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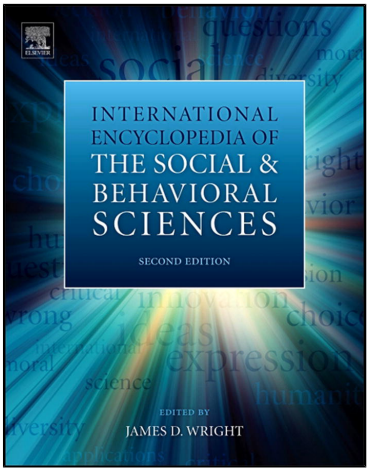

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Peace Movements

Marco Giugni, University of Geneva, Geneva Switzerland

Abstract

The origin of peace movements can be traced back to the early nineteenth century, with the foundation of the first peace societies in the Anglo-Saxon world. Issues addressed by the movements include the general fight against war and promotion of peace (including internationalism), antiwar mobilization, nuclear disarmament (including nuclear test ban), mobilization against military infrastructures, and for civil service. Different phases can be discerned in the Western context: the rise of pacifism as a collective and public issue during the nineteenth and early twentieth century; the Cold War era; peace movements as part of the new social movements from the late 1960s to the late 1980s; and the post-Cold War era. The strength and specific features of peace movements vary both across time and across space depending on the specific features of each national context. Today, peace movements are seen as part of the broader family of the new social movements. Scholarly works have characterized the profile of participants in these movements as being rooted in the new middle class, displaying left-libertarian values, and sharing a common concern over social issues, but have also stressed important difference across countries in their social bases. Peace movements find their most important effects at the societal and cultural level rather than at the political level.

Peace movements can be tackled from different angles. Three such angles deserve mention. First, one may look at their underlying ideology and values. Most obviously, this involves fighting war and all the means leading to it (such as weapons or more generally armies) as well as promoting peace in a variety of ways (such as opposing war efforts, sensitizing the public opinion, and educating the younger generations). Second, one may focus on the actors involved. Since social movements are a collective endeavor, this means mainly examining the organizations – both formal and informal – involved in collective efforts to fight war and promote peace. Third, one may stress the actions carried out to fight war and promote peace. Since social movements can be seen as public displays of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment (Tilly, 1999), this implies looking at the public expression of the struggle against war and the promotion of peace.

Peace movements, in fact, are all three things at the same time: ideas, people, and actions. In order to get a grasp on their rise and development over time, we then need to consider a broader definition. In this vein, Della Porta and Diani (1999) argue that social movements are informal networks, based on shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilize about conflictual issues, through the frequent use of various forms of protest. This qualifies peace movements and a special instance of contentious politics, which is a broader analytical category. As stressed among others by Tarrow (1998: 2), "[c]ontentious politics occurs when ordinary people, often in league with more influential citizens, join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities and opponents … When backed by dense social networks and galvanised by culturally resonant, action-oriented symbols, contentious politics leads to sustained interaction with opponents. The result is the social movement." This also distinguishes peace movements from pacifism, which is best confined to the realm of ideas.

From a thematic and substantial point of view, we may distinguish between different branches or, perhaps more accurately, thematic foci of peace movements. The most prominent are probably general fight against war and promotion of peace (including internationalism), antiwar mobilization, nuclear disarmament (including nuclear test ban), mobilization against military infrastructures, and for civil service. To that, we might add the nonviolent movement, which is, however, both narrower and larger than peace movements themselves. The relative strength of each thematic focus varies both across time and across space depending on the specific features of each national context.

From a historical point of view, peace movements have gone through a number of phases, at least in the Western context. Here we address four such phases: (1) the rise of pacifism as a collective and public issue during the nineteenth and early twentieth century; (2) the Cold War era; (3) peace movements as part of the new social movements from the late 1960s to the late 1980s; and (4) the post-Cold War era. Peace movements display specific features in each of these historical phases. The latter are not neatly delimited and sometimes overlap. For example, the peace mobilizations for nuclear disarmament that took place in the late 1970s and early 1980s were at the same time conducted in the context of an exacerbated Cold War climate.

