Hiding in Plain Sight:
Positive Peace – A Missing, Critical Immeasurable in PA Theory

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Abstract
This paper explores the notion of positive peace as applied to many aspects of public administration. The easily measured concept of "negative peace" or the absence of war dominates research in the study of peace. Positive peace, which incorporates a vision of society where justice flourishes, diversity is encouraged and conflict is transformed is a richer, yet more difficult to measure concept. In support of this argument, we begin by exploring "what is positive peace?" After exploring the concept of positive peace, we examine where we find the concept hidden in existing Public Administration theory: in the writings of Jane Addams, traditional PA rubrics like POSDCORB, and in Harmon and McSwite's proposed ethic of relationship. Third, we explore how the concepts and skills of peacebuilding could help along the public administration frontiers of social equity (Frederickson, 2005; Gooden, 2014) and complex collaboration(O'Leary et al., 2010). Finally, we briefly review several ways that public administration concepts and skills could help peacebuilding as a field.

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In the Winter 2016 issue of *PA Times*, ASPA's President Maria Aristigueta (2016, p. 10) begins her regular contribution by calling attention to the "senseless evil terror attacks" of 2015. In response she calls for PA to "promote and embody" democratic values, to educate each other on skills such as emergency management, and good governance and to strengthen our commitment to social equity, social justice, democracy and international administration. She concludes in this way - "May the new year bring *peace* to our world" (p. 11 italics added). Hidden in plain sight, is an implicit call by Aristigueta for PA to be engaged in peacemaking. Yet her phrasing is also passive, a wish that the year brings peace, not an explicit call for her readers to build peace through their efforts to promote democratic values or strengthen commitments to social equity.

Aristigueta's passage highlights a tension that runs broadly through contemporary Public Administration theory. PA offers a wealth of answers to the question of what administrators need *to do* to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of policies (e.g. evidence based decision-making); increase democratic participation (e.g. collaborative governance, transparency) or reduce violence (e.g. community policing). It celebrates a bevy of foundational values – social justice and equity, democracy and good governance. But it struggles at times to articulate a clear vision of what these efforts will lead to, an image that can place a capstone on the often referenced pillars of efficiency, effectiveness, economy and equity. In short, we believe that while PA has a fervent wish for peace in society and a range of tools, it lacks a well-formed concept of what peace is.   We argue that PA should explore the critical concept of positive or just peace as a unifying goal.

We believe PA needs the concept of a positive peace for three reasons. First, positive peace is a concept found across cultures, making it a viable basis for discourse in a period when public administration is figuring out its identity in a growing diversity of cultures, both globally and in the

United States. Second, the concept of positive peace is already hiding in plain sight in public

administration theory – among early writers like Jane Addams (Addams, 2002b; Addams, 2007), within

the traditional concepts of POSDCORB and in calls for a post-traditional public administration based on

an ethic of relationship (Harmon & McSwite, 2011). Third, the field of peacebuilding provides well-

formed concepts of positive or just peace, as well as skills for building it, that could be very useful for

public administrators as they are increasingly asked to manage through collaboration in responding to

complex "wicked problems" (Conklin, 2006) such as structural social inequity (Frederickson, 2005).

In support of this argument, we begin by exploring "what is positive peace?" After exploring the

concept of positive peace, we examine where we find the concept hidden in existing Public

Administration theory. Third, we explore how the concepts and skills of peacebuilding could help along

the public administration frontiers of social equity (Frederickson, 2005; Gooden, 2014) and complex

collaboration(O'Leary *et al.*, 2010). Finally, we briefly review several ways that public administration

concepts and skills could help peacebuilding as a field.

In making this argument, we do not claim that a positive peace, a just peace, is a "big T truth"

that makes all others irrelevant (Farmer, 2014). Instead we explore beneath the banner of what

McSwite (2009) has called the "perspective of an artist" in public administration, looking for tools that

may be especially appropriate to this time. We see this as an early exploration, a "play"ful engagement

of something outside our disciplinary "cul-de-sac" (Farmer, 2010).

What is positive peace?

In this section we answer the question "what is positive peace?" by first distinguishing it from

negative peace. Next we look at concepts of peace in a range of cultures, focusing on the shared

centrality of just relationships in both the Jewish concept of Shalom and the African concept of Ubuntu.

We conclude our exploration of positive peace by briefly reviewing the movement within the field of

peace studies from a negative definition (conflict management or resolution) toward the positive peace oriented concepts of peacebuilding.

On the surface, peace may seem easy to conceptualize and measure. According to Merriam Webster (2016) peace is:

- a state in which there is no war or fighting
- an agreement to end a war
- a period of time when there is no war or fighting

This definition uses what peace scholars call a negative definition, which defines peace by "what it is not." Under this framing, the measurement of peace is easy; any situation without war is peace. International security and peace scholars use large databases and commonly measure peace through a dichotomous variable (0=peace; 1=war) (Diehl, 2016a, 2016b; Gleditsch *et al.*, 2014). This simplistic definition is flawed for several reasons. First, it ironically shifts the focus from peace to violence (and war). Peace becomes an achievable, short-run end state, something that emerges automatically when conflict is not observable.

Second, the negative concept conflates *conflict* with violence. Conflict is inevitable in human relationships and a positive peace concept preserves the insight that it is how conflict is managed that determines whether outcomes are positive or negative. The conflating of violence and conflict diverts attention away from positive improvements that may come from conflict. Social justice movements such as Gandhi's independence efforts in India and the Civil Rights Movement in the United States heightened overt conflict to bring attention to underlying injustice, but did so without violence. A positive concept of peace highlights how the *means* used to work through conflict affects outcomes.

