The Contested Idea of Peace: A Path for Public Administration through Jane Addams

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**Abstract**

Beginning with the odd finding that "peace research is just the study of war" this paper explores "positive peace" as an important yet neglected notion in public administration. It does this by examining the ideas of Nobel Peace Prize winner, Jane Addams, a pioneer in public administration and peace theory. Addams feminist, pragmatist ideas of peace, which we call peaceweaving, emerged from her experience as a settlement worker in Chicago. Her ideas are placed in historical context, and applied to contemporary peace developments in Kosovo. Using her ideas lead us to a better understanding of what is going right and what is still going wrong in that complicated peace operation.

## Introduction

> *Ideas seem so unreal, so powerless, before the vast physical force of the military masses today; it is easy to forget that it is only ideas that created that force and that keep it in action.* (Balch, *Women at The Hague*, 1915 p. 47)

"Peace Research – Just the Study of War?" the title of a recent bibliometric study in the highly ranked *Journal of Peace Research* reveals a surreal trend. The "Just the Study of War" article graphically illustrates that mainstream peace research has primarily become an examination of war. This finding is, in part, attributed to the dominance of a *negative* definition (the prevention of war and violence) in the conceptualization and operationalization of peace (Gleditsch et al 2014, p. 145; Galtung, 1969).

A more organic and dynamic *positive* notion of peace exists alongside the dominant "negative" version. This positive vision of peace incorporates cooperation, community engagement, collaboration, effective-governance, integrated social structures, social justice and democracy. It is *more* than the study of war! This less well-articulated and studied notion of peace coincides with public administration's sphere. Not surprisingly, many peace and conflict scholars would like the emphasis in peace research to be more balanced with greater focus on understanding and securing a *positive* peace (Richmond, 2008; Fitzgibbon, 2010). This group of scholars often looks to feminist approaches as a way to conceptualize the meaning of peace. These feminine voices, however, are often muted and marginalized (Nakaya, 2004; Porter, 2007; Sylvester, 1994).

In *Bureau Men and Settlement Women*, Camilla Stivers (2000) reclaimed the works and ideas of women of the Settlement Movement and secured for them a place as pioneers in public administration. The Settlement women created a public administration using their feminine experience as a springboard. Jane Addams, founder of Hull House, the most famous settlement, often lectured and wrote about municipal housekeeping as a model for city administration. She promoted a city as "civic household" in contrast to a somewhat medieval "city as citadel" model (Elshtain, 2002, p164). She and the settlement residents saw the "city as a home for its people, therefore, city government should be a… kind of a homemaking, devoted to creating the conditions under which residents could live safely… City officials should develop policies rooted in lived experience of city residents, collaborating with those closest to the problems" (Stivers, 2000, 100). In some sense, the settlement women brought a *positive* definition of city governance to Public Administration.

Stivers (2000) and others have made the case that Jane Addams (1) and settlement leaders such as Julia Lathrop and Florence Kelley were Public Administration pioneers (Stillman, 1998; Gabriele, forthcoming, Shields, 2003, 2006, 2008, Shields, Hanks and Whetsell, 2013). Jane Addams is perhaps unique among these women because she not only engaged in community-building, she applied the ideas and practices emerging from the Settlement experience to larger national and international spheres. She argued that these ideas had the potential to transform society and international relations.

Throughout her life, but mostly in the second half, Addams was a devoted peace activist, peace organizer and peace philosopher. She received international affirmation of her contributions by winning the 1931 Nobel Peace Prize. In this article we begin to

recover, Jane Addams as a philosopher of peace by examining her positive definition of peace and applying it to the theory of peacebuilding. We begin by noting a historical gap in our collective development of ideas – women's ideas are just mostly missing. We make the case that drawing attention to Addams contribution is a way to fill this gap. We detour briefly to place Addams in an historical context and show how her notion of positive peace, which we call peaceweaving, emerged. Next, we examine the key ideas that make up the fabric of her positive peace.

Finally, we move to the problem of an existing peace operation, and show why Addams "peaceweaving" could be useful today, particularly in a peacebuilding context infused with pubic administration challenges. We illustrate the usefulness of Addams approach using recent observations in Kosovo's fluid, post conflict peacebuilding environment. Negative definitions of peace (absence of war) are mostly fulfilled. Kosovo is a context well suited to explore Jane Addams ideas of positive peace. We might also ask, can we use Jane Addams ideas to fruitfully analyze the Kosovo case?

### Where are the Women?

*The International Congress of Women urges that representatives of the people should take part in the conference that shall frame the peace settlement after the war, and claims that amongst them women should be included.* Resolution 18, International Congress of Women, 1915 (Addams, Balch, Hamilton, 1915, p. 129)

One glaring omission in the contemporary study of peace research is an historical integration of the ideas of women philosophers. For example, Richmond (2008: 3) lists historic, influential peace philosophers and activist (Thucydides, Hobbs, Machiavelli, Kant, Locke, Paine, Jefferson, John Stuart Mill, Gandhi, Freud, Einstein, Lorenz, Mead, Martin Luther King, Thoreau, Foucault, Galtung, Boulding, Freire, Tolstoy, and Camus).

Where are the women? Ironically, Richmond (2008) finds contemporary feminist perspectives of peace particularly productive. Yet his analysis clearly shows there is seemingly no tradition for the feminist perspective to claim. He certainly would have included women philosophers on his list if he had found them. Irving Louis Horowitz's (2007) *The Idea of War and Peace: The Experience of Western Civilization* is another example. Again, where are the women? This exhaustive book begins with the early philosophic founders of western civilization and moves to thinkers of the 19th and 20th century. He includes men such as Whitehead, Maritain, Tolstoy, Lenin, Reves, Einstein, Dewey and Santayana. Perhaps more telling is that out of 250 entries in the index of names there were only two women and one was actress Gloria Swanson – being quoted for lines in a movie written by a man. Meanwhile, peace scholars express concern over a marked absence of any new theory of peace beyond ongoing debates about democratic peace (Barnett, 2008, 76).

