for doing a story on the working
conditions of immigrants at one of the World Cup stadiums. Ram agreed to tell me the stories of Nepalese immigrants after I told him about my passion to tell untold stories.

We sat down on his bed and in a soft voice he said, “I am just like many immigrants who come to Qatar filled with hopes for a better future for our families. Just like other immigrant workers in this country, I was assured a well-paying job with good benefits. I even paid $1,000 to my employment agency for this job. I had no idea I would be treated like a slave. The bed you are sitting on has actually lasted me longer than its previous three owners.” Ram said, “I toss and turn all night, cry silently and the next day resume my work at 5am, hiding my emotions.”

The handout I received from the communications department at the Habibi Company had shown a completely different picture. “How many days are you allowed to visit your family?” I asked remaining neutral. With a frown Ram said, “We work under Kafala system here. Under this very strict state sponsored system the workers’ movements are restricted, and are tied indefinitely to their Qatari employer. Our passport and travelling documents are seized. We have to follow the orders of our employers at all costs. The only way we are able to return home are in coffin boxes. The April 25th earthquake destroyed Nepal. Most of us are not sure if our families are alive, yet we are not allowed to visit home. Going home under normal circumstances is unheard off.”

Horrified I asked him about his family. He said, “Some workers with phones have access to news. We help each other out. I found out through them that the 7.8 earthquake started from my village. The death toll increases every day. One Nepali worker was able to get in touch with his wife soon after the earthquake. His house was destroyed, so his kids and wife are living in the streets. The management denied his request to go home to help his family. We are helpless and every moment we wonder if our loved ones are rotting waiting for us.” Taking a photograph out from under his pillow and as his eyes filled with tears Ram said, “My family photo used to be my only source of comfort but now it’s a sword that pierces my heart. I used to tell my family made up happy stories. What will I tell them now? I am so ashamed of lying to them but I have no choice. Will they think of me the same way when they find out I have been lying to them? They might not even be alive to hear my
false stories."

I was speechless. There was nothing I could say to help Ram, so I held his hand. Ram continued, “Fire is holy in Hindu rituals. I had hoped when I returned home in a box my family would take care of my last rituals. Now I wonder is there anyone left to mourn for me?” I heard stifled cries from Ram’s roommates. They were pretending to sleep. Ram said, “We appear calm on the outside hoping we can be strong for each other, but inside, we are all screaming for help. We are shouting our desires to hold our loved ones but this world is deaf.” I realized the only way I could help them was by telling their story. So, I continued my interview.

“How strict is the Kafala system?” Ram said, “Recently I met a Nepali sister who wasn’t even allowed to have contact with any person outside her employer’s immediate family. She used hand signals from the roof to communicate with us. I became her first verbal contact in three months when she heard me singing in Nepali through a sealed backdoor of her employer’s house. I told her my employer would kill me if I were caught with a cell phone. One day she was finally allowed a day off from work. She took the opportunity to get a phone. Since then she helps me communicate with my family. She will be punished if her employer catches her with a phone. Half her face was blue the first day I saw her because of her employer’s beatings. She was only a few minutes late to open the door because she was in the kitchen. Actually, it’s no use complaining about our ill treatment. We are the slaves of the 21st century.”

It’s almost 93°F at night. During the day these men work in 110°F temperatures on average. I saw a small stove and some kitchenware neatly laid out over some newspapers on the floor at a corner of the room. The 600 square foot room is a combination of bedroom and kitchen for nine people. I have no doubt these workers have a high level of endurance and their living conditions are proof that their stories are not lies.

Ram continued, “One day I stole some medicines from the first aid kit at work to help that Nepali sister. I had been saving some money for a phone. When she gets another chance she will get one for me too. We find compassion in the harshest situations. The richer people get, the less compassion they seem to have here. We are willing to risk our
lives to be able to communicate with our families.”

I needed to hear his background. I heard myself saying, “Why did you come here?” Looking at the family photo Ram said, “I miss my home under the mountains. I miss my young wife and my two sons. My elder son became four years old and my younger one turned one last month. I hope my children can remember me. I am the sole breadwinner of my family. I was a happy farmer with a stable income before the Nepali Civil War. The civil war dropped my sales. If only I didn’t have to take my mother for treatment in the city I would still be home. I sold our land for her treatment. It was in the city that I came across my employment agency. They were claiming they could provide good work in Qatar. I believed them too much. I was so naïve! They promised me I would be able to send $1,000 a month home! It was stupid of me to put my house and the remaining land on bondage for a loan of $1,200. I thought I would be able to pay the loan back within two months and in a few months buy a new plot of land for farming. Reality struck when I was told I would be paid $125 a month, excluding living expenses. Then with a smile they took my passport. My hopes to ensure good education for my children and provide for my wife blinded me from reality. Little did I know the last time I would hold my wife and kids would be three weeks ago.”

Suddenly laughing Ram said, “My first time on the plane was terrifying. I was not even sure if I was in the correct airplane. A stranger filled out the form for me and pointed me towards a direction. Compared to this situation, the plane ride was a blessing.”

Shaking his head Ram added, “I can’t believe I considered myself lucky when I embarked for Qatar.” Looking up at me he said, “I am still among the lucky ones to not be injured yet. Our employer has abandoned the person you helped today. He has refused to pay for his treatment and still continues to withhold the worker’s passport and exit visa. He can’t go home in spite of being useless to my employer. At least I am not facing that situation.”

I was unable to remain neutral anymore and asked, “How are you able to endure so much?” Ram looked at me and said, “Anyone enduring these harsh conditions will perish. Living and working in such inhumane conditions, many immigrant workers in prime age
have died due to heart attacks, accidents, or suicides. There were times when I thought of hanging in this ceiling fan to escape the pain. But poor people like me cannot escape. My wife will be left alone with the children. The loan owners would pounce on her. I should make an effort to protect her from harm because I have already failed my vow to grow old together.”

“Why did you tell your story to me?” I inquired. Ram immediately responded “The world is indifferent towards the poor. First we had some hopes for change but the world is too busy to think about us. We know nobody can set us free and we are prepared to return home in boxes. I had given up but you were the first person in a long time to help us. I thought maybe telling you our story will help the world understand our pain. Maybe this last effort might allow me to hold my family one more time or take their decaying body out from under the rubble. Maybe this risk will bring a change in our lives.”

I had to make sure I was unbiased in order to be able to continue with the interview. I inquired, “Why are there so many immigrant workers coming to Qatar to work even in such harsh conditions?” Ram responded, “Qatar is built on the sweat and dead bodies of people like me. A reporter from the Guardian told me that there are 1.4 million immigrant workers in Qatar and that 94% of the overall population is comprised of immigrant workers. Most of them are Nepalese immigrant workers. The remaining 6% of the population are our employers who enjoy the highest GDP per capita in the world.” For the first time I sensed anger in Ram's voice. He remained silent for a while then shook his head.

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See also:
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Suddenly he hit the pillow with his fist and cried, “I wish I could expose the realities of Qatar. We converted this desert into this luxury yet we are treated like insects.”

Ram took a deep breath and slowly regaining his composure said, “If only I knew the realities of Qatar I would have never left my family. But there is no one to tell the truth. Hardly anyone returns home alive. Family members are unaware of the situation too. In order to avoid paying compensation to the family of the deceased the employers make false stories. When a poor man only hears good things about Qatar and its opportunities it’s really easy to fall into this trap. Every poor person hopes for a better future so we get exploited easily. The desire of a better future blinds us from noticing the dead. The loans make our families more vulnerable so we cannot back-out.”

I had read about the unfair treatment of the workers before, but witnessing their suffering and hearing their story directly was very different from reading it in an article. I could no longer maintain my role as a neutral reporter, so I decided to end the interview with the question, “What do you wish for everyday?” Ram responded without a pause, “I wish I could just be with my family. If I were with my family they wouldn’t have to endure the disaster alone. At least we would have survived or died together. I wish I could tell them the reality but it will be too hard for them to handle. Especially now, they have their own problems for survival.”

Ram continued, “Nepal is a resilient country but there are no opportunities. Every day many people leave for education or work. Poor people like me get stuck in the worst places because we are too gullible. If only Nepal was politically stable then the people would be able to create opportunities. I would not even consider leaving my family for a foreign country if only I had access to even the smallest opportunities. Maybe I should have tried to make my own opportunities. If we can build Qatar on a desert with our hard work surely we can build Nepal too. I wish I had realized this sooner but maybe I can help others realize this with your help. Do you think the plight of immigrant workers will ever be understood?”

Suddenly there was a knock on the door. “Ram, there is a call for you from Nepal!” said another Nepali worker. Ram’s lanky figure made him look like a kid. Ram quickly
jumped out of the bed making his pillow, letters and the family picture fall to the floor. I saw his thin shadowy figure holding a phone to his ear in the dimly lit hallway.

He said, “Hello? Hello?” There was a loud beep and Ram slowly hung up the phone, letting a muffled moan escape his chest. He sluggishly entered the room. I realized the Nepali worker and I were staring at each other simultaneously. He rushed to Ram and they spoke in Nepali. Ram handed him the phone and started collecting his scattered belongings from the floor. I looked up towards the Nepali worker hoping he could explain the situation to me. The Nepali worker was moving towards me with a blank expression on his face. Suddenly there was a loud knock on the door. We all looked towards the wide-eyed dwarfish figure dressed only in boxers. He said, “Another big earthquake just hit Nepal.”
Focus on Peace: A Photo Documentary Series of the Peace Day Philly 
March on September 21st, 2013

Jessica K. Kratzer
Arcadia University, Drexel University

The following photographs are part of a series entitled Focus on Peace documenting the Peacebuilding and Peace Education efforts of Peace Day Philly in 2013. Peace Day Philly is a local initiative that welcomes Philly area organizations, neighborhoods, community groups, civic leaders and individuals to participate in activities relating to personal, local and/or global peace, on the United Nations International Day of Peace and Cease Fire each September 21st. This series not only documents the work of local Philadelphia peace makers, but also captures people’s most peaceful moments on the “most peaceful day of the year.”

Stop in the Name of Peace

Members of the Granny Peace Brigade of Philadelphia, an active anti-war demonstration group, sing the words "Stop in the name of peace!" at the annual Peace Day sing-a-long in 2013.
Laughing for Peace

Sometimes the silliest moments are the most peaceful. Pictured here are members of Philadelphia’s Granny Peace Brigade, an active anti-war demonstration group, laughing in-between anti-war songs at the annual Peace Day sing-a-long in 2013.
Peace Greeting
(This Page)
Pictured here is Aschak, the lead organizer of Philadelphia's Earth Day Kids, a local youth organization, as he greets the crowd at the annual Peace Day sing-a-long in 2013.

Happiness is Peace
(Next Page)
When children are at play, it means all is right with the world at that moment. I thought it fitting that on the International Day of Peace, children were playing in Sister Cities Fountain, a unique representation of Philadelphia’s peaceful relations with ten sister cities, including Florence, Italy, Kobe, Japan, and Tel Aviv, Israel.
Local artist Peter Quinn and a team of volunteers drew thousands of chalk body outlines across all four lanes of John F. Kennedy Boulevard, in Philadelphia, PA. Quinn’s work, entitled “American Casualties: A Drawing,” is described as a community art project intended as “a visual image of the devastation of gun violence in America each year.” Pictured here is a volunteer tracing a chalk outline on JFK Boulevard in 2013.

Strengthening the Democratic Peace: A Contribution of Social Ethics and Ontology to Democratic Peace Theory

Paul Wilcox

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Jane Addams is famous as one of the founders and directors of Hull House, which was a settlement house that provided community support for women and immigrants. In addition to social work, Addams was a prolific writer, leading suffragist, philosopher, and an ardent activist against World War I. Likewise, in 1931, Addams became the first woman to earn a Nobel Peace Prize. Guiding these activities, however, was Addams’s theory of “social ethics,” which is a commitment to humanity based on sympathy (which is caring for others), reciprocity, and cooperation. Social ethics forms the basis of democracy and peace. Peace, to Addams, is more than the absence of war and the existence of international organizations to arbitrate disputes between countries. Instead, it is the application of social ethics to build cooperative relationships among countries to care for humanitarian needs and solve world problems.