Finally, a negative definition of peace divorces the concept from important normative values. It excludes concepts of a fair and just society. In doing so, it also hides all the ways public administration

contributes to "peace in our world." A negative peace loses the insight that a just peace is a tentative outcome of ongoing processes such as good governance or participatory democracy.

The negative measure of peace creates troubling incentives for those seeking solutions. The quick use of violence or the threat of violence to "end" the overt conflict may be more tempting for those with power, even if the underlying conflict remains unresolved or worsens. Limited resources may be directed toward mitigating the products of a conflict (e.g. reducing gang violence) rather than the root causes of a conflict (e.g. widespread underemployment of young men). Negative peace is a naive peace (Galtung, 1996).

In contrast, the notion of positive peace emphasizes the kind of world Aristigueta argues PA should be working toward – one that focuses on factors such as the "structures that create and sustain peaceful societies" (IEP, 2015, p. 4), "nonviolent and creative conflict transformation," (Galtung, 1996, p. 9) prosperity and wholeness (Freedman, 2016), and humanity toward others (Gade, 2011). In this paper we continue our exploration of positive peace in public administration (Shields, 2016; Shields & Rissler, 2016; Shields & Soeters, 2015).

We aren't the only explorers in this territory. In what appears to be a type of theoretical synergy, the president of the International Studies Association, Paul Diehl (Diehl, 2016a, 2016b), calls for a new focus on positive peace in keynote addresses and articles in prominent journals. He points toward a measurement problem when "war and peace are usually treated as a dichotomy". The "dominant" conception of peace in the field of International Relations is the absence of war (ending violence). Unfortunately, "defining peace in negative terms leads to perverse outcomes for scholarly analysis and policymaking" (Diehl, 2016a, p. 3). He calls for the inclusion of positive peace as an alternative or meaningful complement to negative peace. Positive and negative peace are more than poles on a

continuum. Rather they are perhaps two distinct concepts - one representing the short-run the other the long view.

Positive peace is a concept with applications well beyond international relations. It speaks to the fabric of the kind of society to which we aspire. US cities like Ferguson MO or Chicago IL are places in need of more positive peace. Positive peace is also about exploration and attention to the long run. Attention to positive peace can create a space where innovation and moral imagination are nurtured and shared. A focus on negative peace lowers our eyes from the possibility of the horizon to focus exclusively on the rough terrain beneath our feet.

Concepts of a positive peace – ancient to modern

Peace is not a new concept or a new yearning in human society. Most cultures have a concept of peace, though different aspects are emphasized. Ishida (1969) reviews a number of concepts found in different cultures: *ahimsa* (Indian – to kill no living creature), *santi* (Indian – to maintain a tranquil mindset even in suffering or conflict), *heiwa* (Japanese – aligning oneself to the common good/social order), *al-Islam* (Arab/Muslim – to be at peace in alignment with the will of Allah), *eirene* (Greek – prosperity and order) and *shalom* (Hebrew – right relationships or unity and prosperity in alignment with the will of Jehovah).

This global range of terms for a positive peace highlights some of the different cultural perspectives on the concept but also indicates the potential for such a concept to serve as a starting point for discussion across cultures. In the edited volume that emerged from the third Meadowbrook conference in 2008, the editors conclude the book by reflecting on the major cross-cutting themes that dominated the conference (O'Leary *et al.*, 2010). Highlighted as the greatest challenge is a need for public administration, often critiqued in the past for being U.S.-centric, to grapple with the implications of globalism and the differences that cultural context may make in defining and institutionalizing such

concepts as good governance. Concepts of a positive peace emerge from a range of cultures and so may provide a valuable touchstone for cross-cultural conversations.

To explore some of the insights further, we focus on two terms – *shalom* and *ubuntu* – that highlight the centrality of relationships in positive peace.

Hebrew tradition – Shalom

One needs only look at the words of Martin Luther King, Jr. to see the profound influence of the Hebrew bible on our understanding of positive peace. King summarizes this important connection by saying, "Without justice there can be no peace" (Floyd, 2016). *Shalom,* the Hebrew word for peace, appears 237 times in the Hebrew bible and is clearly an important concept. *Shalom* is translated as prosperity and as a sense of wholeness. Peace is not just the absence of war and violence, rather prosperity and wholeness (Freedman, 2016; Ishida, 1969). Or as Enns writes "Shalom is the integrity, wholeness and well-being that arise from justice . . . In short, shalom means a full life, in life-enhancing relationships" (Enns, 2011, p. 47).

In "Peace: *Shalom* is more than the Absence of War" Rabbi Alan Freedman explains how *Shalom* is a kind of positive peace. Freedman uses Psalm 72 to examine what it means to be an exceptional leader and bring prosperity to the people. According to the Psalm "a king's greatness is tied to his willingness to defend the needy" (Freedman, 2016, p. 55). A leader can succeed if he cares about and protects the poor. A society is whole when it is rich in righteousness and justice. *Shalom* resides "within a society where people feel they are being treated justly" (Freedman, 2016, p. 57). This intimate relationship between justice and peace in the concept of shalom is highlighted in Psalm 85:10 where we find written "Justice and peace have kissed each other." "Just as you can't have a deep kiss without a passionate lover, you can't have peace without justice" (Floyd, 2016, p. 47).