Early Peace Efforts

Peace movements are undoubtedly among the major societal forces that have characterized the twentieth century. Their roots, however, can be traced back to the early nineteenth century. The first attempts to create an organized effort to promote peace emerged in the Anglo-Saxon world, in particular in Britain and the U.S. For example, the New York Peace Society and the Massachusetts Peace Society were founded in 1815, while the London Peace Society was created only 1 year later, in 1816. This early peace reformism, however, has little to do with the peace movements of the mid- and late twentieth century. It is more a matter of movements of ideas led by a small number

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of intellectual elites, rather than popular movements involving thousands of middle-class citizens. We can thus talk of pacifism more than peace movements.

Some prominent pacifist associations were founded in the following decades in most Western countries, both nationally, such as for example, the American Peace Society (1928), and internationally, such as for example, the *Ligue internationale et permanente de la paix* (Paris, 1863) and the *Ligue international de la paix et de la liberté* (Geneva, 1867). As their names often suggest, many of these associations worked in the frame of an internationalist approach to peace, that is, based on the assumption that the latter could be reached only through a dialog across national actors and governments. Other transnational associations emerged from wartime pacifism, such as the British and US Quaker service committees (by 1917), the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (1919), and the International War Resister League (1921). Although many efforts by peace movements have later focused on influencing national governments and public opinions, such an internationalist approach remains alive within the movement until nowadays, and has in fact found new vigor with the rise of the global justice movement in the 2000s.

An important feature of early efforts to fight war and promote peace consists in the strong religious background of peace associations. Often such associations were created that have a strong religious background, in particular of the Christian religion. More generally speaking, often national peace movements divide in two main orientations: a Christian (either Catholic, Protestant, or both) orientation and a leftist (either Socialist, Communist, or both) orientation. The relative strength and importance of each stream depends among other on the cleavage structure in each specific country. Other streams have emerged later on, in particular with the rise of the new social movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Peace Movements under the Cold War

During and in the aftermath of World War II, peace activism and movements continued to flourish within a changed context. This is the context of the Cold War, where the Soviet Union and the U.S. engaged in a tug of war largely based on the nuclear arms race. As a result, peace activism in this period has often focused on nuclear disarmament not only in the U.S., but in Europe as well. At the same time, a peace coalition was formed during World War II around the United Nations ideal, thus continuing the strong internationalist perspective of peace movements. In this context, peace issue and human rights issues were put together in a broader effort to promote peace.

Yet peace activism during this phase mainly focused on the nuclear arms issue. Particularly in the U.S., a number of campaigns were launched which targeted nuclear weapons. This includes the nuclear test ban movements, led by a coalition of organizations that included the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (Katz, 1986). More generally, a grassroots transnational movement formed around opposition to nuclear tests and nuclear arms more generally. This opposition also got the support of leading intellectual figures, such as for example, the British philosopher Bertrand Russell.

A major phase of peace activism occurred during the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the war that stemmed from it between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s. Obviously, the American peace movement was at the forefront of this cycle of protest. Indeed, opposition to the Vietnam War represents the peak of the U.S. peace movement, and the Vietnam War also spurred a wealth of protest activities in other countries. In the U.S. the antiwar movement gained momentum starting from February 1965, when American troops began Operation Rolling Thunder in North Vietnam. Opposition started with teach-ins in colleges and then evolved in a wide range of activities involving a broad coalition of congressional critics, liberal intellectuals, radical pacifists, New Left students, as well as disillusioned war veterans. Opposition escalated along with the war, both in terms of the number of events and the number of participants and in terms of the radicalization of the protest. The protest radicalized especially among students within university campuses, leading to what some have qualified of 'campus wars' (Heineman, 1993). At the same time, large mass demonstrations were staged across the country, such as for example, two demonstrations held in Washington: one on 15 November 1969 attended by nearly 500 000 people and another one on 24 November 1969 mobilizing between 200 000 and 500 000 people.

