UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Analytical Framework and Methodological Approach to Research Education and Peacebuilding

Lopes Cardozo, M.T.A.

DOI
10.1007/978-3-319-93812-7_2

Publication date
2019

Document Version
Final published version

Published in
Sustainable Peacebuilding and Social Justice in Times of Transition

License
Article 25fa Dutch Copyright Act (https://www.openaccess.nl/en/policies/open-access-in-dutch-copyright-law-taverne-amendment)

Link to publication

Citation for published version (APA):
Lopes Cardozo, M. T. A. (2019). Analytical Framework and Methodological Approach to Research Education and Peacebuilding. In M. T. A. Lopes Cardozo, & E. J. T. Maber (Eds.), *Sustainable Peacebuilding and Social Justice in Times of Transition: Findings on the Role of Education in Myanmar* (pp. 13-31). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-93812-7_2

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, P.O. Box 19185, 1000 GD Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
UvA-DARE is a service provided by the library of the University of Amsterdam (https://dare.uva.nl)

Download date:08 Nov 2026

Chapter 2
Analytical Framework and Methodological Approach to Research Education and Peacebuilding

Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the main theoretical and methodological approaches that informed the design and analysis of the findings presented in this edited volume, and contextualises the consequent methodological insights and applies them to the context of Myanmar, and in doing so it highlights key ethical considerations. While acknowledging the wide variety and richness of the expertise and experience of the team of contributing authors, and the diversity of perspectives such a team brings to this volume, the book has an underlying coherence since all authors aligned their analysis to the overarching 4R analytical framework. The 4Rs framework (Novelli et al. 2017), with "4Rs" referring to the social justice dimensions (Fraser 2005) of Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and the additional "R" of Reconciliation, was developed at the start of the work of the broader Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, to provide the various research teams with an overarching skeleton to collect, analyse and present empirical data. This chapter elaborates on this 4Rs model and discusses its relevance specifically in relation to the context of Myanmar.

The first section below features the key concepts and definitions used in the research, with specific attention to: *peacebuilding*, *social justice*, *governance,* the *agency of teachers* and *youth*, and *formal and non-formal education.* Moreover, it discusses the notions of gender, intersectionality and violence as transversal themes covered in the overall research project and chapters of this book. The second part of the chapter discusses the underlying analytical 4Rs framework as well as its relevance and operationalization for the research in Myanmar on education and peacebuilding. Thirdly, the chapter outlines how the methodological approaches applied

M. T. A. Lopes Cardozo (✉)
University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
e-mail: mlopescardozo@fmg.uva.nl

© Springer International Publishing AG, part of Springer Nature 2019

M. T. A. Lopes Cardozo, E. J. T. Maber (eds.), *Sustainable Peacebuilding and Social Justice in Times of Transition*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-93812-7_2

in the chapters in this volume were inspired by both the strategic relational approach (SRA, Sum and Jessop 2013) and a Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education approach (CCPEE, Roberston and Dale 2015). This section also outlines the rationale for a mostly qualitative and exploratory nature of our data collection processes. Finally, the chapter briefly outlines the key ethical considerations of anonymity and consent in the conflict-affected context of Myanmar.

Key Concepts and Definitions

A number of key conceptual tools are central to the research presented in this edited volume. While mindful of the need for context specificity in their application, and the differences even within and between the various states in Myanmar, this section lays out the working definitions of the key research concepts.

Peacebuilding from a Social Justice Perspective

Recognising that there are multiple interpretations of the term "peacebuilding," the 4Rs framework for *sustainable peacebuilding* (see below) draws on a conceptualisation that focuses on the need for core transformations in order for post-conflict societies to move towards sustainable peace. Key post-conflict transformations necessary to produce sustainable peace, or positive peace, as Galtung (1976) calls it, requires going beyond the mere cessation of violence (negative peace) in order to address the root causes of violent conflict. This involves addressing both drivers and legacies of conflict and the promotion of both social justice and cohesion, by addressing injustices and bringing people and communities together. This is in line with a range of contemporary theories of war and conflict (Stewart et al. 2005, 2010; Cramer 2005), which see horizontal and vertical inequalities as drivers of conflict. Addressing these inequalities in and through education (content and governance), in their different economic, cultural and political dimensions, supports the promotion of social cohesion, whereby trust, solidarity, and a sense of collectivity and common purpose are key aspects.

Social Cohesion

In the UNICEF PBEA programme, social cohesion has been used in several contexts, including Pakistan and South Africa, as a proxy for peacebuilding, due to local sensitivities related to peace or peacebuilding language in some of the countries in which the PBEA operates. In Myanmar, we are aware of similar sensitivities and varied understandings of the term social cohesion (as well as peacebuilding).

The way social cohesion is employed in this book connects it closely to issues of social justice and sustainable peace. It also acknowledges the various (community, state and national) scales where social cohesion plays out, and/or where it can be employed strategically by a range of (political) actors. The UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme (PBEA) defines social cohesion as "the quality of coexistence between the multiple groups that operate within a society […] along the dimensions of mutual respect and trust, shared values and social participation, life satisfaction and happiness as well as structural equity and social justice" (UNICEF 2014). Within the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, we defined social cohesion as a societal rather than individual property, based on the promotion of positive relationships, trust, solidarity, inclusion, collectivity, and common purpose.