This description of peace and democracy makes Addams a forbearer to philosopher Carol Gould who devises a similar conception of democracy called intersociative democracy, based on “social ontology,” or “individuals in relations.” Thus, Addams’s theory and practice of social ethics was ahead of her time, and social ethics/ontology can contribute to our understanding of democratic peace theory (hereafter, DPT), which is a theory that democracies are restrained by norms, institutions, and trading relationships, from fighting each other. To highlight what social ethics/ontology contributes to our understanding of DPT, this paper compares these authors to Joanne Gowa’s Ballots or Bullets, and Bruce Russett’s Grasping the Democratic Peace. Like many democratic theorists, Addams and Gould agree that democracy needs to spread peacefully. However, these comparisons also illustrate that by strengthening democracy through social ethics/ontology, it enhances DPT in three ways: (1) Transnational forms of democracy
must be sought out. (2) Democracies ought to guide interests between countries in ways that are moral and fair. (3) Finally, democracies must become friendlier with non-democratic countries.

**Democratic Peace Theory**

Before analyzing how Addams and Gould enhance our understanding of DPT, it is necessary to describe DPT, social ethics, and social ontology. Immanuel Kant argues that a separation of powers, a republican constitution, and free trade are the basis for perpetual peace between countries.¹ Since then, many scholars have observed that democracies are less likely to fight each other than are non-democracies. According to political scientist Joanne Gowa, common explanations for this phenomenon are that, firstly, democracies have norms of conflict resolution which enable disputing parties to solve conflicts peacefully. They may rely on bargaining and third party arbitration. These civic norms are then applied to foreign diplomacy. Secondly, democracies have lower trade barriers. This encourages democracies to trade more with each other than with non-democracies, and it will make a war between democracies more economically disruptive than with non-democracies. Thirdly, democratic institutions, such as multiparty systems, periodic elections, and a legislature, constrain leaders and hold them accountable. For instance, people are more likely to support leaders who are peaceful if the cost of war is felt on the general population. These checks and balances likewise build confidence between democratic states that they will treat each other peacefully.²

DPT has greatly influenced international peace strategies and policies. Political scientist Jack Levey even declares it is “as close to anything we have to an empirical law of international relations.”³ DPT is fundamental to Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, which are conditions proposed for the peace after World War I, in which Wilson tries to make a

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³ Ibid., 3.
“partnership of democratic nations.” More recently, DPT influenced President Clinton’s policy of “building a community of democratic nations” to ensure “prosperity at home” and “checking global threats abroad.” On the other hand, DPT has been the excuse for warfare, such as when Wilson declared war against the autocratic empire of Germany in order to make the world “safe for democracy.” DPT also influenced Addams but, unlike Wilson, her view of social ethics caused her to apply democracy peacefully.

**Social Ethics and Peace**

Years before World War I, Addams developed a view of democracy based on social ethics. In *Democracy and Social Ethics*, she argues whereas before the Industrial Revolution, people mostly felt a sense of responsibility to themselves, their family, and their friends, the Industrial Revolution created economic conditions that required a social ethic, meaning one has an obligation to humanity. Addams writes people of the Industrial Age “deserve [...] a clearer definition of a code of morality adapted to present day demands,” and therefore, “Must be brought into contact with the [...] experiences of the many.” This concept represents more than just an intensification of humanitarianism, but is a devotion to the building of reciprocal and cooperative relationships between people. She identifies “diversified human experience [...] resultant sympathy,” which is caring for, and empathizing with others, and “identification with the common lot” as the “foundation and guarantee of democracy,” and social ethics is an “expression” of these characteristics. These ethics enhance democracy by emphasizing the importance of care and reciprocity, and they can guide DPT by indicating democracy is transnational, common interests between countries ought to be democratically determined through social interactions and charity, and democracies have to avoid war even with non-democratic countries.

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5 Gowa, 3.
7 Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1964), 4-5.
8 Ibid., 2-4.
9 Ibid., 7, 11.
The reason diversity in experience and care are essential to democracy, according to Addams, is because diversity in experience causes one to think about the common good, and care for others prompts one to make decisions outside of one’s own self-interest. In turn, this interaction motivates one to persist in practicing social ethics, and thereby preserve democracy. Interaction with others causes one to realize “even the safest platitude may be challenged.” For instance, the richer person may realize wealth is not a valid way to judge someone’s moral value. Care and experience also establishes a “common fund of memories and affections from which the obligation [to society] naturally develops.” Thus, active engagement with others and care causes individuals to rethink their opinions and impressions of others, thereby leading to more rational decision making and motivation to persist in social ethics. Addams argues people need a code of morality “adapted to present day demands,” and interaction is a key method for determining what this code ought to consist of.

Interaction is how people understand one another’s diverse needs and expands people’s rights, and it therefore applies across classes, cultures, and genders. For instance, Addams distinguishes between “family claim,” or the obligations of women to domestic duties, and “social claim,” which are duties to the state, social movements, and becoming active in the community outside of domestic roles. Addams calls the “social claim” the “democratic claim” because it involves a deeper level of community engagement. Traditionally, women were mostly confined to the family, and she sought ways to combine the two claims, such as in humanitarianism during World War I. Thus, like many current democratic theorists, Addams moves beyond traditional liberal democracy by calling for the expansion of minority rights and their participation in democratic decisions.

These ethics also shaped how Addams viewed peace, which she defines not just as the absence of war and violence, but as “the unfolding of world-wide processes making for the nurture of human life,” and “common development,” and she connects peace to democracy through social ethics. The very title of Addams’s 1899 speech “Democracy or

10 Ibid., 32.
11 Ibid., 15.
12 Ibid., 5.
13 Ibid., 4-5.
14 Addams, Democracy and Social Ethics, 73-77, 81-83.
Militarism,” implies the two terms are contrary to each other. Militarism harms community building efforts by causing idleness among soldiers, spreading disease, and establishing brutal laws such as whipping children. By contrast, societies need to remain peaceful to build communities grounded in social ethics. If people focus on violence, such as playing war games, voting for wartime presidents, and supporting imperialism, then it will replace a “humane instinct” with a “barbaric instinct.”

Also, Addams argues democracy is international. She declares that “nationalism” has to be “extended to internationalism,” and “patriotism” has to merge with “humanitarianism.” In other words, militarism offers nothing good whatsoever to the building of communities, and by extension, spreading democracy. By contrast, societies must not only try to avoid the temptation of war, but have to remain peaceful at their core to remain democratic, and apply peace internationally. These were arguments against war in general, and therefore apply to wars both against fellow democracies, and non-democracies, such as Germany during World War I.

*Newer Ideals of Peace* is another work that firmly connects peace to democracy. Many liberals of Addams’s time argue war is immoral because it is expensive and causes widespread suffering. Also, the best way to achieve peace, they think, is to follow Kant’s theory of perpetual peace and establish international bodies and legal codes. However, while Addams thinks these views and solutions are important, she argues they are inadequate because they only amount to unstable negative peace. Instead, she postulates that social ethics, which actively involves the people by utilizing “human interests and affections,” is a more fundamental way to eradicate warfare. Addams believed this unification across countries was possible because of her experiences with immigrants. They were willing to put aside their cultural differences and focus on basic needs. Furthermore, their duel patriotism to the United States and their home-countries,

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16 Addams, “Democracy or Militarism,” 1.
18 Ibid., Paraphrase, 7. Direct quote, 8-9.
19 Ibid., 16-20.
according to Addams, would make it as hard to declare war on another country as it would be against “our next-door neighbor.” To Addams, then, peace and democracy is built from the ground up by starting with interpersonal relationships, which can ultimately guide international law and cooperation. Thus, common goals between countries would be democratically determined.

Not only is social ethics transnational, it also extends to any setting that requires human interaction. For instance, social ethics influenced Addams’s opposition to colonialism, thoughts on business organization, management of Hull House, and opposition to World War I. Addams opposes colonialism as being oppressive to local governance. She also contends that companies are too hieratical. For instance, Addams argues that the Pullman Strike of 1894, which was a railway strike, happened because the company had “aristocratic,” instead of “democratic management.” George Pullman, who was the leader of the company, did not see himself as equal with his workers. Thus, Pullman forewent “mutual interest” and “common cause” with them. This led him to make decisions irrespective of his workers’ needs, which ultimately led to the strike.

Regarding Hull House, Addams writes, “Things that make men alike are finer and better than the things that keep them apart, and that these basic likenesses, if they are properly accentuated, easily transcend the less essential differences of race, language, creed, and tradition.” Thus, Addams encourages active engagement between cultures to create a stronger connection and understanding among them. For example, she created an exhibit that featured different cultural traditions of spinning wheels, so that people could recognize the contribution of all cultures to society. By expanding democracy to include these realms of human interaction, Addams carries democracy beyond its traditional liberal version which often ignores international, economic, and intercultural relationships.

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20 Ibid., 19.
22 Addams, Democracy and Social Ethics, 145-146.
23 Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House with Autobiographical Notes (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1912), 111.
24 Ibid., 236.
These ethics also drove Addams’s opposition to World War I. When the United States declared war in order to make the world “safe for democracy,” Addams rightly predicted that this war would only damage democracy by violating social ethics. Addams expresses “the reversal of human relationships which war implied,” is worse than “the cruelty and barbarity of war” in general.\textsuperscript{25} Indeed, according to historian John Hingham, “The struggle of Germany called forth the most strenuous nationalism and the most pervasive nativism that the United States had ever known.”\textsuperscript{26} Nationalists spied on, coerced into the military, and formed mobs against immigrants, political radicals (such as socialists), and pacifists because they distrusted them.\textsuperscript{27} War led to repressive legislation such as the Sedition and Espionage Acts, which forbade speech and activities that frustrated the war effort.\textsuperscript{28} Addams stood before congress shortly before the Espionage Act was to be passed, and argued it was being authorized without the consent of the people, and led to a violation of free speech by restricting one’s ability to oppose the war.\textsuperscript{29} Addams appealed to Woodrow Wilson to abstain from the war because neutral countries, being “free from the rancors of war,” were in a stronger position to negotiate peace.\textsuperscript{30} Wilson refused however, and many historians agree that the Treaty of Versailles, which was dictated by the Allied powers, contributed to the rise of fascism and the Second World War.

Instead of warfare, social ethics led Addams to pursue peaceful methods to spread democracy, such as the Hague Conference of 1915, which opposed the war and tried to establish the conditions for a stable postwar peace, as well as The Commission for Relief in Belgium, which was a charity designed after the war to feed starving populations in parts of Europe. These activities are consistent with Addams’s theory of social ethics. For example, Addams argues that these activities are laying “the foundations for a wider, international morality,” and that the Relief for Belgium would “melt [the] animosity.” Furthermore, these

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 195, 198, 204-05, 207-09, 211-12, 221-22.
activities offered a way to combine the family and social claims by allowing women to participate in national affairs in a way that was tied to their domestic routine.\textsuperscript{31} For instance, Addams contends women have historically been connected with growing food and caring for people.\textsuperscript{32} Furthermore, the delegates at The Hague thought women had a vital role to play for peace because they were not expected to fight in the war and were generally more peaceful and nurturing than men.\textsuperscript{33}

Similarly, the women at The Hague believed democracy should guide international affairs. In Resolution 8 of the document they created for the conditions of the postwar peace, the delegates write that because people are generally peaceful, “foreign politics shall be subject to democratic control.”\textsuperscript{34} More specifically, regarding women, the delegates argue women are essential to world peace, and therefore ought to enjoy full democratic rights. Addams thinks the peaceful organization of the world “may have been made too exclusively to reason and a sense of justice,” but that it should also include “urgings to foster life to protect the helpless […] and […] the social and gregarious instincts.”\textsuperscript{35} These “must be given opportunities to expand and to have a recognized place in formal organization of international relations.”\textsuperscript{36} Thus, international affairs would more directly involve the voice of the people.