Jane Addams contributions were handicapped by her gender and her wartime peace activism. Despite this, over a long career her innovative ideas on peace, social justice, ethics and democracy were documented in books, prestigious lecture series, and articles in journals and influential newspapers. Her works received accolades by the likes of William James, George Herbert Mead, Oliver Wendell Holms, Jr., John Dewey, and James Tufts (Deegan, 1990). During her life books such as *Democracy and Social Ethics* were assigned in college courses on ethics (Deegan, 1990, p. 12). Beginning in the 1990s feminists pragmatist philosophers began to uncover her contributions (Siegfried, 1996). Twenty years later, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* declares her the "first woman public philosopher in the United States." Her 12 books and 500 plus articles

"display a robust intellectual interplay between experience and reflection in the American Pragmatist tradition" (Hamington, 2014). Throughout her career she wrote on peace. *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907) and *Peace and Bread in Times of War* (1922) are two important examples.

There is a documented historical lack of women's presence in the world of ideas. Hence, if there is a woman philosopher with a significant, vetted, written record we have an obligation to open the doors of our collective ideational heritage and integrate her ideas and voice into our shared understanding. This skewed intellectual heritage is a contemporary problem. Jane Addams work is low hanging fruit that should be harvested. It provides an opportunity for 21st century scholars to fill a void. This paper is an early and modest attempt to correct a glaring omission.

### Historical Context

*"For the forces of peace to be unprepared when the hour comes, is as irretrievable as for a military leader to be unready*." Manifesto – International Congress of Women. (Addams, Balch, and Hamilton, 1915 p. 133 )

In 1899 and again in 1907 world leaders convened important and innovative peace conferences at The Hague. These assemblies occupy a celebrated place in the history of international diplomacy. Here world leaders actively sought new frameworks and policy tools (multilateral treaties, Permanent Court of Arbitration (2)) so that war would be replaced by a "system for the peaceful settlement of disputes among states." (Van der Dungen & Wittner 2003: 368)

The First World War canceled a third scheduled Hague Peace Conference. The void was filled by an unofficial conference convened by women. At the time, both the US and The Netherlands were neutral. Jane Addams chaired (3) this unique International

Congress of Women at The Hague, which included approximately twelve hundred participants from twelve nations. Many arrived from war torn countries. The delegates met to develop a framework to end the violence of war. They sought "continuous mediation without armistice" (Deegan, 2003:13). Existing political systems (national and international) excluded women's voices. For the first time, this public forum of women argued that the ongoing exclusion of women from policy discourse around war and peace was deeply problematic. A series of formal conference resolutions addressed these problems by calling for widespread extension of the franchise and women's meaningful inclusion in formal international peace processes after the war. In this way, feminine values of nurturance, caring, and negotiation could be infused and improve peace negotiations and post-war dynamics (Deegan 2003pp. 12-15).

Their call for greater integration of women resonates with 21st century UN Security Council Resolution 1325, a landmark resolution on Women, Peace and Security (Porter, 2007). (4) They also anticipated findings of contemporary peace studies scholars, who show that prospects of peace are improved if women are given a greater voice (Gizelis, 2009; Bridges and Horsfall, 2009).

The women of The Hague issued a manifesto and adopted a set of resolutions that anticipated what subsequently became the League of Nations (Elshtain, 2002 p. 225). They recognized the importance of ending a war without reprisals. Harsh treatment of the defeated sowed the seeds of subsequent war. Grand theories based on power politics may lose sight of the everyday connections, which have the potential to transform hatred into sympathy. These women developed an "everyday ontology of peace" (5) and called for an eventual peace process, which recognized the rights of both sides. In hindsight, one

could easily argue that if many of these resolutions were adopted the world could have avoided WWII.

Following the conference Addams and a congress delegation traveled throughout Europe meeting with the leaders, citizen groups, and wounded soldiers from both sides. She and fellow organizers Emily Balch and Alice Hamilton published their experience in a small book, *Women at The Hague*. She lectured widely about the congress and her experience visiting war torn Europe. When the US entered the war, she continued to present a case for peace. During this period of inflamed nationalism, she quickly became vilified as unpatriotic and even traitorous. She experienced years of, often brutal, condemnation from the popular press and fellow citizens. Large segments of her support network crumbled. Early in her career Addams was the darling of the public, during WWI public sentiment shifted and led some to suggest she should be imprisoned or hung (Knight, 2010; Joslin, 2002) Given how widespread the view that she and her cause was toxic, it is not surprising that Addams ideas about peace were marginalized to the point of obscurity.

Addams secured a spot on the world stage as the Chair of the International Congress of Women. Her ideas of peace, however, can be traced back to her experiences as a Settlement worker at Hull House. The Settlement movement was an innovative outgrowth of a time when women were beginning to participate more fully in the world outside their home. Addams generation was among the first group of American women to attend college. Some of these women were drawn to a life of wider public participation. They sought opportunities to engage the problems of late 19th century urban industrialism.  The Settlement houses offered these women an acceptable way to leave

home and join a community of like-minded, educated, middle or upper class women. It created a unique safe space where women could act outside the home and develop their ideas and translate them into practice (Hamington, 2009). Addams and other settlement house members used the experience to participate in progressive community transformation and formulate ideas about peace. Hull House, established in 1889, became part of the community. It offered an array of services including coffee houses, kindergarten, adult education, day care, children's activities, gymnasium etc. The members of Hull House did not come as experts ready to fix the community. Rather they were part and among the community with the responsibility to listen as much as talk. The residents were committed to using dialogue and shared experience to develop their programs.