Education Governance and Policy

The way in which educational management functions and processes of education systems are laid out, and how stakeholders' participation is facilitated within them can foster constructive interactions and relationship building, or promote distrust and entrench intolerance. Decision-making power (Young 2006) and political representation (Fraser 2005) should ideally be fostered though fair representation (of all kinds and categories) at multiple (*supra and sub*) national scales of educational governance. Centrally controlled and managed educational provision can lead to a general lack of accountability and transparency between citizens and the state, particularly when educational resources and services are seen to be inequitably deployed. As a solution, mechanisms such as school-based management and decentralization of authority and control have the potential to promote citizenship, social inclusion, and cooperation, and also increase levels of accountability between educational service-providers and communities (Lopes Cardozo and Shah 2016). Moreover, when participation and cooperation between various educational actors enhance trust, this can become beneficial for broader aims of peacebuilding (Dupuy 2008). Nevertheless, they also hold the danger of exacerbating differential access to resources, to lead to partisan decision-making influenced by local politics and to carry the potential for dominant groups to force their views at the local level, limiting rather than enhancing levels of trust (Poppema 2009).

Generally speaking, governance refers to the sum of all concurrent forms of collective regulation of social issues: from the institutionalised self-regulation of civil society, through the diverse forms of cooperation among state and private actors, to the action of sovereign state agents (Mayntz 2003, 66, in: Smith et al. 2016). While governance is often most immediately related to political control of a system and the policy-making process (e.g. how the rules of a political regime provide the context for policy-making), it is also key to explore the technical capacity and the ability to implement such policies (Smith 2010, 2014). The research presented in this book concerns both of these aspects: the politics and the process of education sector

governance. There is also a third aspect of governance, which is more analytical and considers "governance" as a concept of our time, reflecting a shift from government to governance, and for some towards "global governance" (Rosenau and Czempiel 1992, in: Smith et al. 2016, 25–26). This involves a shift from the idea of the government as the unitary source of educational governance (that funds, provides, regulates, and owns the education system) towards a more "coordinating" and facilitating role involving a range of actors operating at multiple geographical scales, which is very much the case in Myanmar as Chap. 4 will illustrate. This can be traced to the shift from Keynesian to neoliberal political economy approaches that have dominated international development debates since the 1980s (Robertson et al. 2006). Dale (2005) sees this as the scalar and functional division of education governance, which necessitates exploration of the supra-national or international, national, and sub-national levels. It also requires exploration of governance activities: funding, provision, regulation, and ownership, and the actors and institutions (state, market, community, household and so forth) responsible for carrying them out. Analysis of educational governance reflects on who is doing what, where, with what outcomes, and for whom (Smith et al. 2016).

Hence, education governance is closely intertwined with education policy. Consistent with the analysis by Rizvi and Lingard (2010) the focus of our research is not just on the normative view of policy (policy as it is written), but also on the process by which policy emerges (policy process) and how policy emerges in practice (policy as implemented). We therefore include in our analysis the policy-design, (national/sector level) reform plans, and implementation mechanisms (sometimes referred to as programmes or projects).

Teachers, Teacher Education and Teacher Agency

The ILO/UNESCO 1966 definition for teachers states: *All those persons in schools or other learning sites who are responsible for the education of children or young people in pre-primary, primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary education* (UNESCO/ILO 2008). However, the definition for our work also looks at tertiary/higher education, and includes other learning sites than schools (non-formal education contexts, see below).

Teacher Education, Teacher Training and Teacher Professional Development are all associated with pre- and in-service teacher education. A distinction between education and training is illuminating here, where education is traditionally a learning process which requires the synthesis of knowledge, understanding principles and values while training is about practice and acquiring techniques and skills, usually applied to standards and criteria (and shorter term). While there is a great deal of overlap between the two and teachers require both technical skills and procedures (e.g. reading and writing) and knowledge and insight (e.g. appreciation of the beauty and understanding of the meaning of the poem they are skilfully reading) the choice of language can arguable reflect the emphasis framing the teacher. In our work we

use ‘teacher education’ and only refer to ‘training’ in quotes from other sources (Sayed and Novelli 2016).

Integral to teachers’ role as peacebuilders is their “agency” in peacebuilding (a more detailed theoretical discussion on “agency” is included below). A pervasive dualism within social sciences is structure and agency. For Emile Durkheim (e.g. 1912) structure took priority over agency meaning that social life is largely determined by social systems and conditions that regulate individual behaviour, whereas, in Weberian sociology this order is reversed. In this view, “social life is largely determined by those individuals “agents” without whom there would be no social structures” (Bullock and Trombley 2000, 835, in: Sayed and Novelli 2016). Teacher agency as peacebuilders is understood in relation to their capacity to influence their conflict-driven surroundings. It is their ability to think, feel and act in order to foster “values and attitudes that offer a basis for transforming conflict itself” (Novelli and Smith 2011, 7). Teachers’ agency as peacebuilders can be seen as static, fixed and essentialised or as multidimensional, situated and dynamic. Teachers act as both the agents of change, for example, by promoting harmony between pupils including respect, justice and inclusiveness and the agents of conflict, for example, in the way teachers use pedagogy and curricula to perpetuate inequity and conflict between opposing ethnic, religious or socioeconomic groups. The lines between the two are not always clear and the same teacher may play out both roles simultaneously in different moments and contexts. This is because teachers do not exercise their peacebuilding agency in isolation from their surroundings and their agency both influences their surrounding and is influenced by it (O’Sullivan 2002; Vongalis-Macrow 2007; Weldon 2010; Welmond 2002). Teachers are selective, strategic and pragmatic actors in an often politically-charged context (Lopes Cardozo 2011; Lopes Cardozo and May 2009).