Furthermore, international bodies are a way for countries to not just arbitrate disputes, but to cooperate with one another to solve humanitarian and global problems.\textsuperscript{37} For instance, Addams explains if southeastern Europeans are starving, Russia should give them food not for personal advantage, “but from the point of view of the needs of Europe. The international body could help put humanity as the primary consideration […] [for] international relationships.”\textsuperscript{38} Thus, The Hague and Belgian relief used World War I as an opportunity to deepen democracy according to the values of social ethics. These activities

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 76, 78–80.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Women at The Hague, "Appendix III." (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), Paraphrased, 153. Direct quote, 154.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Jane Addams, "Appendix III." (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), 129-130.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 130.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 141.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Ibid., Paraphrased, 132. Direct quote, 133.
\end{itemize}
granted opportunities for women to participate in politics, and required that democracy ought to guide international affairs to keep it humanitarian and peaceful. Finally, these methods offered a stronger method of making the world “safe[r] for democracy” than warfare.

Social Ontology

Addams's understanding and practice of democracy and peace was ahead of her time, and her theories carry implications for contemporary democratic practices. For example, Addams's main ideas are consistent with philosopher Carol Gould's *Globalizing Democracy and Human Rights*. Addams never used the term “globalization,” but with immigration, international organizations, industrialization, and colonialism, Addams sensed that the people of the world were becoming increasingly dependent upon each other. To her, these global phenomena underscored the necessity for more international and cooperative relationships, and led to a “newer,” positive conception of peace. Addams calls for an end to nationalism and encourages, in the words of political scientist Wendy Sarvasy, a “world social citizenship.”

Similarly to Addams, Gould’s revision of democracy is a response to globalization. To Gould, traditional liberal democracy, which is confined to the borders of a state and carries a constitution and formal political rights such as voting, is rendered ineffective by globalization, which only serves a few powerful elites such as corporations. Thus, like Addams, Gould calls for a “new” conception of democracy which she calls “intersociative democracy, to emphasize cross border decision making and [...] transborder solidarity [...] with new intercultural associations.”

Addams justifies democracy on “social ethics,” and writes reciprocity, care and identification with others is the “foundation and guarant[ee] of democracy.” Similarly, Gould argues democracy is ultimately based on social ontology, or “individuals in relations.” These relationships have reciprocal and empathetic qualities that lead to a recognition of equal rights and equal participation in decision making. Reciprocity, to Gould, means “an

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41 Ibid., 4.
intentional relation of reciprocal recognition in which each person recognizes the other as free and self-developing.”\textsuperscript{42}

When people are in reciprocal relationships, they see each other as “agents with claims to the conditions for their self-developing or self-transformative activity.”\textsuperscript{43} Reciprocity is also found in common goals, or “shared activities.” When people are in a cooperative relationship, they recognize they have equal input in what the end should be, and how to achieve it. A final form of reciprocity is that individuals are “persons,” or “selves,” who inherently deserve respect. If one sees him or herself as inherently valuable, then they ought to view others the same way.\textsuperscript{44}

Like Addams, Gould also identifies care as a pillar of democracy. Care requires empathy, taking other people's interests seriously, and providing for people's differentiated needs and personal growth. The common feelings of care people share with each other builds common interests, which fosters deliberation and creates a sense of “community.” Thus, even though care is not necessarily reciprocal, care does promote reciprocity by sharing many of the same features. Even though care is often only directed at people one feels love and solidarity toward, Gould believes that some aspects of care can be universal. For example, respect for one's individuality and differences requires empathy, and taking into account the “perspective, feelings, and needs” of others. Second, if people work together to accomplish a shared goal, then they care about each other's equal involvement and their own personal responsibility in achieving it.\textsuperscript{45} Finally, care is essential to democracy because it helps one to implement human rights.\textsuperscript{46}

Reciprocity and care are the basis of social ontology, and both of these basic modes of human interaction are predicated on a recognition and desire that others are autonomous, equal, self-developing, and different. Thus, Gould defines justice as “equal positive freedom,” where all people have a right to the resources and conditions that will enable them to uniquely develop.\textsuperscript{47} Therefore, equal positive freedom calls for a

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 42.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 42.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 43-45.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 145.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 34.
strengthening of human rights, and forces one to reject racism and sexism, as these violate one’s ability to live to their fullest.\textsuperscript{48} Furthermore, Gould explains traditional liberal democracy applies rights uniformly, without taking into account the different needs of individuals or groups. Equal positive freedom, by contrast, posits that people ought to have equivalent conditions, such as affirmative action for marginalized minority groups, accommodations for people with disabilities, and by encouraging gender equality in health, education, and subsistence.\textsuperscript{49}

Similarly, Addams argues interaction is a powerful way for people to understand one another’s unique needs and to overcome prejudice. Like Gould, Addams disavows racism and colonialism as anti-democratic, and she fights against the ethnocentric philosophy of nationalists. She also wishes to expand women’s participation in the social claim, which would improve women’s economic independence and rights. Furthermore, while Addams never uses the term “human rights,” her belief that a united body of nations and organizations ought to identify and provide for people’s basic needs is consistent with this concept.

Additionally, Gould argues that equal positive freedom requires minority and cultural rights because shared goals and one’s culture are sources of self-development. These rights are determined by “interassociative norms,” which are norms and values developed by the interaction of cultures. These norms are arrived at through (1) relationships based on care, solidarity, empathy, and concern, (2) common goals, needs, and interests, and (3) dialogue.\textsuperscript{50} As explained before, Addams also believes social ethics is built on the interactions of cultures and individuals based on dialogue. Furthermore, humanitarian efforts and welfare are ways to promote care and common goals between diverse people. For example, Addams practiced these values at Hull House, where she encouraged the interaction of cultures in ways that preserved their distinctiveness but built understanding and cooperation between them. These ethics are also evident in her humanitarian projects

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 37, 106, 137.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 65.
during the World War I, which fostered common goals and relationships based on care. Furthermore, Gould argues because equal positive freedom involves equal opportunity to participate in shared activities, it expands democratic practices beyond formal political events, like voting, to several realms of human interaction such as business, family, and school.\textsuperscript{51} In addition to these realms, social ontology expands democracy from the nation state to transnational forms because social ontology is about “individuals in relations” and “interassociation.”\textsuperscript{52} Of course, Addams also thinks democracy is not only a formal political structure, but is an interpersonal relationship involving reciprocity and care, that extends to business management, Hull House, and across national boundaries.

\textit{Joanne Gowa’s Ballots or Bullets}

Addams and Gould’s theory of democracy has implications for DPT. A comparison to political scientist Joanne Gowa’s \textit{Ballots and Bullets} reveals two aspects about DPT: First, that traditional liberal democracy is inadequate for securing peace and that we must move to transnational forms of democracy. Second, common interests between countries are essential to international peace, but they need to be democratically determined.

Before delving into these points, however, it is necessary to understand Gowa’s definitions of war, democracy, and her analysis of the effectiveness DPT. Gowa is critical of the notion that democratic norms, liberal trade policies, and democratic institutions can effectively cause peace. For example, it is often hard to tell whether a certain behavior occurs because of adherence to norms, or self-interests. Also, war does not necessarily disrupt trade. For instance, if warring countries need each other’s goods, then they may choose to continue trading. Or, they each might find new partners. DPT ignores the fact that non-democracies can also be bound by informal systems of checks and balances. For example, dictators may keep only small militaries so that they will not overthrow the regime. Democratic leaders may also find ways to play the checks and balance system to make it less effective. Gowa gives the example of the selective service, where leaders maintain large militaries, while allowing the people who are most likely to resist (those

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 160.
from high socio-economic backgrounds) exemptions. Finally, political participation disproportionately benefits those with wealth and effective lobbyists.\textsuperscript{53} Thus, Gowa sees the premises of DPT as flawed.

Gowa conducts a statistical analysis to test DPT. She follows the Correlates of War (COW) which defines war as a conflict between two or more countries with a minimum of 1,000 battle deaths. She also measures lower level militarized interstate disputes (MID), which are conflicts where governments formally threaten to use military force, display military power, or authorize military actions that cost less than 1,000 deaths. Gowa covers wars from the years 1816-1980, and MIDs from 1817-1976, but dismisses general wars including both World Wars.\textsuperscript{54}

To measure democracy, Gowa uses Ted Robert Gurr’s democracy scale which is a 10 point scale that measures “autocratic, democratic, and anocratic regimes.” Autocracies exhibit “(1) tight constraints on political participation [...] (2) Only members of the political elite select the chief executive, and (3) institutions do not constrain the leader’s power.”\textsuperscript{55} In democracies, by contrast, (1) “individuals can ‘express effective preferences about alternative policy and leaders,’” (2) institutionalized constraints limit the leader’s power, and (3) guarantees of civil liberties exist. Anocratic regimes fall between autocratic and democratic governments.\textsuperscript{56}

Gowa’s analysis reveals before World War I, and during the interwar period, democracies were about equally as likely to fight each other as other polity pairs. The democratic peace can only be observed during the Cold War. However, her data suggests interests are a stronger predictor of peace than democracy, and the alliances between democracies during the Cold War can be described by strategic interests. Thus, Gowa concludes that finding common interests between countries holds better chances for peace than spreading democracy.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 49.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 50.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 9-10, 114.
To an extent, Addams and Gould agree with Gowa that traditional liberal democracies fail to ensure peace. For example, Addams writes of the outbreak of World War I that,

> It was impossible to reproduce that basic sense of desolation, of suicide, of anachronism, which that first news of the war brought to thousands of men and women who had come to consider war as a throwback in the scientific sense. A finer conception of patriotism had been gradually built up during thousands of years. Europe had had one revolution after another in the struggle for a patriotism in which full loyalty to the state might be compatible with liberty for the individual to obtain fullness of life. In the genuine democracies war and armed revolution were growing obsolete and inadequate, and because these democracies were developing a system of life which could only be carried forward through times of uninterrupted peace, they had become impatient with war.\(^{58}\)

Addams goes further and says that Immanuel Kant’s perpetual peace “was weak because it would ‘break down instantly and completely before the sudden rise of national feeling.’”\(^{59}\)

However, unlike Gowa, Addams and Gould conclude this failure of traditional liberal democracy calls for a deepening democracy based on social ethics/ontology, which would correct for nationalism by promoting internationalism.

However, Gowa argues even “deep democracies” fail to achieve peace. For instance, Gurr’s scale categorizes countries by the depth of their democracy. Even when only the highest ranking democracies are compared, they are equally as violent as other nations.\(^{60}\) But, by including social ethics/ontology, Addams and Gould have a more robust definition of democracy than Gurr.

For example, Gurr’s scale lists the United States as deeply democratic at around the time of World War I. But Addams believes the United States was only partly democratic. She proposes two phases of democracy: the first phase is the establishment of a constitution and basic rights. The second is the establishment of “social organizations capable of: 1) demonstrating the interdependence of all classes [...] of people; 2) disseminating and interpreting information openly and fairly to all citizens; 3) educating all

\(^{58}\) Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 119.

\(^{59}\) Ibid., 118.

\(^{60}\) Gowa, 101-03.
citizens; and 4) fostering a higher civic life through common social intercourse." At the time of World War I, Addams believed the United States was still struggling to achieve the second phase.

Also, even though Gowa ignores World War I in her analysis, the United States’ reaction to this war illustrates how undemocratic the United States was. Addams believes the declaration of war in April 1917 is not the result of the United States’ democratic features, but of its autocratic features. In fact, she describes Wilson as a man who would lead people but not listen to them. She fought against the tide of nationalism, and argued the Espionage Act was being passed without the consent of the people and violated free speech. Thus, the United States’ problem, in Addams’s mind, was that the United States was too autocratic.

Gould makes a similar distinction between traditional liberal democracy, and deeper forms of it such as transnational and cosmopolitan democracy. Her entire thesis is that traditional liberal democracies are inadequate to a globalized world, and specifically, regarding the United States, says its politics are dominated by elites. Therefore, neither Addams nor Gould would agree with Gurr’s scale that the United States was, and still is, deeply democratic.