Two additional dimensions of shalom are worth noting. Justice is a social phenomenon imbedded in law and government institutions. Laws can be unjust and in tension with the higher notions

of justice, which was the situation confronting Martin Luther King during the civil rights movement. In addition*, Shalom* "comes from truth and acknowledging people's truth." "Peace comes from a community where acts of righteousness are valued and where everyone feels included." Further, justice and righteousness reflect God's values and flow from Creation itself (Freedman, 2016, p. 57).

The African concept of ubuntu

Another cultural source for conceptions of a positive peace is the African concept of *ubuntu* or "humanity toward others," which more prominently entered global awareness as a touchstone of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Though possessing a long oral history within multiple African cultures, Gade (2011) points out that in the mid-1990's, the term Ubuntu became associated with the Nguni (or Zulu) proverb '*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*' (often translated as 'a person is a person through other persons'). The concept has been used in numerous fields including business management (Mangaliso & Mphuthumi, 2001) and public policy (Muxe Nkondo, 2007) to emphasize greater priority on relationship and connection to others.

One of the concept's best known proponents is Nobel Peace laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu who chaired the SA-TRC. In his book *No Future without Forgiveness*, Tutu explains *ubuntu* in this way:

> "Ubuntu is very difficult to render into a Western language. . . you are generous, you are hospitable, you are friendly and caring and compassionate. You share what you have. It is to say, "My humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in what is yours." …We say, "A person is a person through other persons." …A person with ubuntu is affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed." (Tutu & Abrams, 2004, pp. 25-26)

Juxtaposed with a foundational individualistic European philosophical concept such as Descartes' "I think therefore I am," *ubuntu* has a radically relational basis, asserting not just that individuals should be aware of the interests of others but that an individual's existence or humanity is dependent on how they relate to others. Muxe Nkondo (2007) in discussing implications of *ubuntu* for public policy and administration argues that incorporating *ubuntu* would result in a more activist and interactive state where:

- societal good has a morally privileged status over individual rights,
- the state, as a space of dialogue, has a role in a moral defining of what constitutes a meaningful life and,
- as a common undertaking of society, the state has a role in tackling challenges the society faces.

For our discussion of positive peace, *ubuntu*, like *shalom*, places an emphasis on unavoidable, strong and just relationship, rather than on the absence of overt conflict. We now turn to an examination of a key theorist of peacebuilding to understand how such a conceptual emphasis on relationship in positive peace necessarily reshapes efforts to make, build and weave a more peaceful society.

Lederach's call to move from conflict resolution to peacebuilding

In his article "The Evolution of Conflict Resolution," Louis Kriesberg (2009) points out that through the 1980's, the conflict resolution field was largely characterized by the general dominance of negative peace (a focus on ending wars, overt violence). In the late 1980's and 1990's, a gradual transition took place that oriented the field toward a positive peace approach. John Paul Lederach was one of the most consistent voices for a reconceptualization toward positive peace (Lederach, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2005). This reconceptualization, in turn, led to a shift in terms, from conflict resolution to conflict transformation and eventually to peacebuilding.   This shift has even impacted key public organizations such as the United Nations which in 2005 first institutionalized a peacebuilding structure alongside its more traditional structures for peacekeeping (Jenkins, 2013). It also can be seen in very recent attempts

to develop an index of positive peace that measures elements such as a well-functioning government, equitable distribution of resources and acceptance of the rights of others (IEP, 2015).

Lederach (1995) identified conflict resolution as a dominant term that, perhaps unintentionally, "carries the connotation of a bias toward 'ending' a given crisis or at least its outward expression, without being sufficiently concerned with the deeper structural, cultural, and long-term relational aspects of conflict" (Lederach, 1995, p. 201). The conflict resolution field often emphasized the role of neutral third-parties in helping conflict participants to listen to each other, to identify interests rather than simply positions as a way of finding win-win solutions (Fisher *et al.*, 2011), and on reaching agreements between key leaders (Kriesberg, 2009). Conflict transformation emerged as an alternative term, one that according to Botes (2003) is distinguished by:

- the need to identify and mitigate root causes of conflict as well as effecting an end to overt violence.

- The need for peace efforts to engage multiple levels of society – elites, sectoral leaders & grassroots – in workshops and trainings that allow space and teach skills for transforming conceptions of opponents. He notes Lederach termed this "peace-building as a web of interdependent activities and people." (as cited by Botes 2003, Lederach, 1998, pp. 242-243)

- The need for peace efforts to work holistically in multiple dimensions including "the social-psychological (issues regarding identity, self-esteem, emotion, trauma and grief); the socioeconomic (providing financial aid, retraining, employment and development); the social-political (matters pertaining to demobilization, disarmament, troop integration, and professionalization); and the spiritual (concerns about healing, forgiveness, and mutual acknowledgement)." (Botes, 2003, p. 12)

- The important role that unequal power plays in conflicts, which may require peace practitioners to first take steps to set parties on more equal footing before attempting to negotiate a resolution – in essence the transformation of existing power structures.

POSITIVE PEACE

Subsequent theorists, including Lederach in later writings, argue for a further step toward a positive peace focus by developing models of strategic *peacebuilding* (see Figure 1). *Strategic peacebuilding* brings together a broad range of actors to develop sustainable solutions and emphasizes the goal of building a just peace, one where people within a society are able to participate in shaping systems that meet their needs. Practitioners of peacebuilding both facilitate these participatory conversations and, at times, align with traditionally disempowered groups to non-violently advocate for structural changes, which ensure disempowered voices are also heard (Schirch, 2004). Peacebuilding is also defined as activities undertaken on the far side of violent conflict "to reassemble the foundation of peace and provide tools for building on those foundations something that is more than just the absence of war" (Jenkins, 2013, p. 20).