Youth and Youth Agency

There is a lack of consensus within the international community over the precise chronological definition of youth (see UNICEF 2009, 11). The UN (2007) and World Bank (2007) define youth as those between 15 and 25, while the African Union (2006) and many African nations define youth as those aged between 15 and 35 (UNICEF 2009, 11). Meanwhile, UNICEF defines adolescents as children between 10 and 19 years (UNICEF, 2009, 11). Considering these inconsistencies at the level of (age-driven) definitions of youth, it might seem an impossible task to contribute something meaningful into the debates about “youth” – in others words, to say something meaningful about a massive segment of Myanmar’s population, while being such a diverse group at the same time. In addition, definitions of the term “youth” itself remain contested all over the globe, ranging from more technical age-ranges to a wide scope of social categorisations. Often, youth are portrayed as those that are ‘in-between’ childhood and adulthood, and that supposedly need protection, control, and social management to move from a state of dependency to one

of independence and autonomy. Such mainstream ideas of youth have led in many contexts to a variety of deep-rooted fears, ambivalences, and unsettling anxieties around the implications of large and growing young populations (Sayed et al. 2016). For the purpose of this book, we have broadly defined youth as those within the second and third decade of life. We recognize that this is a culturally and contextually specific category of the population that needs an adapted working definition in each specific research location. Part three of the book will further elaborate on how in addition to this lack of a clear definition of whom we refer to when speaking of youth, there is also a dearth of information and data on youth related issues in Myanmar, hindering effective policy-making and programmes that would respond to the needs of the younger generation in the country today.

Building on the notion of 'agency' as set out above in relation to teachers, the concept of 'youth agency' is also key in this book. In moving beyond narrow perceptions of youth agency and a 'youth bulge' as mere threats to peace, and inspired by work of Jessop (2005) and Hay (2002a, b), for this edited volume youth agency is defined as the space for manoeuvre available to young people (in their second and third decade of life) in developing conscious or unconscious strategies that either support or hinder peacebuilding in relation to the broader cultural political economy context (see below for further elaboration).

Formal and Non-formal Education (for Peacebuilding)

We follow a broad understanding of education and *education initiatives related to peacebuilding*, which includes both, formal and non-formal forms of learning and schooling. Formal education refers to government-led, formal curricula following forms of schooling, often organised in so-called government-schools or state-schools. Since Myanmar's hybrid system of schooling also includes various parallel (non-)governmental systems of schooling, such as (I)NGO or Community Based Organisation (CBO) led learning activities, our analysis is also inclusive of these forms of learning. Chapter 4 will provide a more comprehensive overview of these various parallel systems and how they function and relate to one another. Finally, considering our specific interest in the relation between education and peacebuilding, yet the acknowledgement that many of such (both positive and restrictive) relations might not be directly labelled as such, we have selected both 'direct' peacebuilding education initiatives, while we also analyse more 'indirect' connections between education (governance, content and practices) and broader peacebuilding processes.

Gender and Intersectionality

We apply a comprehensive definition of gender, understanding this in the light of our broader 4Rs framework, and mostly building on the work of Nancy Fraser. Fraser, from a critical feminist perspective, asserts that in order to reach 'parity of participation' for all men and women in society, regardless of sex and sexual orientation, class, ethnicity, geographical location and so forth, it is not enough to only assume the economic solution of redistribution. Rather, equal importance should be given to socio-cultural remedies for better recognition and political representation in order to ensure "participation on par with others, as full partners in social interaction" (Fraser 2005, 73). In line with our 4Rs framework, and specifically the fourth R of reconciliation, we argue there needs to be an acknowledgment of the varying needs, societal positions, decision-making power and experiences of various forms of violence (further explained below) of women/girls and men/boys of all ages before, during and after conflict. In dealing with the legacies of a violent past, the victim-perpetrator binary which pervades the representation of youth in conflict settings reflects underlying assumptions of feminine and masculine characteristics and behaviours, which often reduce both women and men to limiting roles, reinforcing subordination, and denying the capacity of both to exercise agency (Becker 2012, in: Lopes Cardozo et al. 2015). Educational institutions and curricula, when dominated by patriarchal traditions, may perpetuate traditional gender roles and entrench patriarchal values in each generation of school-going children (Leach 2000; Kabeer 2005; Unterhalter 2005), a situation which extends from formal to non-formal forms of schooling. Finally, we emphasise how conceptualisations of gender (relations, notions) are context-dependent and often contested (e.g. gender relations might be perceived very differently by, to mention a few, women's rights organisations, labour movements or the military). In Appendix I we share a table that guided a gender-informed analysis of the various sections of the book.