Another way social ethics/ontology enhances DPT is by indicating that common interests must be democratically determined. Gowa concludes the United States should not base its foreign policy on spreading democracy, but on finding common interests with other nations. However, she does not propose a way for countries to develop moral interests, that is, interests based on reciprocity, care, and positive freedom. Gowa promotes a “realist” explanation of state relationships, where countries compete to increase their relative power. The many examples of shared interests Gowa gives are mostly about maintaining balances of power, security, territorial disputes (including colonial claims), and narrow economic investments — not on solving world problems. It is important to note, even though these interests often created commonality, they induced rivalries as well.

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Gowa never addresses the potential of democracies to guide moral interests between countries.\textsuperscript{63} Addams and Gould, by contrast, propose democracy as a way to guide interests to ensure interests remain moral and fair, and result in “common development” between countries. Unlike Gowa, who separates democracy from common interests, Addams and Gould repeatedly assert shared goals and activities are inherently democratic when they are based on reciprocity and care. For instance, Addams argues foreign policy should not be built on “counter claims of some other nations, but from the point of view of Europe […] from the human standpoint.”\textsuperscript{64} Furthermore, when “difficult situations arise,” international organizations can deal with “the interests of the whole,” and “the sum of human goodwill.”\textsuperscript{65} Gould, in a similar fashion, argues all who are “importantly affected” by a political decision ought to participate in the outcome of it. Likewise, she endorses human rights, intercultural solidarity, and supranational bodies that represent its citizenry and hold accountability toward other countries. These elements, she believes, are ways of helping people to exercise their voice internationally.\textsuperscript{66} Both Addams and Gould emphasize the role of care, empathy, dialogue, and reciprocity in decision making processes. Thus, for Addams and Gould, democracy is an important political structure for guiding common interests.

Expanding democracy beyond the traditional liberal version, and connecting common interests with democracy and positive freedom, implies how democracy ought to spread among countries. The spread of democracy must be welfare enhancing, transnational, and peaceful. Nevertheless, Gowa warns about the danger of spreading democracy as a policy, concluding,

If the United States actively attempts to export democracy abroad, it seems destined to become embroiled in the intense struggles that prospective political change precipitates. While democracy might be welfare-enhancing for the society as a whole, politics is not about social welfare maximization,
however defined; it is about distribution [of power]. Those who benefit from the political status quo will oppose democratization; those who stand to gain from change will support it.67

However, when Gowa claims “politics is not about social welfare maximization,” Addams and Gould believe by expanding and deepening democracy, social welfare can become a central part of politics. By making democracy more transnational and participatory, welfare and positive freedom extend across borders. Furthermore, while Gowa ignores the potential welfare enhancement has for peace, both Addams and Gould believe welfare enhancement necessarily leads to peace, in fact, is the embodiment of it. Addams regards positive peace as “the newer ideal of peace” (she even named her book such) and hypothesizes humanitarianism will lead to good will between countries. Gould likewise identifies positive freedom and human rights as principles of justice.

An important difference between Gowa, on the one hand, and Addams and Gould, on the other, is Gowa recognizes democracy may enhance the wellbeing of citizens within a democratic nation, but it does not cause them to accord other nations with the same respect. She then concludes that DPT fails. Gould and Addams, by contrast, agree democracy increases general welfare, but argue in order to influence democracies to treat other countries with the same respect requires transnational or cosmopolitan forms of democracy and human rights.

Gowa continues to explain that politics “is about distribution. Those who benefit from the political status quo will oppose democratization; those who stand to gain from change will support it.” If, by this comment, Gowa means people may support warfare to either defend or overthrow the status quo, then Gowa is ignoring the necessity of using peaceful methods to nurture democracy. During World War I, Addams, like several current democratic theorists, argued warfare is counterproductive to establishing democracy, and that peaceful methods are a stronger way to secure it. Thus, social ethics/ontology guides the way democracy must spread — the transition should be peaceful, transnational, and support common interests committed to welfare and human rights.

67 Gowa, 113.
Bruce Russett’s *Grasping the Democratic Peace*

A comparison of social ethics/ontology to Gowa’s analysis of DPT reveals traditional liberal democracies often fail to ensure peace, and that it is critical countries develop common interests based on democracy. This democratic harmony can be achieved by making democracy more transnational and focusing on human needs. However, a comparison to political scientist Bruce Russett’s *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, highlights democracies must be kinder to non-democratic countries. Like Gowa, Russett conducts a statistical analysis of DPT, but he comes to the opposite conclusion. Similarly to Gowa, he defines war as “institutionally organized lethal violence,” with at least 1,000 battle deaths (he does, however, examine covert military operations, such as coup d’états, separately). Russett only includes wars between sovereign states which are “internationally recognized as such by other states.” This excludes colonial warfare, wars of liberation, and civil wars.

Russett also tests DPT on ancient Greece and non-industrial societies, which are inhabitants of a geographical area and speak a different language than other societies. These include tribes, villages, districts, bands, and chiefdoms. Russett uses a slightly modified definition of warfare for these groups because ancient Greece and non-industrial societies had low populations. For Greece, war was simply the clash of organized forces between autonomous city-states, under government authority, who knew whom they were attacking. For preindustrial societies, war is a “socially organized armed combat between members of different territorial units (communities or aggregated communities).”

Russett defines democracy as containing a “voting franchise for a substantial fraction of citizens.” Before the twentieth century, Russett accepts countries where only about 10% of the population could vote. For the middle to late twentieth century, however, he only compares countries with a universal franchise. Second, democracies must have “a government brought to power in contested elections,” by which he means “two or more

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61 Ibid., 13.  
62 Ibid., 13-14.  
63 Ibid., 50.  
64 Ibid., 101.  
65 Ibid., 15.
legally recognized parties.”74 Third, democracies require “an executive either popularly elected or responsible to an elected legislature, often also with requirements of civil liberties such as free speech.”75 Finally, Russett only counts countries with some political stability. That is, newly formed democracies must allow time for “democratic processes and institutions” to become rooted.76

Regarding Ancient Greece, Russett recognizes even Athens was hardly democratic, as only non-slave males were citizens and the city-states lacked strong democratic institutions. Nevertheless, he counts city-states as democratic if they had an assembly where citizens were allowed to speak, select leaders and public officials, debate policies and strategies, and if these decisions could limit leaders’ authority.77 Preindustrial societies are labeled democratic if they had (1) “checks on leaders’ power” (2) could easily remove leaders from power, (3) the leaders had to “consult and persuade,” and (4) the leader shared power with formal “decision making-bodies.” Nevertheless, both Greece and preindustrial societies lacked strong institutional constraints.78

Russett argues norms and institutions constrain leaders’ power and create cultural practices of peaceful conflict resolution such as dialogue and negotiation. People within democracies perceive themselves as self-governing and generally respectful of other people’s rights. Likewise, democracies trust other democracies and expect them to abide by democratic principles. However, democracies do not hold the same expectations for countries that are not bound by such norms and institutions. Therefore, democracies are less cooperative and accommodating to them.79 Russett offers the example of games wherein if people are playing with someone who is engaging in conditional cooperation like tit-for-tat, then people are more willing to do likewise, but if people encounter someone who refuses to cooperate, then “noncooperation dominates.” Additionally, Russett argues norms and institutions play overlapping, but independent roles for shaping peace.

74 Ibid., 14-15.
75 Bruce Russett, Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World, 14.
76 Ibid., 16.
77 Ibid., 44-46.
78 Ibid., 102.
79 Ibid., 31
That is, to have even one of these features, but to lack in the other, can still increase peace between democracies.\textsuperscript{80}

Russett expected the results of peace to be strongest during the Cold War because these features were more prevalent in democracies after World War II. Like Gowa, he finds democratic peace is strongest during the Cold War. Both norms and institutions played a powerful role in shaping this cold-war peace, though he finds norms were statistically more significant. For Ancient Greece, which lacked strong democratic institutions and relied heavily on norms, Russett finds a weak, but positive correlation for DPT. Often, however, when a democratic city-state attacked a fellow democracy, it was because they misunderstood what type of government the other had. The evidence for DPT among preindustrial societies, which also lack democratic institutions, is stronger. Thus, Russett concludes both norms and institutions reinforce each other, but norms play a stronger role in shaping peace (perhaps because, as explained above, norms indicate how democracies perceive, and interact with one another).\textsuperscript{81}

Furthermore, not only is DPT a “fact,” but, at least for democracies after World War II, during negotiations democracies seldom even escalate conflicts to the brink of war. Thus, they form a “stable peace,” which is a “security community’ in which states not only do not fight each other, they do not expect to fight each other, or significantly prepare to fight each other. In such relationships, disputes are routinely settled without recourse to threat of military deterrence.”\textsuperscript{82}

However, Russett’s analysis points out a shortcoming in DPT. Like Gowa, Russett finds democracies are not restrained from fighting non-democracies. Democracies distrust non-democracies because they lack the norms and institutions of democracies. In fact, democracies are generally as war prone as any polity type (just not toward fellow democracies), and hostile against immigrants, especially ones perceived as coming from autocratic countries and traditions. Within democracies there is often popular support for warfare, and, in the nineteenth century, democracies were imperialistic. Russett admits “though there are elements of plausibility in the argument that democracies are inherently

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 33, 41.
\textsuperscript{81} Bruce Russett, \textit{Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World}, 61, 92, 107, 114, 119.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 33.
peaceful, it contains too many holes, and is accompanied by too many exceptions, to be usable as a major theoretical building block.”83

Nevertheless, Addams and Gould offer a solution this shortcoming: a deepening of democracy based on social ethics/ontology. Social ethics/ontology is fundamentally a peaceful philosophy. It incorporates dialogue, intercultural norms, trust, reciprocity, care, identification with others, shared goals and activities, and equal positive freedom. This philosophy decries discrimination and nationalism, and supports internationalism. Thus, a democracy that incorporates these elements is inherently peaceful.

Furthermore, Addams believes in order to preserve the qualities of social ethics/ontology, democratic societies must abstain from wars even with non-democracies. For example, she was disturbed that young children pretend to be soldiers and people voted for war heroes. Warfare, to Addams, encourages nationalism over internationalism and leads to persecution of minorities. In the case of World War I, she witnessed a battery of laws that restricted democratic rights, and the persecution of radicals, immigrants, and pacifists. Addams believes that, had the United States been more democratic, World War I, which was fought against autocratic powers, would have been impossible. World War I showed Addams international courts and law were not enough to preserve peace, but that it requires social ethics. Specifically, the perseverance of peace requires the building of relationships through international bodies and humanitarianism to truly secure peace and democracy throughout the world. Thus, Addams calls for a deepening of democracy by strengthening social ethics, as a way of making democracies more peaceful in general and friendlier with non-democratic countries.

**Conclusion**

DPT states democracies are restrained from fighting each other because of norms, institutions, and trading relationships. The theory of social ethics and ontology posed by Addams and Gould can enhance this peace by indicating democracies must become more transnational, common interests between countries must be democratically determined, and democracies must become friendlier with non-democratic states. Addams bases

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83 Russett, 30-32.
democracy on social ethics, which incorporates trust, cooperation, dialogue, identification with others, and care. These ethics enable fairer and more rational decision making, breaks stereotypes, creates common interests, builds an understanding with others, and keeps people socially active. Likewise, Addams encourages interaction between individuals and cultures to create understanding and cooperation among them, which can ultimately guide international law and goals.

Following this theory, social ethics extends democracy beyond national borders. Social ethics also encourages a positive, constructive, and humanitarian peace. This philosophy causes Addams to reject colonialism, encourage democratic business structures, practice multiculturalism at Hull House, and to oppose the United States’ entrance into World War I. She argues war mostly damages democracy, and peaceful methods, such as the Commission to Feed Belgium and The Hague, are stronger means of supporting it. By holding such a conception of democracy, Addams was ahead of her time and is a forbearer to philosopher Carol Gould.