The 'New' Peace Movements

The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed the emergence of the so-called new social movements. This term refers to a specific type of movements that emerged in Europe after World War II as a product of the shift to a postindustrial society and post-material age, stressing demands that moved away from instrumental issues relating to the class conflict toward post-materialist issues concerning the quality of life broadly speaking (Inglehart, 1977). As such the new social movements are seen as qualitatively different from 'old' movements, most notably the labor movement (Melucci, 1981), in terms of their social basis, ideology, value orientations, and organizational structure, but also in terms of their tactics and action repertoires.

Although some scholars have pointed the environmental movement as being the new social movement par excellence (Touraine, 1978), peace movements are seen as major component of this movement family. In this sense, the advent of the new social movements brought a new impetus to peace movements, bringing a younger generation of activists as well as novel forms of protest. Moreover, the mobilization of the 'new' peace movements reflected the changing structure of social and political cleavage that crossed the European societies in the decades after War World II.

Peace movements have indeed been a protagonist of the wave of protest that has characterized the Western world in the early 1980s. In particular between 1981 and 1983, pacifists across Europe as well as in the U.S. have gathered around the issue of nuclear disarmament, an issue that had been on the agenda of the movements for a long time, but that was took on a new dimension following NATO's decision in December 1979 to base 572 cruise and Pershing II missiles in five West European countries (Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, the

Netherlands, and West Germany). This decision, but above all its adoption by the governments of the countries concerned, led to the mobilization of an antinuclear weapons movement not only in those countries, but also in other countries, including in Eastern Europe. The result was perhaps the largest wave of protest in Western Europe since World War II, with hundreds of thousands of people getting into the streets to protest against NATO's decision and more generally against the nuclear arms race and for peace.

In the U.S., this opposition to nuclear arms took crystalized around the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. The idea of the freeze as an arms control proposal and a strategy for action was first proposed by peace activist Randall Forsberg in December 1979. It was asked "[t]o improve national and international security, the U.S. and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals" (quoted in Meyer, 1990: 160). The proposal was immediately adopted by pacifists and the movement gained momentum. Protest took several forms: from mass demonstrations and to disruptive actions, to teach-ins at colleges and universities, and to public education tactics. While the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign can be situated between 1979 and 1985 (Chatfield, 1992), 1982 represented the peak of the mobilization. A number of important protest actions took place in that year, including the largest demonstration ever in the U.S. history at that point, when nearly 1 million people filled the street of New York City (12 June).

At the same time, scholars have shown that the mobilization capacity of peace movements – and of all social movements, for that matter – varies very much across countries as a result of different political contexts and opportunity structures (Kriesi et al., 1995; Rochon, 1988). For example, peace mobilization in the 1970s and 1980s was particularly strong in those countries where traditional cleavages such as the class and religious cleavage have been largely pacified, leaving room for the emergence of new cleavages based on postmaterialist issues, and where the configuration of power was favorable for mobilization around these issues. Thus, for example, Germany and the Netherlands witnessed a much stronger wave of protest than France (Kriesi et al., 1995). The ground was particularly fertile for peace mobilization in the Netherlands, as shown by the fact that the largest demonstrations in 1981 and 1983 perhaps took place on Dutch soil, as well as by the huge success of the 'people's petition' of the Dutch peace movement in 1985, which was signed by 3.8 million people (Kriesi, 1989).

Peace Movements in the Post-Cold War Era

The context for the mobilization of peace movements changed dramatically at the end of the 1980s with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War. This implied a modified frame for pacifism and peace movement mobilization, from a focus on the East–West axis of conflict to an increasing focus on the South–North axis. Also, peace activism shifted away from the nuclear arms issue – with some notable exceptions such as the opposition to France's decision to run a nuclear test series at Mururoa in 1995, which, however, remained quite limited in scope – to a broader range of issues. At the national level, the latter varied depending on the country, addressing military infrastructures, military spending, arms sales, civil service, and so forth. At the international level, the most important events have dealt with opposition to military interventions.