Violence

Our definition of violence begins with a recognition that physical attack is but one dimension of violence:

> Violence can never be understood solely in terms of its physicality – force, assault or the infliction of pain – alone. Violence also includes assaults on the personhood, dignity, sense of worth or value of the victim. The social and cultural dimensions of violence are what gives violence its power and meaning. Focusing exclusively on the physical aspects of torture/terror/violence…. subverts the larger project of witnessing, critiquing, and writing against violence, injustice and suffering. (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004, 4)

Violence, then, should be understood in its many forms and dimensions. Galtung (1990) visualised a triangle with the more visible, direct forms of violence at the top, complemented by the less visible but equally damaging forms of structural (or

indirect) and cultural violence at the other two corners of the pyramid. Cultural violence refers to the use of some aspects of the perpetrators culture to legitimize domination or direct violence (Galtung 1990). Cultural legitimacy can use religion, ideology, language, or any other belief, value, norm or general way of life of a dominant group. The longer-term harm, loss and death caused by cultural exclusion is often attributed to the victims. Symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1989) is a tacit mode of social and cultural domination, drawing on symbols, subliminal messages, and indirect discourses – the perpetrator exerts violence and the victim often accepts this and normalizes it. Discourses impact the public sphere through social and state structures such as the media, laws, policies, programs and institutions, politics and economic systems.

Finally, structural violence describes the social and institutional structures used to exclude groups from satisfying their basic needs (Galtung 1990). These can take the form of institutionalized elitism, racism, and sexism that can cause harm, loss and eventual death in marginalised communities. Unpacking some of these processes leads us to reflect on the way that narrow conceptualisations of violence, emphasising visible manifestations of overt violence and obscuring cultural, structural, symbolic and other forms of violence leads to international actors targeting symptoms (public expressions of violence) rather than the underpinning causes. While recognising the importance of understanding this multi-dimensional nature of violence in its overt and covert forms, we are also mindful of the relational nature of violence. In education, when we talk of violence, we refer to both overt and covert processes, from direct attacks on schools and teachers, gender-based violence, pupil on pupil and teacher on teacher violence to institutionalised modes of religious, class, ethnic and cultural modes of violence, including cultural and linguistic modes of violence. Butler nicely captures the complexity and nuance needed to uncover that 'violence and non-violence are not only strategies or tactics but form the subject and become its constitutive possibilities, and so, an ongoing struggle' (Butler 2010, 165). Appendix II includes a table on the key dimensions of violence that have guided our analysis for the three Research Areas.

Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and Reconciliation: Applying the 4Rs Analytical Framework to Myanmar

The 4 Rs Analytical Framework provides the overarching framework for all the research themes addressed in this book. This framework combines social justice and transitional justice thinking to develop a normative framework for the study of education and peacebuilding, which recognises the multiple dimensions of inequality and injustice that often underpin contemporary conflicts and the need to address the legacies of these conflicts in and through education. Crucial to this approach of researching education is that we consider it as being an inherent part and parcel of

society and its conflict/peacebuilding dynamics, with 'education' meaning the education sector and its policy framework and mechanisms, education actors and stakeholders at multiple scales, and the practice of education as practiced in formal (school settings) and non-formal settings. Dale and Robertson (2014) have referred to this as the 'education ensemble', which has been an underlying inspiration to the framework as set out below. The framework is in line with broader and well-established peacebuilding thinking (c.f Galtung 1976; Lederach 1995, 1997) of the need to address both negative peace (the cessation of violence) and positive peace (the underlying structural and symbolic violence that often underpins the outbreak of conflict – the drivers of conflict). It also recognises the importance of addressing and redressing the 'legacies of conflict' in tandem with addressing the 'drivers of conflict'.

Within conflict studies, there has been a long and heated debate on the relationship between inequality, injustice and conflict. The debate is often framed in terms of "greed versus grievance" explanations, with the former suggesting that wars are driven less by justified "grievances" and more by personal and collective "greed" (Collier and Hoeffler 2004). Humans are viewed as engaged in conflict as "economic agents" making cost-benefit calculations and trying to maximize returns on engagement in violent conflict. For these thinkers, the route to peace and security is not through addressing injustice, inequality and structural exclusion, but through increasing the cost of access to resources for violent actors. A strong critique of this work argues that horizontal inequalities (between groups) are important indicators for outbreaks of conflict (Stewart et al. 2005; Stewart 2010), arguments supported by econometric evidence (Cederman et al. 2011). Horizontal inequalities, which often relate to ethnicity, tribe, or religion, involve a range of dimensions: economic (access to land, income, and employment), political (access to political power and representation), social (access to public services), and cultural (respect for difference and identity, language rights, etc.). In armed conflicts, real or perceived horizontal inequalities can provide a catalyst for group mobilisation and uprisings, and hence we have indicated those as part of the 'drivers of conflict' in the 4Rs model (see Fig. 2.1 below, Novelli et al. 2017).