At Hull House Addams entered the fray of a late 19th Century Chicago immigrant community, where ethnic/national hostilities transplanted from Europe infused the environment. The foul smells, poisonous sewage, rotting garbage, manure, carcasses, and alarming infant mortality rates repelled her (Addams, 1910/1990, p. 183). Industrialists kept labor cheap and disorganized. Public health was threatened by inadequate sanitation and corruption. Women and children were forced to work 12 and 14-hour days in dangerous environments. The ancient slavery of prostitution was rampant (Addams, 2002). A contemporary student of peace research might easily observe that this was an environment filled with "structural violence " (Galtung, 1969). She characterized Hull House as an "experimental" effort to aid in the solution of the problems "engendered by modern conditions in a great city" (Addams, 1910 p. 126). Addams built her theories on the "fact that real cooperation was possible among the diverse immigrant populations in

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the Hull House neighborhood and looked for ways to extend the mechanisms of cooperation back to their mutually hostile countries of origin" (Seigfried, 1996; 75). She crafted her ideas of peace as her life and passion became intertwined with this democratic experiment.

It was in this teaming Chicago slum and in her capacity as co-founder of Hull House she began to examine the tension between the family and the social claim, develop innovative concepts like *sympathetic understanding* and *lateral progress* (Hamington, 2009) and use them to theorize about participatory democracy and peace. In the process she connected the experiences of women to the wider world of urban problems, conceptualized and actualized a "civic household," and identified an outmoded and destructive militarization within civic life. She conflated the problems of 19th century unfettered crony-capitalism with militarism. For example, the City of Chicago treated immigrants more like conquered people than citizens. Militarism could be observed in industry's distrust of and sometimes-violent response to labor unions and labor initiatives.

## Where Do Addams's Ideas Fit?

*There is nothing negative in the idea of peace. War is negative. Peace is the highest effort of the human brain applied to the organization of the life and being of the peoples of the world on the basis of cooperation.* (Addams, Balch, and Hamilton, 1915 p.117)

As mentioned in the introduction, peace research has been dominated by a 'negative' definition of peace. The dominance of a negative peace (absence of war and violence) in peace research is attributed to the ease with which the definition is operationalized and applied to sophisticated, quantitative methods. Also, perhaps the state of war makes its absence, or peace, an imperative in a way that ongoing societal

structural violence (an early component in the definition of positive peace) would not. Nevertheless, a rigid "positive/negative peace dualism constrains thinking about peace by reducing its diverse and contingent nature." (Barnett, 2008, 79)

Of course, peace researchers acknowledge the value of a positive definition. Galtung (1969) and others have recognized the temporal and process orientation of peace. In a society at war the first stage of peace would be the end of personal violence and absence of war (negative peace), the next stage would be building a society with structures that sustain harmony, freedom, social equity, cooperation (e.g., positive peace). Of course peace cannot be placed in a neat rational continuum beginning with negative peace and ending with positive peace. War and violent conflict are messy; the two types of peace are seldom clearly demarcated. Nevertheless, even if it is inaccurate to view negative and positive peace as a mutually exclusive dichotomy, the notions of negative and positive peace provide *useful distinctions*.

The next section examines where Addams's feminist pragmatism fits within the landscape of international relations (IR), feminism and pragmatism. Classical IR theorist such as Machiavelli and Hobbes viewed women as threats – persons to be conquered (Sylvester, 1994 p.318). Contemporary neo-realist, Kenneth Waltz focuses his theory on system interactions and virtually ignores gender issues. By implication, he rehearses masculine entitlements (Sylvester, 1994 p.321). An author of neoliberal institutionalism, Robert Keohane, sees value in feminist standpoint theory. He acknowledges that IR theory has a masculine bias and therefore could be informed by incorporating the standpoint of people like women who have been systematically excluded (Keohane,

1989, 245). Addams ideas are clearly consistent with standpoint feminism and would be welcomed by Keohane.

Richmond (2008), a contemporary peace scholar, is particularly critical of how positivist theories in IR treat peace. Positivist IR theorists take for granted that peace occurs within and across "states". When "states' and their interaction are the focus of the "role and agency of individuals and societies in the creation of peace [it] tends to be less valued, the focus instead being on grand scale political, economic, military, social and constitutional peace projects undertaken beyond the ken and capacity of the individual" (Richmond, 2008 13). As a result, IR theories focus on official concerns and fail to incorporate the "everyday dynamics of life," (p. 40) and exclude groups like women and children. Richmond (2008: 144) is attracted to feminist approaches, because they address his most pressing concerns. (6)

Addams ideas of peace are unquestionably within the scope of the positive peace. Her conceptions of peace incorporate a feminism that is derived from the female experience. Ideas such as the civic household draw from the feminine experience but are not inherently female. Both men and women can relate to the household metaphor and can enjoy the benefits of clean streets, healthful sewage systems and safe factories (Elshatine, XXX: 237). Her pluralist, feminist pragmatism includes unofficial actors (women and children) that Richmond (2008) calls for.

Addams works seldom explicitly emphasize her broader feminist perspective, make no mistake; she understood men owned society's theoretical lenses. She offered a contrasting and missing perspective, one with feminist lenses. She articulates these differences in a hilarious, counterfactual, tong-in-cheek essay. Here she turns the table

and imagines a world where women are in charge and men seek the vote. She shows how

a lopsided male perspective, which begins perhaps when men are "little boys." Their

fondness for fighting influences policy.  And by implication demonstrates the need for a

*balancing* feminine perspective. A few excerpts follow.