Gould’s revision of democracy is a response to globalization. It is an intersociative democracy based on social ontology, or individuals in relations. Democratic relationships are grounded on reciprocity and care. People recognize each other as having rights to equal positive freedom. This requires not a uniform set of rights, but equivalent rights based on individual’s and groups’ unique needs. Thus, democracy requires a strong commitment to human rights, and cultural and minority rights. These rights are guided by interassociative norms, which are cultural interactions based on care, common goals, and dialogue. Equal positive freedom also discourages nationalism, racism, sexism, and requires transnational and cosmopolitan forms of democracy. Gould argues these measures would keep the world democratic in the face of globalization.

Gowa finds problems with the theoretical underpinnings of DPT. Furthermore, her analysis suggests that DPT is ineffective, and common interests between countries are a stronger indicator of peace. Therefore, she concludes foreign policy should not be aimed at spreading democracy, but on creating common interests. Addams and Gould agree with Gowa that traditional liberal democracies are inadequate for securing peace. However,
unlike Gowa, they wish to deepen democracy by expanding social ethics/ontology, and moving to transnational forms. Second, while Gowa illustrates the importance of establishing common interests, the principles of intersociative democracy require that social ethics/ontology ought to guide these interests to ensure they are moral and fair.

Russett’s analysis suggests DPT is effective, and both norms and institutions play an important part in creating a stable peace. However, his book reveals a shortcoming of DPT: Democracies are not generally peaceful, especially toward non-democratic countries. Nevertheless, the answer to this shortcoming is to deepen democracy. By following the principles of intersociative democracy, it becomes more peaceful in general and therefore, friendlier with non-democracies. In these ways, intersociative democracy, which is premised on social ethics/ontology, can advance our understanding and implementation of DPT.
Introduction through Cross-Cultural Understanding

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Can you teach me something, Afika?
She nods with her mooneyes wide. Her quiet smile coyly chides like the old Aunties who somehow mastered the art of balancing the weight of the world hugged around backsides. Her question teases me with how I could ever doubt otherwise. Clearly and simply, what is hers is mine and what is mine is hers.
Afika points to her eyes, and then touches mine. Iliso.

We were welcomed with gratitude before the work we tasked ourselves with even began; before there was even a breathable reason for faith to be entrusted in us, foreshadowing the paradoxes that will come to define the four weeks we have in the country.

“Thank you for your eyes,” he said. The principal of Sapphire Road Primary welcomed our impulsivity and youth with reverence. He did not mention our inadequacy when it came to a lack of technical training in the classroom or the consequences and limitations following the brevity of short-term service. A promise to be present and patient was the only prerequisite facing our western outsider entrance into this community of boundless love. Identity is defined as the acknowledgement of how individual lifelines fit the intricate tapestry of the greater community.

There is no rational explanation for the fighting spirit which pervades South Africa and upholds its abused women, the systematically oppressed colored,¹ or those cruelly controlled by the imminence of death caused by unstable living conditions, HIV virus, and violence. There is no manner in which to fathom the nature of apartheid, an absolute evil dealt directly by human intention. The primary objective of apartheid was to ensure the longevity and dominance of the Afrikaner. After the rise to power by the National Party in May 1948, the next course of action was to secure the political authority and maintain the power imbalance through widening the gap between the Afrikaner and other prospective

¹ Note to Reader: For the purpose of this narrative report, I will be identifying groups according to the Population Registration Act of 1950 in an attempt to validate the lived experiences of those who were systematically oppressed according to racial identity under apartheid.
constituents. In order to obliterate any and all potential threats to Afrikaner power, the National Party took to instating and then implementing institutional change in order to guarantee its enforcement.

Poverty is a product of inequality and oppression. According to the Gini Index measuring income inequality, South Africa stands as one of the most unequal societies in the world. On the twenty-minute van ride from Summerstrand to Missionvale and Sapphire Road, the disparity is unmistakable as it is unshakable. The same road carries us past the elegant restaurants and hotels that stand dripping in wealth, unapologetic in their glamour. The nicely and newly paved asphalt becomes a slap in the face as it continues to stretch to township areas that are built with less. The extremity between the haves and have-nots is sickening. There is no in-between to cushion the scale with statistics that work to justify socioeconomic differences. The polarity and the level of imbalance are sickening. There are too many suffering. Instead of the houses the post-apartheid leadership promised in reparation, gray-haired mothers still look at the horizon unbelievably hopeful in their shacks. The toilet stall structures and roads become a pitiful Band-Aid attempt, almost mocking, as they stand next to poverty. Who has a need for brick toilet houses when there is no indoor heating and infrastructure for basic shelter? This is where the ghost of apartheid haunts, far enough away that individuals do not have to look human rights atrocities in the eyes.

Communities are unable to climb out of the cycle conditioned by inequality, which has presently perpetuated itself into a culture of gang violence, unemployment, HIV, rape, and drug abuse. Though apartheid laws started the wheel turning, the simple dismantlement of legislation alone has insufficient power to undo the effects of institutional inequality. There must be new structures built to empower and pave the road to peace. Peacebuilding requires proactive and preventative programing, not just reactive ones because that will not transform the culture. The inability to overcome the dark weight of the past coupled with the social problems of the present threatens to leave South Africa in despair. It is easy to feel discouraged in this country. It is too easy to sink into

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helplessness and give in to the grip of depression. Reactive initiatives send the message that change and freedom are not achievable, so instead here is compensation. This is all we can do, isn’t it better than nothing?

The basic human needs for food and healthcare are leveraged to bring in community members. Missionvale Care Center provides free meal packages on a daily basis for the first hundred families based on unemployment records. Those who received meals were not then required to send their children to their local school nor were aided in the employment search. Sapphire Primary School defines their success so far as they offer a safe place and a good meal for learners away from gang-torn neighborhoods. Learning standards are not met in the classroom, and students go home to be influenced by the drugs and abuse of their family. Drakenstein Palliative Hospice and Butterfly House in Paarl serve as homes for those impacted by HIV and AIDS and provide primary care and recreational activities for children. Though their narrative therapy proved abuse at the family level, they had no power other than home visitations to ensure the wellbeing of the child and the offer of security at their center.

I would be satisfied with the clear limitations of these efforts if peace indeed grew out of retributive and reparative justice. But that is not the case. Poverty alleviation should not merely be the movement to satiate immediate needs. Restoration after a forest fire does not end at planting the initial tree, it continues until the ecosystem of the forest is bustling with a biodiversity that becomes self-sustaining. Organizations must shift their focus and prioritize their efforts with the goal of transformation. Though it is critical that immediate needs are met so that an individual does not go hungry for the day, the model of support must also expand to ensure that the individual can stand on his or her own and never go hungry again. Restorative efforts will only be long acting and sustainable if the goal of community centers and social service organizations purposefully approach the day-to-day with the goal of not being needed in the future. Transformation must occur at the individual, family, and community level.

Despite the many justifiable reasons for anger and internalized resignation to despair, there is a communal faith that drives people toward each other in a humanistic
expression of freewill, explaining why the church plays an enormous role as a community service agent. There is an understanding that one’s economic situation does not define worth, does not dictate strength or one’s capacity to love. There is an understanding that inability to thrive is not a reflection of oneself. There is an understanding that “it is not your fault,” but that this mental inferiority is wrought by years of structural oppression where despite their economic wealth and prominence, Afrikaners felt like a marginalized population due to their low demographic numbers in South Africa and felt easily threatened. The fact remains that the Afrikaner, compared to other South African citizens, had the most distant claim to African soil due to their recent migration to South Africa.

A problem with Afrikaner nationalism was that it was an identity based on internal group classification that created convoluted areas of conflict because it was not indisputable. The Afrikaner identity was not organically created and was therefore manufactured purposefully and consciously. Emigrating from Europe bearing distinct Western characteristics such as cultural norms and color, the Afrikaner was only able to achieve established political and economic presence and power in South Africa due to association with colonial jurisdiction. Afrikaners had only just recently authenticated their nationality as South Africans, and after having their newly formulated identity almost stripped from them during the Anglo-Boer Wars, there was a need to establish credibility and minimize the potential of future threat against their claim. However, the Afrikaner decided to institute dominance by undermining the black South African identity by seeking to “emphasize the ‘otherness’ of Africans.” The fear of being stripped of identity and authority in their own homeland was the ultimate motivating factor that pushed the urgency and strictly non-negotiable nature of apartheid law. Human trepidation and distress manifested itself dangerously as the Afrikaner’s deep-set prejudice and racism came to the forefront as a “reflection of intrapsychic conflict.” Transformational conflict resolution and peace can then only be truly achieved through a change of attitude, through relational understanding and respect.

3 David Welsh, The Rise and Fall of Apartheid (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 65.
Victim-blaming easily buries one under the passivity that comes from attitudes of apathy towards the seemingly bottomless cycle of poverty. But, instead of internalizing racial oppression, South Africans interpret challenge and suffering as a reminder that the burden is not meant to be fought alone. The pain from the processes of oppression melts into glue that allows for great expressions of love. There is power in the everyday, in the claps of children’s hand games, the beauty of one’s skin, in a name that reminds one of self-sustaining strength. Relational space becomes the platform for exchanges of grace and moments of discovery. There is purpose in humanistic interdependence, and mothers, educators, and pastors foundationally propel the fight for community flourishing. The urgency for justice colors the national anthem’s “live and strive for freedom in South Africa our land” to the innermost foundational fiber of the spirituality connecting crime-ridden communities where neighbors look out for straying youth as if they were their own. Grade six girls sigh like eighty-year-old Grandmothers as they ration carefully saved chips among each other in the heat of a crowded bus seat. Sharing is instinctive and unconditional to the point of self-depletion. The fact that a small hand can fit so perfectly around my waist as if it belonged there from the beginning, or that conversations are filled with deep genuine laughter erases the differences between languages.

**Faith-based Justification for Human Flourishing**

When envisioning what it might have been like to live under apartheid, it is important to remember that there were two fundamental accounts of lived experiences. Apartheid had “tried to strip my people of their dignity and respect...and reduced them to second-class citizens in their own country.”\(^5\) The clear effects of mental and physical oppression felt by the black South Africans are heard through the countless testimonies recorded by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. From the stories of men being tortured for their participation in the African National Congress to the tears of wives whose husbands were murdered by policemen, death, suffering, and injustice dominate the individual lived experiences under apartheid. As Gobodo-Madikizela writes, “There were two South Africas:

white and black. Similarly, there was the public world and the private world, the open and the covert. And they were rigidly separate. What happened under cover of covert action was fine, so long as it did not come out in the open,” setting the tone of a society immersed in fear that was categorized by the oppressed and the perpetuators and the bystanders.  

It is difficult to understand the passivity shown by the white population as violence and suffering were inflicted within communities. Similarly, the justification of these atrocities such that “many white South Africans today deny that they ever supported apartheid” or “that apartheid was not actually that bad” is difficult to comprehend. The actions of Eugene de Kock are almost unthinkable and forgiveness seems foreign when considering the unlawful killings and torture of black activists and his primary involvement in the murders at Vlakplaas and the bombing intended to cover-up the conscious maltreatment that occurred there.  

The first steps toward reconciliation for the oppressed South Africans began through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission where “when the truth came out in the open some felt they could no longer live with it” and paved the way for the end of racial discrimination. As stated by Roelf Meyer:

> The reality is that virtually all whites supported apartheid, including myself, and it was very destructive. I mention this because it is important, I feel, not to run away from this reality. For me it is fundamental to admit that apartheid existed and that at one time I benefited from it, indeed, that I was part of the structure upholding it.  

The recognition of conflict issues, conflict parties, and the atrocities enacted allow for the beginnings of reparations and peace. Service is the only human activity that explicitly calls for empathy as a prerequisite for its participants. Grassroots efforts zoom into macro complexities, defining the scope to address the day-to-day. Even though the world is heavy, it is about moving forward collectively no matter how slow communal progress is. True service is grounded in sensitivity and compassion.