There is limited research on the relationship between education and inequality in the outbreak of armed conflict. However, recent quantitative research drawing on two international education inequality and conflict datasets (FHI 360 2015) demonstrates a consistent statistical relationship, across five decades, between higher levels of inequality in educational attainment between ethnic and religious groups, and the likelihood that a country will experience violent conflict. However, this research is less able to identify causal mechanisms, or explain the complexities of understanding those. Therefore, the 4Rs framework works from the premise that there is a need to explore the multiple dimensions of inequality beyond just educational outcomes, as well as the different ways in which the education system might contribute to or alleviate conflict (Novelli et al. 2017).

The 4Rs framework presents a normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace. The framework

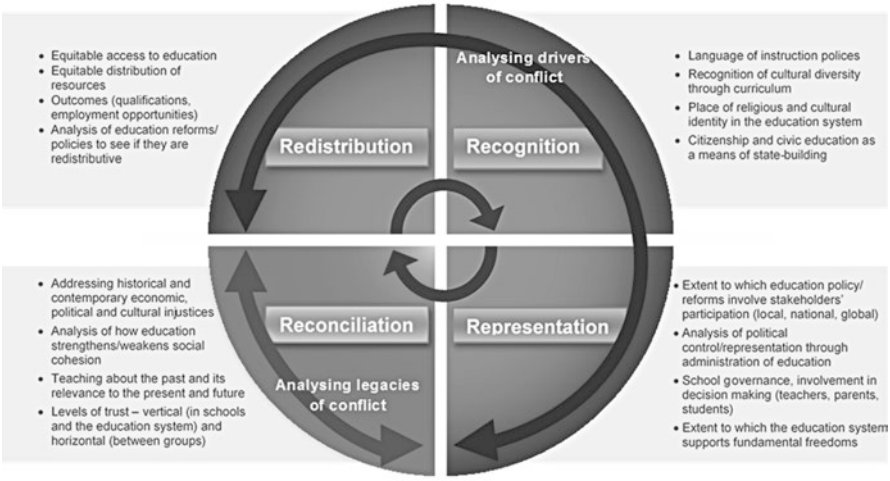

Fig. 2.1 Sustainable peacebuilding in education: the 4Rs analytical framework. (Novelli et al. 2017)

combines dimensions of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation, linking Fraser's (1995, 2005) work on social justice with the peacebuilding and reconciliation work of Galtung (1976), Lederach (1995, 1997), and others, to explore what sustainable peacebuilding might look like in post-conflict environments. The examination of inequalities within the education system seeks to capture the interconnected dimensions of the "4Rs" (visualised in Fig. 2.1):

- *Redistribution* concerns equity and non-discrimination in education access, resources, and outcomes for different groups in society, particularly marginalised and disadvantaged groups.
- *Recognition* concerns respect for and affirmation of diversity and identities in education structures, processes, and content, in terms of gender, language, politics, religion, ethnicity, culture, and ability.
- *Representation* concerns participation, at all levels of the education system, in governance and decision-making related to the allocation, use, and distribution of human and material resources.
- *Reconciliation* involves dealing with past events, injustices, and material and psychosocial effects of conflict, as well as developing relationships trust.

Based on multiple applications of the framework in a number of research projects over the past years, it seems to provide a useful tool to analyse the extent to which education is/can support cross-sectorial programming for conflict transformation in terms of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation and as an analytical tool within the education sector, as outlined in Table 2.1 (Novelli et al. 2017).

Addressing both the drivers of conflict (the first "3Rs") and the legacies of conflict and perspectives towards the future (reconciliation) is a complex process, but

Table 2.1 Analysing education systems using the 4Rs

Analysing education systems using the 4Rs: potential 'indicators'	
Redistribution (addressing inequalities)	Vertical and horizontal inequalities in education inputs, resources, and outcomes (quantitative data)
	Redistribution in macro education reforms or policies (e.g. impact of decentralisation and privatisation on different groups and conflict dynamics)
Recognition (respecting difference)	Policies on language of instruction
	Recognition of cultural diversity and religious identity in curriculum
	Citizenship and civic education as a means of state-building
Representation (encouraging participation)	Participation (local, national, global) in education policy and reforms
	Political control and representation through education administration
	School-based management and decision-making (teachers, parents, students)
	Support for fundamental freedoms in the education system
Reconciliation (dealing with injustices and the legacies of conflict)	Addressing historical and contemporary injustices linked to conflict
	Integration and segregation in education systems (e.g. common institutions)
	Teaching about the past and its relevance to the present and future
	Vertical trust in schools and education system, and horizontal trust between identity-based groups

Adapted from Novelli et al. (2017)

one that is crucial for the promotion of sustainable peace. Our analysis has illuminated how there can be significant tensions or trade-offs between the various "Rs", and the chapters that follow will highlight how the balance between policies that promote social justice (and therefore address the drivers of conflict) and those that promote reconciliation (and address the legacies of conflict and creatively design the future) is part of a political process of decision-making and prioritisation, often instigating considerable tensions and differences in opinion and approach. Hence, we refrain from a too deterministic and descriptive application of this 4Rs model, but rather highlight interrelations between the "Rs" where appropriate in our analysis presented in this volume. In that sense, the 4Rs might alternatively be visualised in a pyramid shape (Fig. 2.2), where the three drivers of inequalities/conflict are at the base of the pyramid, while the R of reconciliation becomes visible as an umbrella or overarching principle/process that has a quality of being 'lifted up'. This then signifies how the concept of reconciliation carries a potential quality of transformation, of a higher level of consciousness and interconnectedness in relation to processes of sustainable peacebuilding and a socially just society. This allows both research design, analysis and presentation of findings that are relevant to the field of practice, policy and academia to move away from a problem solving orientation,