Figure 1: from Schirch (2004) p.26

Within this more recent positive peace emphasis of peacebuilding is a core of cultivated skill sets that are shared with traditional conflict resolution efforts: active listening, problem-solving, dialogue, negotiation and mediation skills. Additionally, peacebuilding emphasizes trauma awareness; appreciative inquiry skills that seek to identify strengths and successes even within highly conflictual settings; and self-reflection and cultural competency skills that allow practitioners to understand their own biases and cultural frames and account for these as they work with others (Schirch, 2004).

While peacebuilding as a field is highly practice oriented, additional writings by Lederach (2005) in his book *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Peacebuilding* highlight a need to also move beyond skill sets to think of peacebuilding as akin to artistry.   Based on his decades of practical experience and theoretical development, Lederach argues that while there are significant benefits gained from well-learned conceptual schemes, skills and techniques, working towards a positive peace is at its core a creative act, the well-spring of which "lies in our moral imagination . . . the capacity to imagine something rooted in the challenges of the real world yet capable of giving birth [to a positive peace] which does not yet exist." He goes on to outline four disciplines that underpin his concept of moral imagination in peacebuilding: prioritizing relationships, cultivating paradoxical curiosity, creating space for creative acts and risk-taking for the common good. These concepts are ones we've explored more fully elsewhere (Shields & Rissler, 2016), but they simultaneously speak to the deeper work of positive peace and highlight the difficulty in measuring it.

Finding positive peace hidden in existing public administration theory
From this discussion of the numerous dimensions of positive peace, we now ask a second question – where do we find positive peace in existing Public Administration concepts and practice? We explore several places where positive peace is hiding in plain sight below, but want to first acknowledge that this is far from an exhaustive list.

In order to give some diversity to our inquiry, we highlight intersections in several directions. First is the presence of positive peace concepts in the writings of Jane Addams, a shared but sometimes unrecognized progenitor of both peace and public administration fields. In addition to reviewing her significant contributions to the peace field, we also explore her concept of the "civic household" as an example of positive peace within public administration. We also look briefly at traditional public administration concepts and argue that the goals of rubrics like POSDCORB parallel some elements of a

positive peace. Finally we look at the parallels between Harmon and McSwite's proposed ethic of relationship and positive peace.

Jane Addams

America's first woman Nobel Prize winner, Jane Addams (1860 - 1935) articulated a profound notion of positive peace. She wrote her first book on peace, *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907/2007), almost two decades after she established Hull House. At this time Hull House was a force for progressive reform in Chicago and she was a widely acclaimed leader of an international settlement movement and women's rights organizations.

Her interest in peace stemmed from her mostly successful experiences as a grassroots community organizer.   In spite of poverty, crime, and longstanding ethnic hatreds the progressive learning-partnerships between local immigrant residents and Hull House residents transformed the area around Hull House. Successful initiatives slowly brought play grounds, juvenile courts, sanitation, lodging for single working women, kindergartens, community theaters etc. which improved life in Chicago's 9th ward (and beyond). These processes provided her with a democratic model of positive peace.

She entered the world stage as a peace activist in 1915 when she organized and led a new international women's peace movement culminating in a Women's Peace Conference at The Hague. These efforts led to the 1931 Nobel Peace Prize. Subsequently, Addams scholars focused on her early ideas of democracy and inquiry and ignored her theories of peace. The absence of her peace philosophy was perhaps a legacy of sustained public scorn she received during WWI. Her views on peace were viewed as traitorous.

Her *Newer Ideals* was innovative and ultimately a hopeful book that linked peace with social justice (Sklar, 2003) and the practical problems of running a city. She shook up the status quo by calling for women's voices to be heard in the almost exclusive male club of war and peace. She called for a

stronger, more robust notion of peace that replaced the emotions of war with a passion to engage social

problems. She used her concern with the unjust exclusion of women from all aspects of society –

political, social and economic - as a way to view peace and justice through a feminine lenses. Her analysis

of women's absence in all aspects of formal peace processes (Addams, 2002b/1922), the importance of

starving children in post-conflict reconstruction (Addams, 2002b/1922) and her discussion of the latent

militarism in municipal government are illustrative (Addams, 2007/1907).

Peaceweaving

Addams notion of peace, which Shields and Soeters (2015) call "peaceweaving" is an example of positive

peace. Her concept of positive peace included characteristics of a well-functioning society such as, collaboration,

social justice, social equity, effective governance, conflict resolution mechanisms, community engagement, and

democracy. It also focuses on the importance of positive relationships as they move outward from family,

neighborhood, tribe, city, nation, or between nations. Addams's peace is an organic goal and an uneven, often

frustrating process. Positive peace might be lacking in a city or community even when a nation is not at war.

Addams visualized the challenge of pulling together "into action" the "fragile, impalpable and constantly

breaking" fibers of a community in conflict (Addams, 2002a, p. 176/1912). The activity of weaving creates a

whole by drawing together individuals. Fragile strands are transformed into a fabric with the potential for

strength and flexibility. Weaving does not homogenize, rather strings of varying color and texture form a whole.