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6 Ibid., 108-09.
Service rejuvenates my soul, and I was in desperate need of cleansing. The developmental, immersive space to fully engage in cross-cultural connections consumes me with joy. Opportunities to bridge and navigate relational processes, like language barriers, become noodle strainers for intimate communication between individuals where we can finally speak directly to each other’s humanity. I came to South Africa seeking simple rest, knowing that I would find refuge here in the hearts of South Africans. I was desperate to feel sincerity again. I needed living expressions of powerful, genuine, unfaltering faith.

Intent never plays out according to human design, no matter the great lengths placed into making it just so. If anything, I did not come to South Africa for God, because God told me to, or because I thought that this is what God wanted from me. I did not come to preach the gospel or prove I was a Christian through “volunteering.” To be honest, God was not on my mind at all during the process that led me to Port Elizabeth. I came here for myself. But somehow, here I am laughing at how once again I unintentionally find myself placed face to face with God, and people continually identify me as a child of God no matter how hard I try to argue “No! It’s just me, Lauren!”

God is alive through people, and South Africans have gently embraced my stubbornness with grace. To the sweet grade one girl Roshana who asked, “Lo Pak, how do you pray?” and after my response excitedly declared, “You are Christian, and I am Christian!” The unquestionable love in Auntie Heidi, who took my hands in hers and said, “I thank God for bringing you here.” There is absolute joy of the congregation for my simple presence as I worshipped alongside them on a Sunday.

There is freedom in faith, enduring transcendence that triumphs over the temporary effects of drugs and alcohol. There is validation despite struggle; there is truth that gang membership cannot promise. There is hope in deliverance, as a woman waits for her house to be built and gives thanks for the small victories. I have silently listened to my cohort’s reactions on religion’s role in South Africa:

It’s scary how much religion has control over these people. It’s scary but I guess this brainwashing is fine because it gives them hope.
You’re lucky because you can connect with people here because of your religion.
At least you have your religion to give you purpose when service seems overwhelming!

I don’t believe in God, but I know you do so I want you to know that God would be very proud of you.

God was not my reason this time around for South Africa. Last summer in Nicaragua, I decided to run away from the superficiality and intolerance perpetuated by the church by denying my faith. I was sickened by how the church justified the discrimination of some and belittlement of others. Instead, I hoped to lose myself in the simplicity and nameless nature of service. Less of me, more of You, God. I looked to find freedom in anonymity. Again, here I am running away from the darkness inside of myself. We are all greedy, fearful, broken beings. I came hoping that South Africa would wash away my ugliness. I feel truly weightless when consumed with the task of serving others. Perhaps, it’s because ironically, service does not give me the space to think selfishly about my own egocentric desires. It is also when I feel the most beautiful.

My response to my peers would be that the love for God we are witnessing in South Africa is faith in its purest form. Strip away the lens of religion. We are all fallible creatures, and the world has its limitations. There is nothing we know with absolute certainty. Faith drives us all and is our only foundation – faith in human compassion, in justice, in freedom. It is important to recognize that faith can exist outside the bounds of religions. Faith can rest in community, the provision of the next meal, in one’s self. The soulful peace South Africans have despite the indescribable bleakness of their situation is the ultimate enactment of faith. I have witnessed first-hand how individuals interpret God in a way that justifies passivity, apathy, or hurt. However, I would like to say that unwavering faith only comes from those who truly believe in the insurmountable love God has for a fallen world. And if you believe in this overwhelming love, you understand how to respond to paradoxes. Whether that is mustering the strength to hold back tears and voice a prayer for a teenage girl too hurt to cry out herself as I hold her trembling shoulders to my heart, or the level of reconciliation mustered by a grandfather despite anguished tears in his forgiveness of a white man who blatantly denied that the traumatic formal removals
under apartheid ever occurred. Faith drives the hope that forms the interconnectedness of humanity. There is purpose behind every attempt for redemption and every act of forgiveness. There is transformative power in individual mindfulness and self-actualization that ripples into global change.

**Understanding Ubuntu through Children and Family**

*Ubuntu is a concept that we have in our Bantu languages at home. Ubuntu is the essence of being a person. It means that we are people through other people. We cannot be fully human alone. We are made for interdependence, we are made for family. When you have Ubuntu, you embrace others. You are generous, compassionate. [...] If the world had more Ubuntu, we would not have war. We would not have this huge gap between the rich and the poor. You are rich so that you can make up what is lacking for others. You are powerful so that you can help the weak, just as a mother or father helps their children. This is God’s dream.* – Desmond Tutu

Despite the fact that South Africa boasts of a gender quota system for elections and has primary schools that invite community women to serve as the main disciplinary figure for the educational institution, I question the accepted definition of “equality” and how direct fixes are assumed to be comprehensive. In a country that prides itself in embodying the spirit of Ubuntu, I was challenged by how such inequality could still exist in present-day South Africa. I am conflicted at how inter-color gang violence, abuse within family structures (child abuse, sexual violence), and xenophobia could be so prominent among people who interact with a communalist mindset and swear on the values of direct openness.

Children approach life with such genuine concentration. Everything holds weight, and significance is felt intently. In such a way, complexity is rendered into breathable chunks where difficult situations are scaled under the innocence of a microscope-like view and handled in straightforward succession. Answers are uncomplicated and are understood through lived experiences.

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During my time at Sapphire Road Primary, Port Elizabeth and Butterfly House in Paarl, I found myself gleaning wisdom from the physical touch involved in hand-clapping games, girls that chatter amongst themselves like old Aunties, and neglected boys craving affection. Community is embodied by acts of intuitive support. Here, care is instinctive and free flowing. Children interact with each other effortlessly.

Whether it is grade five girls rationing snacks between themselves while sitting on each other’s laps on the bus, a six-year old boy trying to stop his autistic partner from hitting “teacher” during story-time, or a grandma making sure that a child of no relation is in-doors before sun down, collectivism is etched on the tapestry that forms South African society. I’ve watched older girls silently sacrifice for younger counterparts, and I’ve been offered what little, treasured pieces my new friends had to share; a bracelet made out of carefully collected candy wrappers, an orange that is supposed to last them the day, handwritten schoolgirl thank you letters, hugs upon first meeting. There is no limit to sharing, giving, or aid. Expressions of love are shown physically, through action.

Though Ubuntu promises that one’s neighbor will never go hungry, as the door over will supply as much bread as possible, but it does not warn about the dangerous consequences of unrestricted interpretation. “Because we are all family, when your husband dies, traditionally the brother takes his wife. Because we are all brothers, a community member feels justified in having sex with this woman.” Perhaps, HIV and AIDS education must be adjusted and redirected.

I see “selflessness” manipulated into draining experiences that slowly leads to expended individual identity and inner-worth in older girl leaders. They let people take from them unconditionally and in doing so, lose their right to refuse. A toy or a spot at the front of the educational exhibition can easily shift into silence about sexual abuse, rape, or having to “care for kids while working late when Daddy is sad and sitting in front of the TV.”

There is a fine line between being taken advantage of and sacrifice out of compassion. When looking at the apartheid laws from a legislative stance, one can argue that institutional organized injustice is rectifiable through structural changes. The case of
South Africa, however, is not so simply resolved due to the fact that the conflict was not just a disagreement between political parties enforced by legislation. Apartheid was a complex contention grounded in cultural violence. Cultural violence calls for conflict transformation at the individual attitudinal level as well as at structural levels. The institutionalized injustice was built on top of cultural conflict. Structural obstructions “caused by the failure of social and political institutions to satisfy non-negotiable ontological human needs for recognition, security, and development”\textsuperscript{11} not only needed to be removed, but also the relational dissonance between identity groups had to be recognized and addressed. The healing of the harm caused by South African apartheid had to start with the recognition of the black population as “human beings with souls.”\textsuperscript{12}

A danger of cultural conflict lies in the possibility that the conflict is non-negotiable and therefore intractable. Identity is a basic human need that is a prerequisite for collective security as well as economic and social opportunity. The reason behind the deep-rooted nature of apartheid lies in the fact that it attempted to invalidate one’s human experience and sense of self. A form of \textit{de jure} segregation, the legislation not only stripped individuals of basic human rights but also took away one’s opportunity for economic advancement and stability that institutions were responsible to uphold. The general nature of apartheid laws was racially discriminatory in that they were structured around one’s racial and ethnic identification.

Some of the most notorious include the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Extension of University Education Act of 1959, and lastly the Bantu Homelands Citizens Act of 1970 that stripped all black individuals of their South African citizenship. Every human rights violation imaginable was encompassed and enforced through apartheid legislation as one was denied voting rights, ownership of land, and access to quality education. Legislation went so far as to dictate relational encounters at the individual level when it came to marriage. The fact that apartheid legislation was justified under the pretense that it was allowing black South Africans to reconnect with

\textsuperscript{12} David Welsh, \textit{The Rise and Fall of Apartheid} (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 98.
their cultural, tribal identity through the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 meant that there was an explicit recognition of race, color, and culture. The Population Registration Act of 1950 justified the discriminatory action of color categorization and “classified people according to ‘racial category’ [...] to determine who had access to what resources.”¹³ All the more, the apartheid laws became a symbol of intentional and deliberate acts of discrimination towards colored people. These laws were founded on implicit prejudice and perpetuated belief of inferiority and resentment:

Government does not consider the Black man as a human being. It does not regard him as a person with the normal aspirations of a human being to have a secure family life...it ignores all the fundamental concepts of human dignity. It strips the African of every basic pretension that he has to being a human being, to being a free human being in the country of his birth, and it reduces him to the level of a chattel.¹⁴

One’s heart bleeds for the spirited boys who would later become jobless men, and the net of prejudice that tangles cultural norms with socioeconomic expectations. At the emotional level, these boys are criminalized at a young age, told they are failures. Instead of care they are handed hate. Low self-efficacy, internalized dehumanization, and distorted concept of masculinity in turn leads to dangerous justifications of violence. The culture of violence has become normalized. A mere gentle word and a kind hand have the power to uncurl fists because it catches individuals off-guard. They forgot their worth. These boys are looking for someone to run and play with them, teach them what respect is, remind them they are strong enough to not fall prey to the current culture of aggression. They will not be the fathers who ran away to the city and had an affair, hit their wives, or left the family.

There is no doubting the strength that rests deep within the bones of women in South Africa. There is no doubting the goodness sitting dormant among teenage boys, husbands, and brothers. There is no way of doubting the fire burning in youth wanting a way out of the poverty unjustly handed to them. There needs to be a movement to reclaim

¹³ Mamphela Ramphele, Laying Ghosts to Rest: Dilemmas of the transformation in South Africa (Cape Town: NB Publishers, 2010), 32.
¹⁴ David Welsh, The Rise and Fall of Apartheid, 68.
what is already theirs, recognize what is already within, what they are. Being becomes the evidence of peace.

**Freedom, Empowerment, and True Peace**

I left South Africa hopeful, with a grateful glimpse of what freedom manifested in humanity could be. “Freedom” is advertised on the sides of buses that drive tourists in and out of nationally collected memories, the cries of faith spoken by women in prayer, the thoughts of youth when they envision the future. As I stood in the prison yard where Mandela used to run during the mornings of his captivity with a toilet bucket, I found the answer I was so seeking when it came to identifying the culture of conflict in South Africa. How does one rectify injustice in a manner that not only ends the poverty cycle but also works to rectify the already inflicted consequences of poverty? At what point does structural inequality become rhythms of poverty that become self-perpetuating?

Apartheid laws created physical separation and stripped the Colored, Black, and Indian of their political, economic, and social rights. The culture cultivated by apartheid was one of mental inferiority, overt prejudice, and violence. And from such culture, South Africa was led further into the trap riddled with family abuse, addiction, gang violence, low employment, and corruption. Even post-apartheid, South Africa is stuck in the wheel of developmental problems. These are not growing pains. This is the result of misdirected solutions and a poor understanding of root causes in identifying where South Africa stands today.