> "Our most valid objection to extending the franchise to you is
> that **you are so fond of fighting – you always have been since you
> were little boys.** You would very likely forget that the real object of the
> State is to nurture and protect life….. We [women] have carefully built
> up a code of factory legislation for the protection of workers in modern
> industry; we know that you men have always been careless about the
> house, perfectly indifferent to the necessity for sweeping and cleaning;
> if you were made responsible for factory legislation it is quite probable
> that you would let the workers in the textile mills contract tuberculosis
> through needless breathing the metal filings." (Addams 1913/2002, pp.
> 229-230)

Addams draws from the feminine experience to bring a new perspective and

source of ideas about how to frame the human experience and make life better.  She

brings a pragmatic, critical optimism to problems.  Things may be indeed bad, but there is

the possibility they can be better (Shields, 2003). She never claims all women agree with

her or that men could not adopt these perspectives. The civic household (family, home) is

a useful caring place where men and women participate in everyday facets of life

including conflict resolution. For Addams, "peace is an end-in-view. A challenging yet

obtainable vision" anchored in a social democracy and achieved through improved social

relations, education and social progress (Hamington, 200, 93). *Weaving* is an activity

long viewed as women's work. Unique threads are woven together to form a flexible yet

strong fabric. The term *Peaceweaving* captures the feminine standpoint and an expansive

sense of democratic community. In contrast, peacebuilding and peacekeeping, both of

which are fine terms, evoke a more rigid approach and do not capture a sense of community.

**Integrating participatory democracy**

> *And democracy did save industry; it transformed disputes about wages from social feuds into business bargains.* (Residents of Hull House, 1970/1895, p. 197)

> *Social morality results perforce in the temper if not the practice of the democratic spirit, for it implies that diversified human experience and resultant sympathy, which are the foundations and guarantee of Democracy.* (Addams 1902, p.7)

Much attention in IR has focused on the "Democratic Peace." Nations with authentic, formal democratic structures are less likely to wage war with each other. Functioning structures such as representative government, rule of law, and elections characterize a *democratic* nation. Addams ideas of democracy are fundamental to her contribution as a peace theorist. While working to make these structures more representative (suffrage activist), she focused her intellectual attention on a fluid, experimental, participatory, pragmatist democracy that ensured inclusion of many voices and focused on resolving concrete problems. This is the kind of democracy where even disenfranchised women have agency.

In public administration we often discuss the politics/administration dichotomy. Democratic peace theory uses a nation-state perspective (nation, nation-dyad, systems of nations) and a political-institutional framework. Democratic nations have open regular elections and their leaders are constrained by a system of checks and balances (Gates et al, 1996). Democratic peace theory uses nation-state *political* structures as a springboard. By focusing on the politics side it inadvertently ignores policy implementation (*administration*) and ways participatory democracy can emerge as policies are carried out

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(positive peace). Here in the messy milieu of positive peace, where people and governance structures confront public problems, we find Addams notion of positive peace. This is the sphere of the civic household – public administration.

People often take for granted or are unaware of a functioning governance structure. But a drive down a street cluttered with potholes (problematic situation) is an example of how citizens may consciously become aware of a flaw in the governance structure (problem). In spite of longstanding garbage removal contracts the streets of her neighborhood were littered with rotting animal carcasses. She mobilized the community to protect children from this health hazard. Addams used flaws in the Chicago governance structure (corrupt garbage contracting system ) and their consequences, (high infant mortality rates) as levers for community action and eventual progress.

Nineteenth century America was heavily influenced by a Social Darwinism that cast progress as individual achievement. Maurice Hamington argues that Addams unique notion of *lateral progress* "redefines progress by casting a wider net" (Hamington, 2009, 44). Progress occurs when the lives of members at lower ends of the social schema improve. Her lenses of social progress would focus on fixing a broken sewer system and improving the lives of women and children. Her expansive notion of democracy can be observed in the multiplicity of interactions between people and the governance structures that serve them. This is a stage where positive peace is woven. It is also a venue where public administration meets positive peace.

**Peace as Relationships**

Her ideas about democracy are where the "pragmatism" of her feminist pragmatist philosophy takes center stage. John Ryder (2013 p. 1) notes "pragmatism is a

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relational philosophy … things are what they are by virtue of their relations." Using this insight, one might say war is characterized by violent, conflict-ridden *relationships* between nations. Peace on the other hand, occurs when there are harmonious *relationships* between nations. Questions about how to build and sustain harmonious relationships are questions about war and peace. It should be noted that the focus on relationships is also a focus on process. Relationships grow and change. They are sustained by care and attention. Addams theory of peace begins by focusing on relationships in the home and neighborhood. She eventually extends these outward to incorporate nations. She does this while developing a close to the ground theory of participatory democracy.

**Social Ethic**

Addams developed a transformative conceptualization of democracy that stressed 'moral and spiritual association" and incorporated ideal and practice.  She constructed a democratic or social ethic. She does not postulate an eventual utopia. Rather, ideals are useful and have the potential to improve the lived world. Addams was preoccupied by the lived world of social problems and their resolution.