Cloth can provide aesthetic pleasure and warmth. Weavers bring patience and artistry to the task. The cloth is

revealed slowly and the process often includes frustrating setbacks.

Like *shalom* and *ubuntu*, Addams's peaceweaving begins with a focus on relationships. If foes are to

become friends, *sympathetic knowledge* or the ability to see another's perspective is instrumental for crafting

new relationships. Peace is undermined by rigid moralisms, which classify friend as right or good and enemy as

wrong or evil. The problem of entrenched belief systems is approached by a focus on shared problems. When

people attend to practical problems, space is opened up to build relationships. Finally, Addams notion of

positive peace contains a social justice component - *lateral progress* switches the notion of progress from the top to the bottom of the social ladder – the most vulnerable. (Fischer, 2009; Hamington, 2009).

Thus, Addams's peaceweaving is a process, which builds *"the fabric of peace by emphasizing relationships. Peaceweaving builds these positive relationships by working on practical problems, engaging people widely with sympathetic understanding while recognizing that progress is measured by the welfare of the vulnerable."* (Shields & Soeters, 2015, p. 9)

Peace is also an ongoing, long view, patient process where relationships are formed, strengthened, grow, transform and are sustained by attention and care. Note, conflict is neither bad nor absent because it has the potential to generate needed reform and can be an opportunity for fruitful inquiry (Caspary, 2000). Rather, conflict should stay within a civil sphere.

Sympathetic knowledge provides a mindset for peace: the community of inquiry the scaffolding (Shields, 2003). "The weaving takes place within the community of inquiry, which, begins with a concrete problematic situation followed by deliberation, action and reflection" (Shields & Soeters, 2015, p. 8). The community of inquiry provides the processes and focus that weave together the relationships of peace and take into account lateral progress.

Addams and the Civic Household

The ideas of Jane Addams and Settlement Workers were first clearly linked to public administration by Camilla Stivers (2000) in *Bureau Men and Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era*. Subsequently, Stivers (2009) and others have strengthened that link. [1] The civic household, was one of her most important contributions. This feminist-inspired model of urban governance, was central to Addams positive peace. Her civic household was a place to nurture all

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[1] See Levine (2009); Ansell (2011), Shields and Rangarajan (2011); Shields *et al.* (2014); Stillman (1998); Shields (2005); Shields (2006); Shields (2003); Shields (2008).

kinds of relationships where sympathetic understanding was valued and where an ethic of care could

flourish. (Addams, 2007/1907). *Newer Ideals of Peace*, makes clear from chapter titles (Ch. 2 "Survivals

of Militarism in City Government", Ch. 3 "Failure to Utilize Immigrants in City Government", and Ch. 7

"Utilization of Women in City Government") that she was connecting positive peace to a caring,

effective and innovative model of city government.

Addams wanted cities to shed a militaristic historical legacy. She argued that a well-governed

city no longer needed to protect itself from invading armies. This still pervasive mentality brought a

barracks mindset to governance. The militaristic mindset contains a problematic blind spot to ongoing

urban problems. Cities in 1907 were responsible for many routine functions that were akin to household

tasks primarily performed by women.[2] Perhaps because these were traditionally women's tasks they

received scant attention from city leadership, which created a vacuum filled by corruption. Cities

became a place where violence flourished, social justice withered, and basic service provision was

ignored. A space in need of positive peace. "The men of the city have been carelessly indifferent to

much of its civic housekeeping. They have totally disregarded a candidate's capacity to keep the streets

clean, preferring to consider him in relation to the national tariff or to the necessity for increasing the

national navy, in a pure spirit of reversion to the traditional type of government, which had to do with

enemies and outsiders" (Addams, 2007, p. 183).

This set the stage for *newer ideals* of positive peace. Instead she argued for a civic household

model of municipal government. Under this model the city should act more like a caring household.

Attention would be paid to functions like garbage collection, worker safety and education of children.

Since women's experience gave them unique insights into these problems their talent should be called

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[2] It should be noted, women did not have the right to vote in 1907.

upon to better care for the citizenry. She called for a more inclusive set of stakeholders brought

together in a community of inquiry (Shields, 2003).

Hence, at the heart of Addams vision of positive peace lies an ideal of an inclusive, non-

paternalistic, experiential democracy. Militarism undermined the potential of this ideal. She observed

residues of militarism and perhaps colonialism in the exploitive way immigrants were treated – in "the

attitude of contempt, of provincialism, this survival of the spirit of the conqueror toward an inferior

people" (Addams, 2007/1907). For this and other reasons "City governments lacked the capacity to

weave this complex social fabric together" (Stivers, 2009, p. 92).

Positive Peace in Traditional Public Administration?

Modern interpretations of public administration's founding and early period often criticize it for

emphasizing expertise, efficiency, and a science of administration. This view can gloss over what these

reforms were meant to correct - a corrupt administrative structure that undermined democratic values

(i.e., equity, transparency). The merit system, for example, could enhance democracy because the

previous system was dominated by political patronage. This system delivered inferior services and

limited citizen access to government employment. Merit-based systems enhanced the quality of

services, produced more democracy and more equality by opening up the opportunities of public service

to a wider set of citizens (Farmer, 2010; Shields, 2008). Further, for an organization like a city police

force, qualifications would replace explicit cronyism, leading to a less corrupt, more peace-filled

community.