Understanding the present is key in fueling movement towards the future. Though legislation and policy are critical when it comes to creating conducive space for growth, we cannot be dependent on structural mechanisms alone for societal change. Simply, the change-agents are the individuals and institutions guided by individuals. Structure is meaningless if it does not support the people, if it is not of the people.

A government with corrupt leaders does not stimulate nor sustain a country. Development work, aid work, health care, family care, and educational programs will all fail if not built with a community mindfulness approach. If a student does not come
to school because of family issues or health problems, what good are premium teachers and teaching materials? If food handouts are creating an unhealthy dependency, one must restructure the program to then fit the person’s ultimate need for self-worth through value-building and employment opportunities.

Delivery systems should work to not be needed while the community stands strong. Problem solving must be people-focused, community-centered, and transdisciplinary. By investing in the leaders of a community, one finds that insurmountable willpower, trust, and understanding will follow. These leaders not only recognize community needs but also have the ability to leverage momentum effectively and powerfully for peace.

There are thousands who were political prisoners during apartheid. Mandela was prisoner 466. What is incredible is that they all fully believed in Mandela and his cause towards freedom to the point where it did not matter that they were just a number in the battle or never received individual recognition. Fellow prisoners sacrificed in order to ensure that Mandela’s autobiography written on Robben Island would be preserved. As long as the idea that Mandela represented lived on, that was all that mattered.

Freedom lies in one’s capacity to believe and the strength to keep faith. Freedom is believing enough in a cause to die for it, to find peace of mind despite twenty-seven years in prison, to show unfathomable forgiveness towards transgressors. Freedom comes from within, one’s actualization that peace is boundless, weightless, sustaining. It is within young colored men who shrug off the racist attitudes shown to them by whites at work. It is within schoolchildren who jump and shout and run with vivacious spirits. The weary hands of a tireless dreamer, because there will come a day when justice rings true. One’s value or worth is not determined by the level of output or measurable impact. Human beings are finite, situations are dynamic, and perceptions are subjectively fickle. Freedom is tethering identity in the undeniable truth of being. No matter how many forces are working against you, suffering and suppression only proves existence. Because you are real, peace is also real.

South Africa’s present and future is built upon people’s awareness and acquisition of freedom, starting from within the individual. Desmond Tutu said “my humanity is bound
up in yours, for we can only be human together.”15 The significance of my role lies in the fact that I was present, and that I gave and received love. I acknowledge the experiences that shaped my perspective and earnestly sought to understand that of those around me. South Africa was a place to explore, wrestle with, and discover the great complexity of humanity.

The road to peace is long and hard. Each day is conditioned by different complexities and challenges, but sight of the larger battle against inequality cannot be dismissed. The principal at Sapphire has to deal with the shooting near school perimeters and Missionvale’s executive leadership must respond to the knife fight over a misunderstanding in the food line. There will always be unexpected hurdles. But that does not mean the priority should not be the vision of compassion, peace, and justice. Sometimes when wrestling at the ground level, we lose sight of the bigger picture. We punish ourselves for our inability to fully address one societal issue, and this has the danger of narrowing our vision to where we pigeon-hole ourselves into one objective.

This is why I believe in partnerships. The most important lesson I learned during my frustration in South Africa was that the culture of peace cannot be built alone. Missionvale Care Center, Sapphire Primary School, Drakenstein Palliative Hospice and Butterfly House found themselves overwhelmed when they saw themselves as the only practical solution to South Africa’s inequality. As we seek the holistic well-being of humanity, we must remember that each resource plays a part. Schools will provide students with the opportunity to gain skills and mechanisms to achieve higher standards of living. Care centers allow individuals to reclaim their sense of worth with psychological care that is then supplemented by the fiscal support of integration programming. Social workers are essential to managing family abuse cases. Religious leaders can mediate inter-community disputes by advocating forgiveness and encourage spiritual strength despite external conditions. Though we will be disappointed if we have unreasonable expectations, we cannot lower our standards because of our changing situations. If we expect our children to overcome inequality, we must respect their potential and ask for quality

engagement. We cannot excuse learners for not paying attention or not doing homework because they were not raised in structural foundations of peace. If we have a different set of expectations, we are only confirming mental inferiority.

How do I quantify trust? How do I quantify the change of mind in my schoolboys who decided that they would respect my boundaries and make tokens of affection rather than pinching my body in places I did not like? How does one quantify the whispered bravery of a girl asking if she could share a story with me, or the choking tears of a man who realized in an answer to my seeking heart that true freedom is found in believing in goodness despite brokenness? Teach me how to measure forgiveness and peace.

I realized during my time in South Africa that in these relationships and moments we share, we become the evidence of forgiveness and peace. We are able to grow and learn more deeply about our own nature through connection. We encounter grace and understand its irrationality only when we find ourselves direct recipients of it. We practice reconciliation when we acknowledge the existence of another despite hurt and heartbreak. It is our collective will, our collective strength, that determines value and purpose. Peace is dependent on how we decide to approach self and the greater world. By recognizing interdependency, we understand that actualization is in human interactions and solutions lie in multilevel strategies and programming. Therefore, we must strive to consciously support and encourage each other in the most loving of ways, in respect, with humility. Together, we must celebrate. Together, we must cry. We must face the marvelous depth and the harrowing limitations of our humanity. In this togetherness, there rests compassion. Together, we are free.
Reality Television: As a Peacebuilding Tool

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I believe, for the most part, citizens of the United States are good. We all go about our lives of work, family, and play with a little goodwill mixed in. This life keeps us busy and often insulated from the suffering endured by the world’s least fortunate. If we do happen to see a segment on the nightly news depicting a disturbing scene of injustice, a world away, we immediately feel bad. Perhaps we curse the perpetrator or feel compassion for the victims, but rarely do we relate to the victims at an intimate level. Our involvement seldom rises above a voyeuristic pitying. This is not enough.

We must relate to the suffering of the innocent. We must compassionately hear the stories of the helpless. In this paper, I show that Reality Television (RTV) can bring the average person into a compassionate embrace with the hopeless and the victimized. I do this in two parts. Part 1 seeks to convince peacebuilders that reality television is a viable option for their toolbox. Part 2 seeks to convince RTV producers that peacebuilding can be an interesting and viable option. In an effort to activate the moral imaginations of the world’s most affluent citizens, this paper brings together the fields of peacebuilding and RTV. Then, with a new compassionate understanding, the viewing audience will feel a greater obligation to relieve the injustices suffered by the world’s most victimized and oppressed populations.

Part 1

I now address peacebuilders. Using RTV as a platform for social reform seems almost counter-intuitive. Sitting in front of a television set, it does not take long to see the exploitive nature of television today, and probably the most exploitive genre is reality. However, there is perhaps no other genre that better represents the narrative part of the human self. This narrative part is essential to all human communication and therefore key to any peacebuilding effort.
We as humans do everything within the context of the narrative. We speak, do science, play, worship, love, and even wage war and make peace through the telling of our stories. It is how we make sense of the world around us. Paul Auster claims, “From the moment we learn to talk, we begin to develop a hunger for stories […] That is because human beings need stories. They need them almost as desperately as they need food.” ¹ This need invites each of us to define and justify our own story, often in very powerful and sometimes destructive ways.

As Michael Hanne in his work *The Power of the Story: Fiction and Political Change,* puts it, “Storytelling [...] is always associated with the exercise, in one sense or another, of power, of control.”² Sadly and far too often this power is exerted in forms of violence serving “in general to reinforce an existing social order, existing structures.”³ The power of storytelling is also used to repress communities. As Edward Said explains, “the power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism.”⁴

The power of storytelling is obviously utilized by those who would seek to subjugate others, as is the case with imperialism and colonialism, as Said points out. However, I would suggest it is a more powerful tool for those who would seek peace and justice. This is evident in the field of restorative justice.

Perhaps no other peacebuilding technique relies on storytelling more than restorative justice (hereafter RJ). In the practice of RJ, victims and perpetrators come together in an effort toward reconciliation. The victims are given space to express themselves in an understanding and cleansing environment. The perpetrator of the offense hears the victim’s story. In turn, the perpetrator is also given quarter to be understood. Dennis Sullivan and Larry Tiffts state in their book *Handbook of Restorative Justice,* “restorative justice practitioners know that sitting [...] with a victim and an offender who open themselves to each other by telling their stories offers the potential for truly human

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³Ibid., 10.
communication and transformation."⁵ Through this process of telling one’s story, true healing can take place.

Mark Umbreit argues in order for healing to occur, “compassionate listening” must be present.⁶ This element of compassion is a key component to any reconciliation effort and is what RTV will prove most effective at activating in a viewing audience. It is in this space of exchange, namely in the telling and listening where I think RTV can be most valuable. It may not be a direct translation of RJ, but as I establish below, it can be a powerful variation. However, first John Paul Lederach’s work with the moral imagination will prove most helpful.

Lederach argues without the elements of “relationship, paradoxical curiosity, creativity and risk,” peacebuilding would be impossible.⁷ When they are combined they comprise what Lederach calls our moral imagination.⁸ I now show how reality television can serve as a gateway to each of these elements. First, Lederach asserts that moral imagination requires “the capacity of individuals and communities to imagine themselves in a web of relationships even with their enemies.”⁹

Oftentimes much of the developed world’s population insulates itself from the lives of the world’s oppressed. If we do know anything of their plight, it is through the evening news or a news article of some sort. While watching we might say something like, “that is awful what is going on over there.” While seemingly sympathetic, this only serves to insulate us from the problem. RTV removes that distance by helping to activate the two main contributors to the relationship element of moral imagination, namely “taking personal responsibility and acknowledging relational mutuality.”¹⁰ It does this because the nature of RTV is emotionally in tune with the viewer. It leads the audience into a state much like Umbreit’s compassionate listening.

⁶Mark Umbreit, *Being with the Energy of Love and Forgiveness*, directed by Mark Umbreit. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8OUn0pbmb7g. (Web Video, Published June 18, 2013).
¹⁰Ibid., 35.
By telling the stories of individuals, RTV pulls at the viewer’s heartstrings. It endeavors to make you relate with the personalities on the screen. This emotional identification with the problems of people and communities a world away is what makes RTV so effective. It creates this “web of relationships” of which Lederach speaks.

“People who display [...] a quality of interaction with reality that respects complexity and refuses to fall into forced containers of dualism” demonstrate Lederach’s second element of moral imagination, paradoxical curiosity. RTV is suited to do just that. Any successful, peacebuilding based RTV program would show the complexity of the conflict situation by allowing both sides of the issues to be shown and treated with fairness. The example of “Labor and Materials,” an Iraqi RTV show loosely based on the U.S. show “Extreme Home Makeover,” has proven to be one such program.

The program shows families rebuilding homes blasted by U.S. bombs. “The main point isn’t to rebuild the house, but to show the change in the psychology of the family during the rebuilding,” says Ali Hannon, the show’s director. Imagine the impact it would have on the viewing public if this program were aired in the U.S. Through compassionate understanding and a moral imagination, a U.S. citizen watching an Iraqi family struggle to rebuild their home the U.S. Air Force had destroyed would lessen the chasm that exists between the narrative of the average Iraqi citizen and that of the average U.S. citizen. This wedding of what may seem two entirely different cultures through a paradoxical curiosity born of mutual interest, namely the struggles of a suffering family, is certainly a way to bridge the dualistic divide of conflict.

The third element, creativity, seems an obvious fit for RTV. There is a challenge, however, in that Lederach states moral imagination cannot exist outside of “concrete human action.” So, how can RTV, a platform which some would say relies on the laziness of its loyal viewers, promote the creative aspect of moral imagination?