One such events was the U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf in 1990–91, aimed at driving Iraq out of Kuwait and called Operation Desert Storm, but which became known as Gulf War. This military intervention raised intense opposition from peace activists and more generally citizens. Such an opposition, however, the protest was as short-lived as the war. Quite understandably given the direct involvement of this country, the protest was stronger in the U.S., but peace movements in other countries mobilized as well. Opposition was manifested both before and after the military intervention, but the largest demonstrations as well as the most disruptive protest occurred once intervention began in January 1991. The protest waned as quickly as it rose after cease-fire was called on 28 February 1991.

Another event that spurred an international mobilization by peace movements was the military intervention in the Serb province of Kosovo in 1999 to terminate Serbian oppression in that province of the country made under the banner of the NATO. In part because other armies than the U.S. one were involved in this mission, but in part also because the intervention was done on European soil, this time peace movements in Europe were more active than American pacifists. Perhaps due to the geographical proximity of the country, the protest was particularly strong in Italy.

A few years later another military intervention in the Middle East raised strong opposition from peace movements worldwide. This is the invasion by the U.S. and its allies (Australia, Poland, and the UK) of Iraq between March and May 2003 in what become known as the Iraq War. Among a number of other activities, shortly before the intervention millions of people in more than 600 cities worldwide took the streets to protest against the invasion. In what has been depicted as the largest 1-day protest in human history (Walgrave and Rucht, 2010), pacifists from various countries staged demonstrations on 15 February to cry out loud 'The World Says No to War.' While some of the events were small-scale, others are among the largest demonstrations ever, such as for example, the estimated 3 million people gathered in Rome, Italy. But other large events took place in many other European cities as well as in the U.S.

These three examples illustrate quite well the main focus of peace movements on the global level in the post-Cold War era: protesting against military interventions (mostly by the U.S.) in foreign countries made in the name of freedom and democracy, but which is often seen by pacifists as a neo-imperialist move. Parallel to that, peace movements at the national level have addressed specific issues that may vary from one country to the other. However, these more specific issues only seldom have been addressed publicly, for example, by staging mass demonstrations, and have most often been the object of more 'hidden' advocacy activities by peace movement organizations.

Starting in particular from the late 1990s, peace issues were also addressed as part of a broader agenda of the global justice movement, along concerns around environmental protection, social justice poverty, and inequalities, both nationally and on a global scale. Of course, peace movements have always been strongly internationalized, since the early stages and even more so in the postwar period. However, during the first years of the third millennium peace came to be seen, even more than before, as a global issue and one which needs to be dealt with along other, related issues, most notably human rights and social justice on a planetary scale.

Participants

The literature on social movements can roughly be divided into two main subfields: one dealing with the movements as collective actors, including examining movement organizations (macro and meso levels), and another addressing individual participation (micro level). The same distinction may be applied to the study of peace movements.

Studies focusing specifically on peace activists or more broadly on individual participants in peace movements are rare. Most often, micro level analyses look at participation in social movements in general or, at best, in a given movement family. Scholarly works have stressed the specific profile of participants in the new social movements. Although no consensus exists on this matter, most accounts seem to agree on saying that the ideal-typical new social movement participants are rooted in the new middle class, display left-libertarian values, and share a common concern over social issues (Cotgrove and Duff, 1981; Eder, 1993; Kriesi, 1989). They are thus both structurally and culturally distinguished from 'old' movements such as the labor movement.

This characterization also applies to activists and participants in the 'new' peace movements. However, a number of studies in different countries show a variegated picture of peace movement participants (Parkin, 1968; Kaltefleiter and Pfaltzgraff, 1985; Walgrave and Rucht, 2010). In one of the rare broad comparative analyses of peace movements, the authors have examined a sample of participants in the 15 February 2003 protest against the war on Iraq (Walgrave and Rucht, 2010: 261) with the aim of "analyzing who those demonstrators were, why they took to the streets, and how they were mobilized." The book is based on a comparative protest survey of participants in 11 demonstrations against the (threatened) U.S. intervention in Iraq in eight countries (Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, the UK, and the U.S.).