The traditional core of public administration functions, often referenced via the acronym

POSDCORB (planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting) is another

example. POSDCORB is often seen in the 21st century as an artifact of a less enlightened era, but one

which still has great impact on the field through movements like New Public Management (Farmer,

2010; O'Leary *et al.*, 2010). One of the critiques of the traditional core is its vision of the public

administrator as a neutral practitioner of administrative science focused on efficiency, effectiveness and economy, a stance that ignores social inequity. While we certainly agree with this critique, we also want to suggest that POSDCORB is an example of some aspects of positive peace hiding in plain sight. As Farmer (2010) points out, key thinkers of traditional public administration like Wilson and Gulick formed their calls out of progressive era efforts to drain widespread patronage and corruption out of the U.S. political system. The POSDCORB process, for all its potential to become a mechanistic process, also focuses the attention of the administrator on a wider range of issues than simply the latest problem spots and encourages administrators to consider interactions between sectors. When coupled with transparency around steps taken, it has a strong likelihood to increase several of the key factors identified in the positive peace index described in more detail below – low levels of corruption, free flow of information, well-functioning government.

Positive Peace and an Ethic of Relationship

A strong resonance with positive peace also exists in calls from post-traditional public administration theorists like David Farmer and O.C. McSwite for a "new rhetoric" in public administration – including what Harmon and McSwite (2011) term an "ethic of relationship." We believe this resonance is another way in which positive peace is hiding in plain sight within public administration.

Similar to the central importance of relationships found in concepts like *ubuntu* and Addams peaceweaving, Harmon and McSwite argue that an "ethic of relationship" requires participants to recognize - "that people are not whole when they are existing as individuals." (Harmon and McSwite 2011, 234). Harmon and McSwite list several "fronts" where a counter-tradition of such an ethic of relationship already exists – fronts that are also central to the field of peacebuilding:

- The Quaker (a historic peace church) community prioritizing discernment process
- The active listening movement within psychology (which intersects with a key skill set in peacebuilding/conflict resolution)

- Methods of conflict resolution and peacebuilding that move actors to a more clear articulation of individual and group interests instead of positions (Fisher and Urry's basic premise in win-win negotiation) and recognition of opponents humanity through structured dialogue (Search for Common Ground)

From the insight about the centrality of relationships, they argue that groups and organizations are likely to function better and avoid alienation of people in their work when the people within organizations adopt an existential position of *readiness to encounter.* They see this readiness as embodying two elements:

- A commitment by participants to honestly communicate their own reality in a way that may reshape the reality of others while simultaneously being open to having one's own perspective reshaped.

- A belief that an encounter at such an intimate and potentially reshaping level will produce the best answer to questions being faced and that uses language "that holds the parties to the encounter" (Harmon & McSwite, 2011, p. 235).

Elsewhere, McSwite envisions the potential for this ethic of relationship playing out within the context of organizations, arguing that an "interpretivist" perspective on organizations recognizes that formal structures contain "a great amount of space [in gaps between formal procedures]. . . and it is people, as they live social life, who take up this 'slack' by cooperatively making sense of it" (McSwite, 2009, p. 304). Insights into the discretion of street level bureaucrats (e.g. Lipsky, 2010; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003) provide a concrete example of this "space" within administrative structures. This vision of collaborative negotiation of meaning and purpose also echoes Addams earlier writings on the challenge of pulling together "into action" the "fragile, impalpable and constantly breaking" fibers of a community in conflict (Addams, 2002a, p. 176/1912).

The "new rhetoric" envisioned by Harmon, McSwite and Farmer is not the dominant perspective in the field of public administration but we believe it points in the same general direction as a concept of positive peace. Also, like positive peace, the precise "how" of an ethic of relationship inherently highly contingent on specific contexts and is hard to measure. This, however, points to several benefits of

placing positive peace in dialogue with public administration. First, at a theoretical level it validates the importance of considering such an ethic of relationship. Second, it opens the possibility of administrators using the supporting scaffolding of skills and techniques developed by peacebuilders alongside more mechanistic traditional processes of budgeting, planning, etc.   We explore this further below, first by examining an area of public administration (social equity) where relationships are often strained or broken.

Evolving PA – The promise of positive peace

Highlighting the alignment of positive peace with some existing movements within public administration is interesting from an analytical standpoint – the similarities suggest that the need for concepts like positive peace, peaceweaving and an ethic of relationship are not limited to one field but respond to larger challenges and opportunities in society. Though tentative, we now turn from simply asking what intersections appear to exist and focus on asking what difference an ongoing use of positive peace concepts and skills might make in public administration and vice versa. Though not exhaustive, we see potential gains for public administration at the conceptual and practical levels from greater use of positive peace.

Social equity and the nervousness of government

An increased focus on social equity as a fourth pillar of public administration is one of the evolutions of thought and research within the discipline that has moved us toward a broader understanding of "good governance" that advocates for social justice – redefining the role of administrator to pursuing effectiveness, efficiency, economy, and equity.   As classically posited by Frederickson (2005), the question of a government effort being efficient/economical/effective "for whom?" is important for any conception that seeks to build an equitable society, what peacebuilding would term a just peace.

Like the expansion of scope and depth described above in the conceptual move from conflict resolution to peacebuilding, the argument for social equity brings in a broader range of stakeholders and, as Gooden writes, recognizes "the historical, political, social and economic influences that structurally influence the prospects of access, opportunity, and outcomes" (Gooden, 2015, p. 213). In short, social equity recognizes the challenge for society of recovering from relationships that are broken and unjust not just at a personal level, but at a societal level. Confronting this challenge is not easy or something that can be solved with a standard procedure.