11Ibid., 795.
Again, I will rely on Lederach who states, “Creativity moves beyond what exists toward something new and unexpected while rising from and speaking to the everyday.”\textsuperscript{14} RTV relies on the “unexpected” to retain interest in the viewers while at the same time needing the personalities and situations on the program to be relatable, as in needing to “speak [...] to the everyday” situations that we find ourselves in. RTV sparks the imagination by providing new ideas about the way the world can be. An RTV program with peacebuilding at its core would lead the viewer to fresh creative ideas towards peace. Lederach asserts the creative act needs space in which to emerge and that “this is in fact the role of the artist.”\textsuperscript{15} RTV can be one of these spaces, and the producers of these programs are literally artists creating new pathways previously unexplored in peacebuilding. It is these pathways that motivated viewers can utilize in order to turn a passive interest in a peacebuilding RTV program into an active life decision toward sustainable peace.

Last, the element of risk must be present for moral imagination to exist, or rather, “the willingness to take a risk. To risk is to step into the unknown without any guarantee of success or even safety.”\textsuperscript{16} The people that an RTV program would follow are living lives of risk. When “Violence is known, [and] peace is a mystery” every decision made by these people is risky. When peace is not guaranteed, the necessities of life hang in the balance. RTV can utilize the portrayal of these lives lived in peril to activate the moral imagination of its viewers. Once activated, this imagination will fuel the moral outrage that must exist in all good people.

A skilled producer of RTV programming will tell the story of the oppressed and activate the four necessary elements of Lederach’s moral imagination in the heart and minds of the conscientious viewer. The scope of RTV is vast and the opportunity for change is immense and should not be overlooked.

Many of the criticisms against RTV are well founded and should be answered. It must be shown that RTV serves rather than exploits the people whose suffering is on

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., 47.
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., 39.
display. Lilie Chouliaraki sums up the problem up in an article that deals with witnessing and journalism in television.

What makes journalism as witnessing both a moralising force in the space of appearance and an object of harsh criticism, then, is not its capacity to bring distant suffering into the space of appearance per se, but its 'ritual' power to constitute Western spectators as publics, as collectivities with a will to act.\(^{17}\) RTV has to walk the fine line between voyeurism and humanitarian interest. If it seeks to profit from the suffering of its subjects then it is worthy of every criticism. But if by the compassionate telling of the sufferer's story the "western public" is motivated with the "will to act" then it can be a "moralising force" for good.

In order for RTV to remain altruistic, it must do the following three things at a minimum. First, the individuals portrayed must receive fair market compensation for appearing on the program. Many times "talent" is secured at below fair market value because they do not know any better. Third party representation in the form of an agent should be provided at a reasonable rate for these individuals.

Second, whenever possible, local crews and resources should be utilized in the production of the show. Often production companies will import video, sound, and editing personnel. Whenever it does not detract from the quality of the production, local help must be employed. This will further infuse growth in the local economy, thus help the participating individuals, their families, and the surrounding community.

Lastly, and most importantly, the individuals must have editorial privilege. They must be able to view and then veto any content that misrepresents their story or takes advantage of them. If it is not in the power of these vulnerable persons to control their own narrative, then the ability for producers and networks to exploit these individuals is too great. As Catherine Riley points out, this empowerment of the subject would be a huge parting from industry standards, but I believe it a necessary one.\(^{18}\) RTV producers, acting as peacebuilders, must have the best interests of their subjects in mind. If they do, these RTV producers/peacebuilders have the potential of sharing stories which can empower the

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subjects by activating their audience’s sense of moral imagination which in turn can lead to moral action.

Certainly, the natural draw for any RTV program dealing with peacebuilding is the story of the sufferer, but telling the story of second-level peacebuilders is also a viable option. Drawing once again from Lederach’s extensive work we find his three levels of conflict transformation and resolution model.\textsuperscript{19} It is a “bottom’s-up” approach that utilizes leaders at each level. From “Grassroots Leaders” at the third level to the first level “Top Leaders,” and “Mid-Level Leaders” in between, tying the two levels of peacebuilding together.\textsuperscript{20} It is this mid-level, or second track, that I believe is most useful to RTV.

These leaders are usually highly motivated, well-educated individuals who occupy influential positions in “international NGO’s, churches, academics, and private business.”\textsuperscript{21} I think it a fair statement that the viewing public has little to no knowledge of the role these individuals play in a peace process. To be a mid-level leader, one has usually spent a great portion of one’s life devoted to not only the study but the practice of peacebuilding.

Often these individuals have sacrificed more profitable and prestigious careers for the sake of satisfying the call of moral outrage that demands their commitment to the peacebuilding process. Academics who might otherwise publish in fields of notoriety, instead work tirelessly bringing awareness to subjects of social justice that are mired in obscurity. Religious leaders, who might have led lives of simplicity within a local community, instead work tirelessly to relieve the suffering of peoples often a world away. Mid-level leaders working for international NGO’s often are underpaid and overworked, asking only for the opportunity to create a better world. Then there are independent business owners who dedicate their wealth and resources toward efforts of sustainable development in the poor world, when they could certainly invest in more secure and lucrative ventures.

It would be so easy for any of these individuals to utilize their talents and focus their


\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.

resources on their own lives. Instead they devote their lives toward the efforts of peace and justice. The stories of these people need to be told. If it is, I believe the RTV audience stands to relate, understand, and appreciate the monumental effort it takes to generate peace and justice in a world full of violence and injustice. This can only help the peacebuilding process.

The final benefit of RTV to peacebuilding is perhaps the most obvious: scope. The popularity of RTV programming is colossal. The following graph shows just how popular this genre is:

![Graph showing RTV Ratings by age group.]

These percentages correspond to an average daily viewership of 5 hours, 11 minutes of television per day per U.S. citizen. These are staggering numbers to say the least. Imagine an RTV program based on peacebuilding that gets only mediocre numbers. According to Nielson, the premier TV Ratings Company, the seventh highest rated program on November 30, 2014 was an RTV program that was viewed by 11,225,000 homes in the US. With the right production company and a little bit of good fortune an RTV program could garner similar results. This level of success would touch the lives of millions of potentially motivated and activated people.

Most people are good at heart and if given empowerment and opportunity would do something about the condition of the world’s most underprivileged. RTV is a tool that can reach into the average U.S. citizen’s home and activate the moral imagination of millions.

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Part 2

People are interested in seeing the world and learning about different people and how they live. There are many shows enjoying immense success that highlight the diversity of this world. Food, travel, and destination shows are among the highest rated on air today.\(^{25}\) Also, people want to feel good after an evening of television watching. Programs depicting charitable and compassionate acts have long been industry leaders.\(^{26}\) Home and business makeover shows along with second chance and rescue shows have been and continue to be huge ratings grabs.\(^{27}\) Why not capitalize on these interests by creating a program that appeals to them all. I propose a television show based on peacebuilding and demonstrate how such a program is appealing to a broad portion of the U.S. viewing audience.

People watch RTV for many different reasons. It can be narrowed down to three different categories: competitive, instructive, and voyeuristic. A peacebuilding show would, most likely but not necessarily, fall under the instructive, as such, it could very easily be considered a “docu”-series. The following concept will hold huge appeal for the U.S. viewing audience and really any audience around the world. The title is “The Peacebuilders” and has two main elements.

The first element centers on the women and men who work tirelessly to broker peace in a violent and oppressive world. They are called “Peacebuilders.” Each episode finds a new peacebuilder investing her/himself in the lives of the world’s poor, dislocated, and war-torn victims. She listens to their stories, identifies their need, then connects them with the appropriate NGO, peace organization or individuals that will most relieve and empower the situation. She educates local leaders and helps to activate communities in peacebuilding efforts. She promotes sustainable development practices while at the same time providing mediation and restorative justice opportunities to the subjects in the show. Watching our peacebuilder at work is intensely interesting, not knowing whether her efforts will result in relief or a continued oppression. The viewer is held captive, needing to know how the story ends. “Will the mother find food for her starving children?” Or, “Will the rebels lay down their guns?” Many stories can be told and all are compelling. Many will

\(^{26}\)Ibid.
\(^{27}\)Ibid.
have happy endings, some will not. Each will hold the viewer captive. Each will demand a moral response. They will be challenged to imagine ways in which they too can change the world. People will leave their television sets motivated and inspired. They will want to make a difference in this world. They will want to help.

The viewer begins relating and activating her moral imagination in two different ways. First, they begin to imagine themselves as the oppressed. They place themselves in the role of the suffering “other.” Viewers will feel what it must be like to have a starving child with no way to feed it. Viewers will hear the stories of the rebel soldier who just wants a better way of life and is willing to fight for it. The viewer will begin to relate to the victims. Seeing their stories of the suffering other, as a result of things like violent conflict, poverty, or climate change played out for the viewer in real time, with real sessions of peacebuilding techniques will be powerful. Seeing these stories played out in a way never seen before will intrigue and invest the viewer.

Second, in a real but subtle way the viewer will focus on our host, one of “The Peacebuilders.” We begin to relate to her, a fellow “Westerner,” doing things we have only dreamed of. As we follow her efforts from week-to-week and family-to-family we begin to feel her sense of compassion, sympathy, and an urgency to make a difference in the lives of those she serves. The viewer will come to identify with our peacebuilder by seeing in her the echo of what they too could be. The viewer will be educated, albeit informally, in the art of peacebuilding, with the hopeful promise that each will imagine new ways to make a difference in this world.

Actual Pitch “The Peacebuilders”

Meet Jean Paul Lederach, George Lopez, and Michael Minch, each a titan in the field of Peace and Conflict. These heroes are never mentioned. Their stories are never told, before now. They are the soldiers of peace waging battles without guns and winning wars with reason and compassion. Watch as each travels the world negotiating with African warlords, convincing guerillas in the jungles of Columbia to lay down their guns, and exorcising the demons of the Bosnian genocide. “The Peacebuilders” is a pilot documentary meant to
introduce a broader docu-series that follows the lives of the world’s foremost leaders in Peace and Conflict.

First, the viewer will follow Lederach as he meets with individuals brokering a tentative peace agreement between warring factions in the Congo, where a civil war rages on the back of the world rare metal market. These metals connect every tweet sent from London to San Francisco. The viewer will see the complexity of the conflict and feel the angst of an impoverished and brutal world as Lederach works in villages where desperate miners live in slave like squalor, desperately trying to feed their starving children.

Next, we join Lopez entering a Columbian jungle compound, the headquarters of the FARC, a heavily armed guerilla rebellion. Lopez finally convinces the leaders to lay down their guns and come to the peace table after years of deliberation. The relief overwhelms everyone and the viewer cannot help but join in the realization of a long sought peace.

On to Minch, who calls community leaders in Bosnia together in an effort to reconcile both sides from the demons of genocide. He tours apartment buildings where families have no choice but to live next to the murderer of their father, sister or friend. The emotional complexity is staggering and the opportunity for restorative justice profound as Minch helps them forge a new and peaceful future for their children.

The program ends with each storyline reaching a conclusion. Some will be resolved, some with a happy ending others not. But all will leave the viewer encouraged about a hopeful tomorrow.

**Conclusion**

The purpose of this paper has been to bring the worlds of peacebuilding and RTV together. In Part 1 of the paper, I demonstrated that RTV can be an effective tool for peacebuilders. Taking into consideration the narrative nature of all humans and the healing that comes from telling our stories, RTV is specifically beneficial. Also RTV can be particularly useful in activating the moral imagination of everyday citizens. I have shown how RTV can satisfy Lederach’s four elements of moral imagination. This in itself could stand alone as evidence enough for RTV’s employment. I also demonstrated RTV’s ability and obligation to honor
Lederach’s call for indigenous empowerment. Then I suggested how RTV could tell the often forgotten story of mid-level peacebuilders. Finally, I ended with the scope of potential effect that RTV could have. The numbers are staggering. RTV literally can bring the stories and issues of peacebuilding into millions of US homes, and this did not include any numbers outside of the U.S., which would only add to its credibility as a powerful platform.

In Part 2, I “pitched” the show concept of “The Peacebuilder,” a program which follows an accomplished peacebuilder busily at work relieving the suffering and negotiating peace in the lives of people at risk the world over. This by all indications should be a profitable and moral venture for any media network to invest in. So, with all this said, the obvious thing to do is for peacebuilders and producers to collaborate and bring reality television into the peacebuilding world.