She makes the case that the violence of war and benefits of peace touch people well beyond the conflict area. She connects the challenges of war and peace to a social ethic. Addams notions of peace and democracy incorporate lessons from the late 19$^{th}$ century young women's attempt to serve a broader society. Addams was born into a society with strict gender role differentiation. She and her contemporaries were among the first to take advantage of higher education, which awakened them to new opportunities and a desire to serve (eventually organizing for peace). Addams identified a

roadblock to this participation in the young women's own family. Her desire to contribute to a wider society (social claim) was constrained by demands and norms emanating from her own family. "The failure [of parents] to recognize the social claim as legitimate causes the trouble; the suspicion constantly remains that woman's public efforts are merely selfish and captious, and are not directed to the general good. This suspicion will never be dissipated until parents, as well as daughters feel the democratic impulse and recognize the social claim" (Addams, 1902, p. 77).

Her theory of social ethics flows from an often conflict ridden father/daughter *relationship*. Her theory dealt with reconciling the conflict between the social and family claim. She recognized both as legitimate and the need to balance the two. This was not an easy task, it required one to deliberately take into account the situation, recognize the claims, and consider them in relation. Addams connects this process of deliberation to everyday life and larger social problems. Very often these claims reinforced each other. Children's health, for example, depends not only on a clean home but also on clean water and effective sewage systems (Elshtain, 2002). In these instances the family claim can only be fulfilled if the social claim is adequately addressed. In *Democracy and Social Ethics* she examines these processes using human *relationship* pairs (father/daughter; charity worker/poor; voter/corrupt politician). She looked for the common ground in human experience that situated each claim so that communication could be facilitated and a different balance – one that took into account both claims could emerge.

She showed how a rigid moralism (*woman's place is in the home*) made it difficult to work out the relationship between claims (family/social). One might

visualize Addams's perspective as a series of concentric circles with the family claim at the center and ever-wider social claim circles moving outward. She focused her attention and democratic ethics at the borderland between claims.

Eventually Addams widened these circles and applied them to International Relations. The women met at The Hague "came together to declare the validity of the internationalism which *surrounds* and completes national life, even as national life itself *surrounds* and completes family life; to insist that internationalism does not conflict with patriotism on one side any more than family devotion conflicts with it upon the other" (Addams, 1915, p. 108).

Adams focus on practice as a mechanism to work out the *relationship* between claims resulted in a special role role for *experience* in ethics. Experience is imbedded in the situation and the *problematic* situation becomes a focal point for inclusive deliberation, action and subsequent evaluative deliberation. Action is central because "the sphere of morals is the sphere of action… a *situation* does not really become moral until we are confronted with the question of what shall be done in a *concrete case* and are obliged to act upon our theory"[italics added] (Addams, 1902; 273). The process of weaving a positive peace is pregnant with ongoing concrete situations.

Experience with the community surrounding Hull House led her to envision a participatory democracy where human beings in concrete situations could work out social claims. The success of the process rested on *sympathetic knowledge* or the ability to "at least see the size of one another's burdens" (Addams 1902, p. 6). "*Sympathetic knowledge* emphasizes actively knowing other people for the purpose of understanding them with some degree of depth… [It] is imaginative in its empathetic response" and

consistent with an ethics of care (Hamington, 2009, p. 71). When diverse peoples incorporate sympathetic knowledge into their relationships they are more likely to care about each other and more likely to figure out ways to resolve conflicts (Hamington, 2009). Sympathetic knowledge helps to build relationships and is an alterntive to dogmatism and rigid moralism. She saw how violent conflict is often justified by dogmatism and rigid moralism. Sympathetic understanding opens doors of compassion and meaningful conversation – a path to positive peace.

Addams was keen to avoid fixated belief systems that would stifle debate and inquiry. She approached 19th Century urban problems with a scientific attitude. When people come together to resolve practical problems they create opportunities to build relationships that focus away from conflict reinforcing fixated belief systems and toward sympathetic knowledge and lateral progress. Pragmatists use the notion of a 'community of inquiry' as a transformative process to resolve problems. If a community focuses on a problematic situation, seeks input from those affected, uses a scientific attitude (open minded, collect data) and acts to resolve the problem (using the data) the situation has the potential to be transformed (Shields, 2003). This imperfect process of resolving practical problems can build sympathetic knowledge as well as put in place a scaffold with the potential to transform a divisive community and move toward an evolving positive peace.

The cosmopolitan city of Chicago provided a dynamic *problem* laden *situation*. Here Catholic Italians and Jews from Austria could modify their provincialism, set aside ancient conflicts and work side by side to improve their new community.  In the process their conflict was transformed to friendship. Before World War I Addams was convinced that these processes could almost inevitably propel the world toward peace.

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Her early works expressed a faith that the world was evolving toward a sustained peace. This position was shattered by the outbreak of WWI and its aftermath. She saw a growing and pervasive militarism as linked to a more contentious world. In her quest for peace she adopted something like a dogmatic rejection of militarism. Jean Elshtain (2002, pp. 218-219) calls Addams out for this. Addams describes the military party "in wholly negative terms, as something that the human race can and should abandon altogether." In so doing, she "glosses over the question of whether there are ways to provide for the common defense that do not incite contempt and cruelty."

Although Addams pacifist positions were highly criticized during WWI, she was able to advance her peace agenda by focusing her attention on humanitarian intervention. For example, during WWI she spoke widely throughout the US in support of Herbert Hoover's mission to relieve war torn Europe's food shortages (Addams, 2002/1922, p. 44). It was through that experience and subsequent post war humanitarian intervention that she linked women's role as 'bread-giver' to her notion of peace. Bread-givers focus on the needs of the weakest members of society and naturally work toward lateral progress.  She makes this case in *Bread and Peace in Time of War*. The League of Nations lost opportunities to move toward sustained peace by  "ignoring the social conditions of Europe and lacking the incentives that arise from developing economic resource" (Addams. 2002/1922 p. 115). Instead it took up abstract, dogmatic and idealistic political concepts of the 18th century. She saw these dogmatic, idealistic abstractions as sources of conflict. Better for the League of Nations to focus on concrete problems and ways to facilitate cooperation (*and build relationships*).