Gooden (2014) illuminates how historical and present racial inequality makes governments nervous at the individual and organizational level about engaging in conversations about the topic and efforts to reduce inequality.

"Too often, these conversations do not occur because there is an overarching context of discomfort, apprehension, and fear – all attributes of nervousness. . . if race is not discussed by individual public administrators within an agency, analyzing and improving racial equity in the delivery of public services is unlikely to occur" (Gooden, 2014).

Such "nervousness" around an emotional and historically freighted idea is not unexpected - conflict avoidance is a frequent human tendency even when the highly charged issue of race is not the focus of discussion. Gooden's research shows that conversations and dialogues are opportunities to increase recognition of organizational capacity to reduce inequity but she also finds that if individuals are nervous about such conversations, they are less likely to sustain efforts in their own work to increase social equity. She notes that participants in these conversations often employ various "race talk strategies" including avoidance, that can make transformative conversations difficult (Gooden, 2014). While her research provides best practices in institutional procedures that utilize social equity as a key factor, less attention is

paid to individual skill sets of administrators (e.g. techniques for dialogue facilitation) that may be needed to manage such nervous conversations productively.

A similar gap exists in some literature on training administrators in social equity analysis. Norman-Major (2011) emphasizes the need for social equity concepts in existing technical skills such as program evaluation and budget setting but does not explore what skill sets are needed for managing the difficult and nervous conversations themselves.   This example shows one of the areas where we believe attention to positive peace and the skill sets developed by peacebuilding practitioners could be useful for public administration.

The manager's practical skill set – training for complex collaboration

The editors of the recently published third edition of the *Handbook of Public Administration* note in their introduction to a section on "Sharpening the Public Administrator's Skill Set" that a gradual shift from traditional hierarchical government to emergent, broad-based and collaborative governance places a premium on skill sets that allow public administrators to translate knowledge into effective practice (Perry & Christensen, 2015). The five chapters in the section delve into collective leadership, negotiation skills for the public good, effective collaboration, effective communication and intrapersonal (e.g. self-awareness and reflection) skills.

Again, we note a strong parallel between these concepts and skills and those that make up a typical peacebuilding curriculum. [3] Research by O'Leary and various co-authors found that for

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[3] What does this look like in a training setting? It may be helpful to examine a course of study for a master's program in conflict transformation – in this case the one offered by Eastern Mennonite University's Center for Justice and Peacebuilding. The core of the curriculum (1/3 of required coursework) is a foundations series and a "research methods for social change" course. The focus of the foundations courses are as follows:

> Foundations I center[s] on personal, interpersonal, small group and organizational transformation analysis, theory and practice. Foundations II focuses on communal, societal and global processes of transformation. Throughout the two courses, you will be required to understand and integrate ethical application of theory, technical utilization of analysis tools, and

collaboration the most essential qualities are personal attributes such as open-mindedness and patience, interpersonal skills such as listening and clear communication, and group process skills (O'Leary, 2015). Others have argued that "negotiation is involved when managers deal with their superiors . . . deal with those whom they cannot command but whose cooperation is vital . . . deal with subordinates who often have their ow interests, understandings, sources of support, and areas of discretion." (Lax & Sebenius, 1986, pp. 1-2)

While public administration programs also cover other significant skill sets – finance; human resources management; program evaluation, etc. - one potential insight from peacebuilding is the critical importance of actual repeated practice in collaborative skill areas like negotiation and coalition building. For a performance athlete or musician, a motion or a scale is practiced hundreds of times before entering the performance stage. This implies that students in PA Programs should practice leading contentious conversations on racial equity or negotiating collaboration agreements.

Evolving Peacebuilding – The promise of PA skills

Of course the fruitfulness of interchange is a two way street and public administration concepts and skills are likely helpful for peacebuilding practitioners as well. We briefly touch on two areas where this is likely the case – knowledge about how complex organizational systems work and the search for better ways to measure positive peace.

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systematic process of planning and implementation for practice interventions across a myriad of sectors in society.

Students then develop a specialization in one or more practitioner skills such as negotiation and mediation, facilitation and process design, transforming trauma or restorative justice. In addition to providing theoretical underpinnings for the importance of such skills, courses focus heavily on role-playing and other methods of practicing the skill sets taught. Additionally, a 6-9 credit hour practicum provides "practical, hands-on involvement in the form of extensive interaction with people outside the classroom in settings that give the student practical experience in conflict transformation, peacebuilding and/or restorative justice practice." One take-away from this window onto a peacebuilding program is the degree to which practice and hands-on experience is prioritized.

Navigating Complex Organizations

Because the field of peacebuilding emerged primarily out of non-governmental efforts, there is a strong outsider perspective in relation to government and governance. As Botes (2003) points out, "the work of most [conflict] transformationalists is lacking in inter-disciplinarian perspectives. There is a substantial literature on the roles of economic and political systems in social change, which is not given attention by conflict transformation theorists." This can mean that students of peacebuilding programs may have deep practitioner knowledge in skills of negotiation, mediation and social change efforts, but may lack some understanding of how public organizations function and how to work in complex organizational systems. This gap has recently been identified as needing attention. "In addition to being able to infuse their skills and knowledge across diverse sectors," Zelizer (2015, p. 599) notes "it is critical that students who attend conflict resolution programs are trained with the practical skills, knowledge, and understanding of key program management and administration skills . . . employers place a strong emphasis on field experience . . . and then program management, planning, monitoring and evaluation, budgeting, and writing skills as their top priorities." These are, of course, all skill sets of public administration.