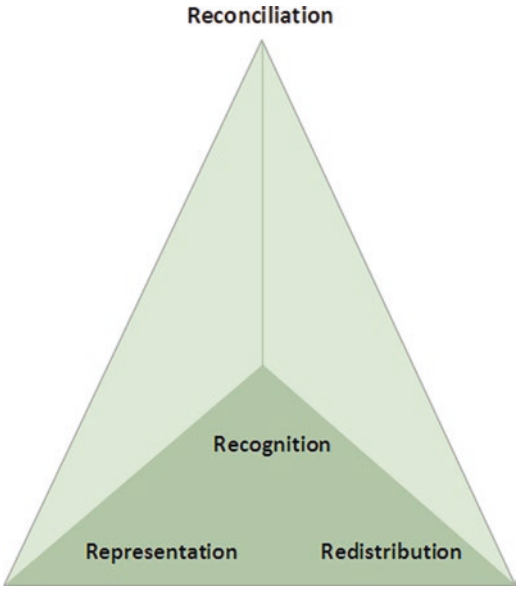

Fig. 2.2 Visualising the connected relations between the 4Rs

which "causes us to look backwards while the world evolves forward, [as] focusing on problems may eliminate what we *don't* want, at least for a while, but there's no guarantee that it will bring about the systemic changes required to sustain the quality of life we *do* want" (Mang and Haggard 2016, 114). The 4Rs model is designed to enable research to explore, and perhaps support, more systemic transformations.

A Further Note on Reconciliation

Honing in on the 'added' fourth R of reconciliation then, the framework draws on a "relational" (Hamber and Kelly 2004) understanding of reconciliation, or: "a process of addressing conflictual and fractured relationships" through "voluntary acts that cannot be imposed" (Ibid: 3–4). Similarly, Jean Paul Lederach (1995, 1997) builds a strong argumentation around the need to combine short-term as well as long-term approaches, supporting transformations in various dimensions of human life (political, economic, psychological and spiritual), ultimately to support processes of reconciliation. Reconciliation also should be considered as a paradoxical process, as it "promotes an encounter between the open expression of the painful past" on the one hand while it "seeks a long-term, interdependent future" on the other (Lederach 1997; cited in Hamber and Kelly 2004). In a sense, while reconciliation might start from a direct need to build trust and address people's trauma, despair and grief, on multiple sides of the conflict, at the same time reconciliation holds the potential of envisioning new, alternative ways of enactment and living

together. In this sense, and similar to Fraser's view on the other 3Rs, conceptually reconciliation connects closely to the idea of *transformation*.

A concrete example of education's role in reconciliation processes and in dealing with a conflictive past is the teaching of history. We also recognize Hamber and Kelly's (2004) "warning" that the concept of reconciliation is always influenced by people's underlying assumptions or ideologies – religious, political, economic, or other. Applying the 4Rs framework therefore requires us to develop contextualized, locally defined, and historically informed understandings of what reconciliation means in the context of Myanmar. Furthermore, while it is important to bring people from different and even opposing social groups together, either through formal integrated schooling or non-formal programs, it is important to move beyond a narrow interpretation of Allport's Contact Hypothesis and allow for more meaningful long-term encounters and reflection. Simply getting together to shake hands and share food is to suggest that conflict is driven (only) by interpersonal animosities rather than (also) by structural grievances and inequalities (see also Novelli et al. 2017).

Finally, it is worth highlighting here that the term reconciliation is often politically charged, and comes with multiple interpretations and approaches depending on the rationale or interest that is driving it. In Myanmar, reconciliation is far from a unitary adopted concept, and we will highlight in the data analysis presented in the chapters to follow how the term is both embraced and rejected for multiple reasons, by multiple actors and at multiple scales of the peacebuilding-and-education arena. This is not dissimilar to the ways in which reconciliation has become a contested term, especially for those that have historically found themselves in a marginalised position, and especially when (new) governments seem to adopt the term in their political narrative (for instance also in Sri Lanka, see Duncan and Lopes Cardozo 2017).

Cultural Political Economy of Education and Strategic Relational Approach as Methodological Inspirations

Drawing on our earlier work by and together with colleagues in this area (Shah and Lopes Cardozo 2014; Lopes Cardozo and Shah 2016), this chapter presents a combination of insights from the Strategic Relational Approach (SRA, see Jessop 2005) and the Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education (CCPEE, see Robertson and Dale 2015) – both of which are rooted in Critical Realism. We argue that a critical realist ontological lens is best suited within the broader field of critical theory in doing so. Building on the critical realist recognition of the importance of identifying visible and invisible structures and mechanisms that lead to that which we empirically observe, the objective is to (retroductively) examine: (1) the ways in which the relationship between education and peacebuilding is articulated discursively and materially through social relations, experiences, and practices (the cultural); (2) the ways in which education and peacebuilding fit into relations of production,

distribution and exchange in society (the economic); and finally (3), the fashion in which political agenda setting and decision-making deal with education's links to peacebuilding (the political) (Shah and Lopes Cardozo 2014). Motivated by a recognition that "orthodox political economy tends to offer impoverished accounts of how subjects and subjectivities are formed" (Jessop 2004, 3), the role of culture is brought into equal footing with political and economic structures and institutions, as a constitutive element and as a contingent factor in the actions of actors.[1] The thinking inspired by both CCPEE and SRA is also present in the design of the 4Rs theoretical framework introduced above.