As the authors stress in the concluding article, "[r]egarding the sociodemographic profiles, of course, the average demonstrator, in the aggregate of all countries, resembled the typical new social movements' activists with high levels of education, a relatively large proportion of whom were women, belonged to the younger age cohorts, and predominantly worked in the human service sector" (Walgrave and Rucht, 2010: 163). At the same time, however, the authors of this research found that there are substantial differences among protesters in the eight countries if the study, attesting to the importance of the context in explaining not only the mobilization of peace movements at the macro and meso levels, but also the characteristics and motivations of individual participants at the micro level. Thus, protesters in the 15 February 2003 demonstrations displayed important cross-national differences in their sociodemographic profile, attitudes, and behaviors.

Outcomes

The study of the outcomes of social movements is at the same time the most neglected and perhaps the most difficult aspect to address, the former probably being a consequence of the latter. Studying the outcomes of peace movements is not an exception to this rule, and students of peace movements have faced the same obstacles as scholars interested in the effects of social movements in general, most notably the problem of establishing a causal nexus between protest and its alleged effects.

Scholars often make a distinction between three main areas of influence of social movements: political, biographical, and cultural outcomes (Giugni, 2008). How do peace movements score on these three counts? Most existing works address political, or even more narrowly, policy effects, founding mixed evidence. For example, while some have found that the U.S. congressional action on the Vietnam War was influenced, at least in part, by antiwar protests (Burstein and Freudenburg, 1978), others show that peace movements have little leverage on policy change (Giugni, 2004a). This certainly holds for the massive mobilizations that occurred in the early 1980s in various European countries as well as in the U.S. and aimed at fighting the nuclear arms race engaged by the two superpowers of the time. In spite of the millions of people involved and their prominence in the mass media, these mobilizations did not prevent the governments of the five countries who agreed with the NATO's decision from actually hosting the nuclear missiles on their soil. Thus, at least in the short term, what was at the time the largest wave of protest in the postwar period was unsuccessful.

Biographical outcomes refer to effects on the life-course of individuals who have participated in movement activities, effects that are at least in part due to involvement in those activities. Scholars have not addresses directly such effects of participation in peace movements, but have looked more generally at the biographical impact of activism in the American New Left during the cycle of protest of the 1960s and 1970s (see Giugni, 2004b for a review). In general, these follow-up studies of New Left activists quite consistently point to a strong and durable impact on the political and personal lives of activists. This suggests that involvement in peace movements, at least if through intense commitment, leaves a strong imprint on the lives of those who take parts in those protest activities.

The effects of peace movements, however, are perhaps most deeply felt at the broader societal and cultural level. Sensitizing national and international public opinions to peace issues, changing cultural orientations with regard to peace and war, affecting the values of the younger generations: this is perhaps where peace movements may have their strongest and most durable effects. That is to say, both pacifism as an ideology and peace movements as the combination of ideas, people, and

actions aimed at fighting war and promoting peace can have their deeper and lasting effects.

See also: Arms Control; Civil Wars; Cold War, The; Conflict and War, Archaeology of: Weapons and Artifacts; Conflict and War: Anthropological Aspects; Deterrence; Genocide and War; Insurgency; Media and Social Movements; Militarism; Military Sociology; Military, War, and Politics; Nation-State and War; National Security Studies and War Potential of Nations; Peace Keeping; Peace Processes; Peace and Nonviolence: Anthropological Aspects; Peace-Making in History; Peace; Political Protest and Civil Disobedience; Public Interest; Social Movements and Political Violence; Social Protest and New Media; Social Protest; War Propaganda; War and Democracy; War and Nationalism; War, Political Violence, and Effects on Children; War, Social Causes and Consequences; War, Sociology of; Warfare in History; Wars among Nation-States: Patterns and Causes.

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