Measuring Positive Peace

As discussed at the outset, part of the temptation for scholars and government officials in focusing on negative peace is the fact that it is easy to measure. Positive peace is much harder to measure – how would one operationalize "just relationships" aggregated across society? In short, positive peace has been a key immeasurable and that contributes to a continued emphasis on negative peace.

While not the focus of this paper, recent efforts to develop measurements that approximate aspects of positive peace should be acknowledged and represent a clear opportunity for PA to contribute to the field of peacebuilding. As noted briefly above, there are very recent efforts to develop a quantitative measurement of positive peace and these measurements draw on areas which public administration has long engaged. In 2015, after a decade of publishing a Global Peace Index that measured negative peace

(absence of violent conflict), the Institute for Economics & Peace designed a 24-item Positive Peace

Index (PPI) (IEP, 2015). They developed the PPI by identifying which among 4,600 published global

indicators were most highly correlated with variations in their negative focused GPI over the past

decade. The analysis identified eight important "pillars" supporting positive peace, five of which are

long-standing areas of public administration inquiry (well-functioning government, low levels of

corruption, high levels of human capital, free flow of information and equitable distribution of

resources).   No doubt this effort and others that attempt to tackle the question of measuring positive

peace will continue to need refinement. We mention it not as an endorsement of the methodology, but

to show that areas of inquiry long within the scope of PA are part of the contemporary

conceptualization of the meaning of positive peace.

Figure 2: Source - Institute for Economics & Peace 2015 report on Positive Peace Index
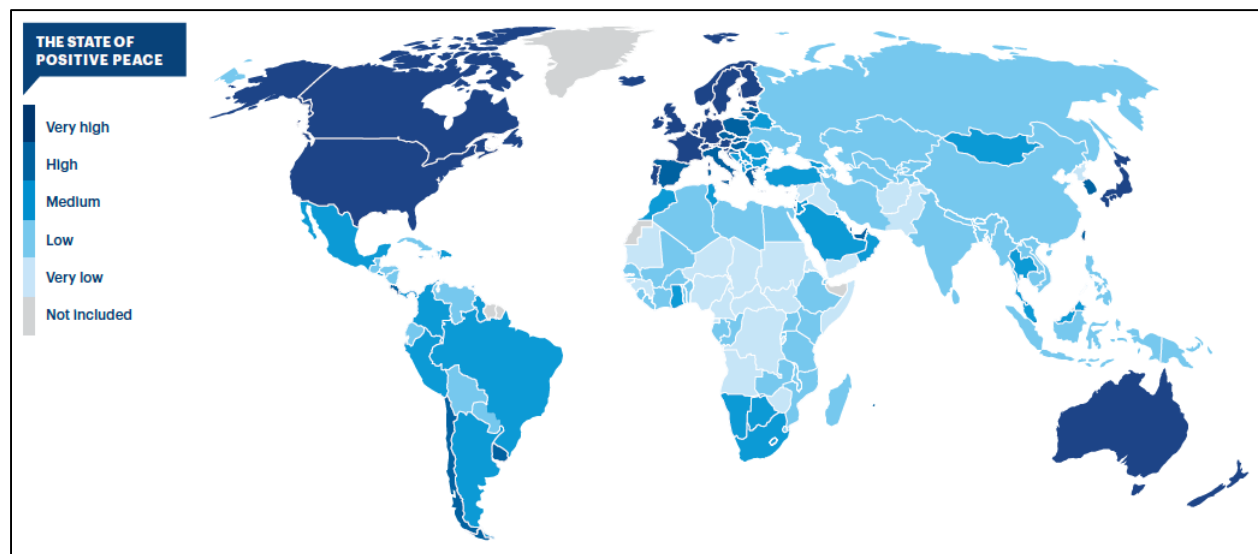
Concluding Thoughts and Continuing Questions

We began our exploration noting that an explicit notion of positive peace is missing from public

administration discourse. Yet it is also hidden in plainsight. ASPA president, Maria Aristgueta's 2016 *PA*

Times article illustrates this point. We noted that the concept of peace is largely defined and measured

in negative terms. This has led, ironically to a focus on violence, conflict and its cessation rather than the patterns and actions that lead to a positive peace of right relationships and justly shared prosperity (social justice and equity). Through Lederach's writings, we reviewed a recent shift from negative to positive peace in the field of peacebuilding. We also highlighted places where positive peace concepts are already present within public administration, from Jane Addams conception of government as a civic household to calls for an ethic of relationship in public administration. We concluded by imagining several positive implications that could flow in both directions from a further bringing together of peacebuilding and public administration. We hope that this preliminary, eclectic, play-ful exploration demonstrates that positive peace is a missing, critical immeasurable of public administration.

Because this effort has been intentionally exploratory, we leave you with several questions and an invitation to further discussion.

- Where do others see connections between a positive or just peace and public administration?

- What potential does the concept of positive peace provide for holding together the tension between efficiency, effectiveness, economy, and equity? How does this compare to previous "answers" to the tension provided by a faith in procedures (e.g. POSDCORB) or a faith in markets (e.g. New Public Management).

- What updates to public administration pedagogy would be necessary to encourage an ethic of relationship and equip students with the interpersonal and group process skills highlighted by O'leary as essential to collaborative governance?

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