CCPEE helps us to see "education as part of societies; it does not sit outside of it" – by not simply 'adding' education to a Cultural Political Economy approach (see Sum and Jessop 2013), but by *critically* viewing education as being both constituted by and connected to cultural, economic and political dynamics and processes (Robertson 2012, 4). The things we can empirically observe in educational settings are understood as connected to a particular conceptualisation and rationalisation of political, economic and social relationships in society at a particular time, space and place (Robertson 2000, 8–9). In the context of a conflict-affected and post-colonial society such as Myanmar, where meanings, purposes, and beliefs about the role of education are thrown into question, CCPEE can offer a powerful tool for retroductively unpacking how discursive claims on education's role and function in society might be reconsidered and reframed by both government and non-government actors. The types of claims, beliefs, and values made, and the material capabilities they enable/constrain, can have powerful resonance in terms of education's potential to serve productive means of building a more peaceful and socially just society (Lopes Cardozo and Shah 2016). Building on the CCPEE Robertson and Dale (2015) have developed a series of 'education moments' that can help to guide such exploration: (1) the **moment of educational practice** – where one looks into the questions of who is taught, what and the circumstances in which education takes place; (2) the **moment of educational politics** – where the relationship between policy and practice is analysed, acknowledging that not everything that happens in practice is a direct consequence of the decision and actions of policy-making; (3) the **moment of the politics of education** – where the rules of the games set limits to what is possible and desirable in education are analysed, and where education is understood in relation to the broader economic, political and cultural projects (i.e. the relationship between neoliberalism and education); and (4) the **moment of the outcomes of education** – where the consequences of educational practices, policies and politics are studied in relation to both immediate actions and wider social relations and processes. These moments have informed the

[1] Jessop (2004) originally interpreted culture in his proposition of *cultural political economy* as semiosis defined as the inter-subjective production of meaning, including narrativity, rhetoric, hermeneutics, identity, reflexivity, historicity and discourse. Robertson (2012) takes the notion of culture a step further by adding the materiality of social relations, and the constraints agents face to such analysis. According to her, in order to fully comprehend the complexities of the field of educational governance and practice, critical examination of meaning-making processes are vital for our understanding (Robertson 2012, 3).

focus of our multiscalar data collection and the analysis of our data as presented in the following chapters.

The SRA, then, allows seeing structures and agents as analytically separate entities, which simultaneously have a contingent and dialectal relationship (Hay 2002b; Jessop 2005). Specifically, structures are seen as *strategically selective*. They can reinforce the motivations, actions or strategies of particular individuals/groups, and work against others – thus creating both, opportunities and constraints for specific courses of action for specific actors and constituencies. Within the confines of particular temporal periods and spaces, specific structures and structural configurations can selectively reinforce the action, tactics, activities and strategies of actors (also defined as their *agency*) and discourage others. All *actors* have tendencies, or preferences for action, but the structural spaces they operate within may allow only certain tendencies to be realised. The social, economic and political spaces in which actors operate are "densely structured and highly contoured" which presents an "unevenly distributed configuration of opportunity and constraint to actors'"(Hay 2002b, 381). SRA acknowledges that different individuals and groups may have varying opportunities to do so and constraints due to their levels of access to particular strategic resources (social, political, cultural, economic capital). Actors may be differentially motivated in their desire to alter such structures, acting in ways that consciously and unconsciously serve to reproduce/transform existing conditions. Even if driven by a desire for transformation, actors often lack perfect information of their context. Imperfect information leads to false assumptions and actions that may appear unintentional, but are responding to a set of perceived structural constraints, which may not be perceived correctly (Hay 2002b, 381–383).

A noteworthy argument of SRA is that in any moment the way in which actors understand and respond to their environment can greatly vary, as can their motivations and intentions for action, leading to an assortment of potential outcomes. Thus, both the structured context within which action occurs, and the types of agency that actors exhibit, have a bearing on what role and function they might play in constructing a positive and sustainable peace. Hence, the SRA can help us in our understandings of *how* and *why* possibilities and limitations to education actors' agency as peacebuilders are shaped, and are both time and place-bound. Finally, from an SRA perspective it might be assumed that, over time, actors would come to better understand and respond in kind to their context through the routine monitoring of the consequences of their actions. However, very rarely do the environments in which these actors act remain static. This is particularly true in the changing environment of conflict-affected environments – such as Myanmar – where a density of existing institutions and practices, in combination with a proliferation of new strategic actors and new discourses lead to the possibility of changing strategic selectivities in short periods of time (Lopes Cardozo and Shah 2016). While the above insights from the SRA have been helpful in the research design, data collection and analysis, there is a need to move away from a somewhat functionalist tendency of the model. As such, the all too rationalist idea of actors' "strategic calculations" (Hay 2002b) was adapted, and instead CPE thinking and more semiotic and post-structuralist notions of identities, beliefs and motivations were brought

in. The methodology applied in the chapters in this book hence applies an orientation to the *cultural* within recent formulations of cultural political economy (Robertson and Dale 2015), to unravel the agentic factors in relation to the education-peacebuilding nexus.