## Contemporary Peacebuilding Operations

*A new birth of internationalism founded ...upon **governmental devices** designed to protect and enhance the fruitful process of cooperation in the great experiment of living together in a world become conscious of itself. (Addams, 1915: 115)*

UN Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding operations are contemporary examples of the "governmental devices" Addams was envisioning at The Hague Peace Congress. The process of transitioning from war to peace is inherently risky and unstable. Peacekeeping and peacebuilding are formal international efforts to aid this transition. Given the instability of the situation, peacekeeping tends to begin before or soon after a peace is negotiated. Given the instability and real threat of violence, peacekeeping involves "deployment of military forces to monitor the ceasefire or to oversee other agreements between parties to conflict" (Jenkins, 2013, p. 20).

Peacebuilding is a more expansive notion and includes efforts to create the "structural conditions, attitudes and modes of political behavior that may permit peaceful, stable and ultimately prosperous social and economic development" (Jenkins, 2013, p. 20). Peacekeeping might be seem as the front end of peacebuilding. Common nuts and bolts activities of peacekeeping and peacebuilding include peace enforcement, disarmament, weapons collection, refugee return, political refugee protection, humanitarian assistance, protection of civilians and children, monitoring and training police, monitoring elections, conduct and oversee elections, oversee constitutional reform, technical assistance, national reconciliation, and human rights oversight. ~~Shields and Soeters~~ (2013: 94) explore the connection between Addams vision of a settlement and today's peacebuilding practices. Experimental learning, flexibility and adaptation as

well as hospitability, tolerance and scientific patience in the accumulation of facts are identified as themes common to both.

Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding missions usually take place in the sphere of positive peace because many of their operations occur after a formal treaty is signed. The end-in-view of these missions ally with positive peace. Jane Addams's theory of a positive peace (peaceweaving) is applicable. And, according to Knight (2004, p. 355) "the practice of peacebuilding has been running ahead of peacebuilding theory". Or, peacebuilding is in need of more theory. This is a context where ideas of peace based on a close to the ground ethic of social democracy make sense. Note that an ethic of social democracy does not displace a political democracy. Rather it provides a way to infuse the process of solving problems during a peacekeeping operations with a complementary, feminist, pragmatist democracy consistent with conflict resolution and ongoing, potentially transformative, experiences that lead to a sustained peace.

The world of peacekeeping and particularly peacebuilding is well suited to this perspective because by its very nature, peace operations are transformative. UN missions are formally tasked with changing or transforming a conflict charged situation. There is an implicit underlying idealism, which is squarely tested by the realities and problems encountered on the ground. So a practical kind of idealism is necessary for a transformation to occur. At the same time the pluralism of pragmatism means that it does not drop the insights brought by hardboiled realism. What makes Addams feminist pragmatism so appealing is that she overlays an experimental approach with a theory of democracy, sympathetic knowledge and an ethic of care, which informs *learning* between and across groups.

In Addams's peaceweaving perspective the citizens of the war torn area can *learn* from the peacekeeping force and the members of the peacekeeping force *learn* from the people. Together they weave a transformed community. Whatever the new hard won practical ideal they are working toward, it is not fixed but organically informed by an ethic of care, as well as participatory and pluralistic experience. Howard (2008) in her study of 14 peacekeeping operations found that an operations *ability to learn and adapt* was critical to predicting success. Inflexible Peacekeeping Operations that and did not exhibit organizational learning had the poorest records. Howard draws from the pragmatic tradition (Howard, 2008, p. 14).

Addams is particularly relevant here because she developed her theory in an inverted manner. She worked on the ground in an often contentious, international community, that dealt with many of the problems common to third world nations amidst a period characterized by violent and prolonged labor/industry disputes. We next explore how her ideas could inform contemporary peacebuilding through the case of Kosovo.

**Peace Operations in Kosovo**

Peace operations have been ongoing in Kosovo since the late 1990s. The textbox provides background and organizational details of the complex and interorganizational Kosovo peacebuilding experience. This section links Jane Addams ideas on peace to contemporary peacekeeping successes and challenges.

**History and Organizations in Kosovo Peacekeeping**

  Kosovo in the Balkans' long history of tensions, preceding the upheaval of the 1990s. Kosovo was an autonomous province in the former Republic of Yugoslavia. This province was composed of two sizable population groups – a dominating Serbian minority and a (90%)-majority of Kosovar Albanians. Both groups differing in language, religion and national identity – lived and worked together, albeit tensefully (e.g., Phillips, 2012). During the break-up of Yugoslavia the Serbs, who had been ruling the country and region were particularly interested in keeping Kosovo inside their nation, which had broken apart due to the declarations of independence by Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. The resulting Serbian oppression and ethnic cleansing among the Albanian Kosovars, who had voiced their grievances and complaints about increasing discrimination and marginalization, led NATO to conduct a "humanitarian war" (Roberts, 1999). After a bombing campaign that lasted three months NATO ground forces, under the name of KFOR, entered the region in June 1999 (Jackson, 2000). It took months to demilitarize the warring factions, disarm them and reduce the massacres that were committed by all sides. From there the rebuilding of peace in the region began. However, everyday violence - predominantly acts of retaliation against the Serbian communities and their religious monuments (sometimes referred to as "reversed" ethnic cleansing) as well as crime-related violence lingered (e.g., Yannis, 2004; Phillips, 2012: 118-119; Eckhard, 2014).

  In the same year, the United Nations launched a mission, the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), which supplemented KFOR and aimed to play a central role in settling the conflict by installing a structure for interim international supervision (Yannis, 2004). Unlike other peacebuilding missions (Howard, 2008), UNMIK did not have forces of their own because NATO troops were responsible for the security aspects of rebuilding the region. UNMIK focused on the administrative, institutional and community building aspects of rebuilding the peace in the region, down to the level of small municipalities, and did so in an unprecedented way (Von Carlowitz, 2003). Later the EU installed another mission – EULEX – to warrant the proper rule of law in the judicial system, policing and prison management (e.g., de Wet, 2009; Greiçevci, 2011).

  NATOs' "humanitarian war" included a bombing campaign and military actions on the ground. These were efforts to secure a negative peace, i.e. the absence of war and violence. Attempts to secure something like a positive peace began quickly in the period thereafter. (7) Since then, the process has developed seemingly well although an authentic positive peace is at best tentative. The infrastructure around the capital city Pristina, the airport and main highways have been (re)built. Civilian democratic institutions now operate in the cities, villages and small towns. Compared to the 2010 elections, the June 2014 elections' local and international assessment was positive. The general atmosphere in the city seems relaxed and – with summertime beer and music

festivals - not that different from any middle sized city in Central Europe. KFOR's military force has decreased considerably over the years, and is gradually losing its military outlook: posh civilian cars have to a large degree replaced the traditional military means of transportation. In much the same pace UNMIK had reduced it workforce over the most recent years, making place for EULEX that focuses on the performance of the legal system, which – although crucial for proper governance – is less ridden with all pervasive violent conflict. Clearly, KFOR and UNMIK have been pulling back resources because the situation on the ground has become less dangerous.

Even though Serbia does not recognize Kosova's declaration of independence (in 2008) and even though many technical matters need to be resolved, the "Pristina Beograd" agreement signed in 2013 is a step ahead in the process of normalization, and eventual EU membership for both. All this happens under the approving eyes of a bronze statue of former US president Bill Clinton in one of Pristina's main avenues: Clinton initiated the actions that led to the ending of the violent conflict, i.e. securing the negative peace.

However, a positive peace in accordance with Jane Addams' participatory democracy themes appears elusive. The continuous beaming of large-sized pictures of victims of the atrocities in Pristina's main street keeps the memories among the sauntering public alive. The Serbian minority continues to "lock" itself in a number of enclaves throughout Kosovo as well as in the Northern part (where they constitute a majority group). There they have developed their own structures and practices and have even kept their own currency (the dinar instead of the euro which was adopted by the Kosovar government). Hence, the new nation still does not exercise full sovereign control

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over its entire territory (e.g., Visoka, 2011). Right after the 2014 parliamentary elections, riots occurred at the IBAR-bridge that symbolizes the divide between the "Kosovar-Albanian" and the "Kosovar-Serbian" sections (Yannis, 2004). As a sign of goodwill Serbian blockades had been removed and were replaced by so-called "peace-trees", but the trees still delay bridge passage. Even though not primary responsible at such incidents, KFOR shows its presence using conventional displays of military means, instead of the civilian vehicles that KFOR more commonly uses today.

As mentioned, UNMIK played a large role in institutionalizing new political and administrative structures. However, even though UNMIK was welcomed by the Kosovar Albanians in the beginning of the process, it soon lost substantial legitimacy: it was criticized for being ineffective, too self-directed (in terms of budget spending) and even for being hostile towards the host-national Kosovar Albanians (Phillips, 2012: 121-123). A particular point in case is the ethnic identification policies that permeate the political and administrative structures in Kosovo. UNMIK allocated the seats in the various democratic structures according to the quantitative distribution of the various population groups – next to the Albanian majority and the Serbian (large) minority there are also Roma, Turkish, Bosnian and other factions. This policy tended to stress the ethnic categorization even more and led to what has been referred to as "reversed discrimination", whereby the proportion of Albanians has been inflated at the expense of the non-Albanian Kosovars (Hehir, 2006: 202). This process has penetrated the civil service too: after the declaration of independence and after UNMIK's gradual retreat the system of appointing senior civil servants has increasingly become politicized at the expense of merit-based appointments (Doli, Korenica and Rogova, 2012).

An even more recent analysis has demonstrated that during the first decade of this century the minority policy implementation in Kosovo's civil service, particular at the municipality level, has been suboptimal (Eckhard, 2014). Minority groups, particularly Kosovar Serbs, are underrepresented in the cities' actual service delivery such as social services, social welfare, infrastructure and cadaster. Given the importance Jane Addams attaches to 'street level'-public administration and its resemblance to housekeeping, this underrepresentation of Kosovor Serbs appear worrisome. Other minority groups in Kosovo, particularly the people with Bosnian origins who have had a less problematic historical relation with the Kosovar Albanians, have fared much better in this respect (Eckhard, 2014: 612). This is a prime example of what is generally referred to as the "civil service issue", the non-proportional allocation of civil service jobs, to members of different ethnic groups (Horowitz, 1985; ~~Soeters, 2005~~). All over the world this problem, particularly if this also pertains to the police and the military, is one of the root causes of internal strife and civil warring. Therefore it comes as no surprise that in Northern Kosovo conflicts still erupt on a relatively frequent basis, as we saw also earlier (Eckard, 2014: 613; also Yannis, 2004).

During the upheaval women were victims of violence and other problems. Unfortunately, UNMIK has been slow to recognize women's absence during reconstruction talks (Corrin, 2003: 62/3). Now, the new constitution guarantees that the number of women in parliament and subnational democratic institutions cannot go below 30% of the available seats, which provides a formal arrangement for women's participation potentially changing the idea that women are not 'culturally attuned' to becoming partners in community and regional politics in Kosovo (Corrin, 2003: 79).

Furthermore, there are serious worries about the far from perfect law enforcement due to EULEX' limited capacities (Greiçevci, 2011). Finally, the adverse economic conditions make resolving friction between groups challenging.

The uneasy peace results in a picture that combines bright and gloomy colors. Clearly, much has improved but there is unfinished business too: relations are still frayed. How do we relate these mixed findings to Jane Addams' work and ideas? Can we learn from her, and reveal or apply her ideas to Kosovo?

Jane Addams, as we recall, advocated the need for participatory democracy, in which ordinary civilians can take part in both decision making and implementation processes regarding public and social issues. She stressed the need to work towards positive peace based on the development of relationships, instead of win/lose arrangements between people; she ceaselessly stressed that progress should be lateral, i.e. beneficial to all not the few. In these developments an inquiring attitude, sympathetic knowledge and tolerance should be guiding principles. An evolving positive peace is more likely if a supportive institutional context, such as the Hull House in Chicago, is in place. Addams stressed the importance of including women in ongoing activities that encourage positive peace.  Women's close to the people perspective makes it easier to convert concrete social issues to social claims. Finally, her pragmatist orientation led Addams to advocate learning and experimentation as important tools for *lateral progress* and *community development* both of which support positive peace.

Clearly, one can recognize her principles in the policies aimed to restore peace and proper governance in Kosovo. UNMIK from the very beginning realized the importance of building a proper institutional context and the need to respect all ethnic and

gender groups in the country, bringing them together in political and administrative structures. Integration instead of separation and inclusion instead of exclusion were vehicles to gradually transform conflict into stability, much in accordance with Jane Addams' views. Of course one can criticize UNMIK's identification policies (Hehir, 2006), but without them the odds that other groups would have been totally neglected would have been substantial. There is still geographical segregation but as it appears, the tensions are becoming less, however slowly. Hence, the Kosovo case shows that basic principles in the thinking of Jane Addams have been influential in peacebuilding practices nowadays. In Kosovo, like in many other cases of UN peacebuilding, Jane Addams' ideas resonate, even if this may not always be acknowledged.

Yet, one could also argue that her ideas have not been pursued enough or not coherently enough, which would account for the problems that linger on despite all efforts. The international community has not yet succeeded in creating a real dialogue among the adversary population groups based on what Addams called sympathetic knowledge and tolerance, which are preconditions for participatory democracy. Instead, Serbian Kosovars are not inclined to open up their "territories" and at the political and administrative level throughout the area discrimination occurs leading to mutual blaming incidents and dissatisfaction among this minority group. Clearly, progress has not been lateral and pervasive enough. This also applies to the role of women. Serbian women, for instance, were critical about their compatriots' aggression in the 1990s, but their voices were not loud or powerful enough to be heard (Philips, 2012: 129-134). Furthermore, it is interesting to notice that almost all academic publications tend to point at one particular cause of the problems, failing to see the larger context in which seemingly separate

problems such as the Serb parallel structures (Visoka, 2011) or the underrepresentation of Serbs in Kosovo's municipality bureaucracies (Eckard, 2014) are in fact interconnected phenomena. Not unlikely, those academic interpretations reflect the particularistic views of stakeholders in the arena in general. If this is true, Jane Addams' main contribution could be the emphasis on coherence in the application of her ideas on conflict settlement and peacebuilding. For Addams' ideas to be effective, one needs to work on the whole picture.

However, one should never underestimate the importance of powerful external actors in a large sized conflict, which is one of those factors that hardboiled realists are likely to point at. Obviously, the Serbian Kosovars are less likely to participate in peacebuilding, if they are incited by Serbian politicians in Beograd to obstruct the peace process. The other way around, the attractiveness of becoming a EU member state is to both nations a stimulus to negotiate and get closer together. As systematic research has indicated (Alexander and Christia, 2011), opponents are indeed willing to cooperate if there is an actor that can sanction. But for sanctions to work they need to be applied in a context that stresses integration instead of segregation. Getting easier passages across bridges will help to augment the power of Addams' ideas.

### Conclusion

This brief historical resurrection of Jane Addams and her ideas of peace is just the beginning. We placed her ideas in the context of contemporary peace research, showed the relevance of her journey to define a positive peace and connected these ideas to the case of Kosovo.  On reflection, it seems she has brought a kind of *peaceweaving* to the ideas of peace. Peaceweaving as compared to peacekeeping or peacebuilding is more

flexible and incorporates a feminine metaphor. Peaceweaving builds a fabric of a

peaceful society and incorporates public administration. Finally, we believe more

research is needed because Addams's ideas will help peace research be much more than

"just the study of war." These days' upheaval all over the world underlines the

importance of seeking such new ways of studying the absence of peace.

Notes

1. Mary Parker Follett is another well known woman scholar of the era with settlement experience.
2. Convention (1) for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (Hague1) (29 July 1899). http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/hague01.asp   Retrieved June 6, 2014.
3. Dutch activist Dr. Aletta Jacobs organized the Netherlands portion of the conference.
4. UN Office of Special Advisor on Gender http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/#resolution Retrieved September 24, 2014.
5. Term coined by Richmond (2008 p. 162).
6. See Confortini (2006) for the case to unite feminist and peace studies approaches.
7. The following sections are partly based on observations and interviews with international and host-national military and civilian personnel hired by KFOR during fieldwork in Pristina, June 2014.

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