A Mostly Qualitative and Critical Ethnographic Methodological Approach

Engaging with a critical theoretical approach, as set out in the 4Rs framework and above, and while recognizing the relatively short time frame that was available to the fieldwork, our methodological approach draws from, yet does not do full justice to critical ethnographic research approaches and critical discourse analysis (of 'raw' collected data/texts/photographic material as well as transcriptions). Following from this rationale, and the both exploratory and sensitive nature of the research topic, the research methods applied were primarily qualitative in nature. Methods that supported the data collection for the analytical chapter that follow included semi-structured interviews (both individual and in small groups), document analysis, stakeholder mapping exercises, and a range of participatory methods particularly for the youth and teacher areas of study (e.g. focus group discussions, interactive workshops, collective drawing or theatre activities).

The methodology applied to study the programmatic and policy interventions included in our study, also drew on Pawson's (2006) realist approach (again rooted in critical realism), which views evaluation as a process that both identifies how the evaluated policies and programmes work and how they expect to achieve their objectives. In a realist evaluation, it is not enough merely to test whether an intervention achieves (or does not achieve) its objectives; what is required is an understanding of why the intervention does (or does not do) so as a way of drawing lessons that will contribute to improve future interventions. It recognises that programmes do not work 'generically' but work in particular ways in particular places and give rise to both intended and unintended outcomes.

Concluding Notes on Conducting Research in Myanmar

As a final note to this chapter and as a way to bridge to the more Myanmar specific chapters that will follow, I would like to highlight a few methodological and ethical considerations that have guided our collaborative team workshops that took place in Myanmar, as well as the consequent data collection, analysis and presentation of the findings here in this edited volume. While working from an agreed ethical guidelines document that went through numerous iterations at the three leading universities (Amsterdam, Sussex and Ulster), in the specific case of Myanmar we dealt with

the issue of respondents consent in a context specific and conflict sensitive way. In close conversation with our Myanmar members of the team, we discussed how issues of trust and anonymity are incredibly important considering the country's conflictive past, as well as a present situation where mistrust and participant safety is still a major concern. For this reason, we only worked with verbal consent, which was asked to all respondents that participated in the research conducted for the chapters present in this volume. Consent was provided after an explanation of the purpose and focus of the study was given and the announcement that any respondent could stop the conversation (or activity) at any time, and was guaranteed anonymity. Hence, while we refer to interview numbers throughout the chapter (for example as "int. 1" or "ints. 44, 76"), we have not included a full overview of all collected data as we want to ensure respondents anonymity as best as possible.[2]

References

Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological Theory, 7*(1), 14–25.

Butler, J. (2010). Performative agency. *Journal of Cultural Economy, 3*(2), 147–161.

Cederman, L. E., Weidmann, N. B., & Gleditsch, K. S. (2011). Horizontal inequalities and ethno-nationalist civil war: A global comparison. *American Political Science Review, 105*(3), 478–495.

Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and grievance in civil war. *Oxford Economic Papers, 56*(4), 563–595.

Cramer, C. (2005). *Inequality and conflict: A review of an age-old concern*, *Identities, conflict and cohesion programme paper, 11*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Dale, R. (2005). Globalisation, knowledge economy and comparative education. *Comparative Education, 41*(2), 117–149.

Dale, R., & Robertson, S. L. (2014). Global education policies. In N. Yeates (Ed.), *Understanding global social policy*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Duncan, R., & Lopes Cardozo, M. T. A. (2017). Reclaiming reconciliation through community education for the Muslims and Tamils of post-war Jaffna, Sri Lanka. *Research in Comparative and International Education, 12*(1), 76–94.

Dupuy, K. (2008). Education for peace: Building peace and transforming armed conflict through education systems. *International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, for Save the Children Norway*. http://toolkit.ineesite.org/toolkit/INEEcms/uploads/1050/Education_for_Peace_Building_Peace.pdf.

Durkheim, E. (1912). *The elementary forms of religious life*. New York: Free Press.

FHI 360. (2015). *Does horizontal education inequality lead to violent conflict? A global analysis*. Washington, DC: FHI 360 Education Policy and Data Center.

Fraser, N. (1995). From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of justice in a 'post-socialist' age. *New Left Review, 1*(212), 68–93.

Fraser, N. (2005). Reframing justice in a globalized world. *New Left Review, 36*, 79–88.

[2] Any specific questions on the source, validity or analysis of the presented data can be addressed, either directly to the authors of the chapters, or to the editors (Mieke Lopes Cardozo: mlopescardozo@fmg.uva.nl or Elizabeth Maber: ejtm2@cam.ac.uk).

Galtung, J. (1976). Three approaches to peace: Peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding. In J. Galtung (Ed.), *Peace, war and defence: Essays in peace research* (Vol. 2, pp. 282–304). Copenhagen: Christian Eljers.

Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural violence. *Journal of Peace Research, 27*(3), 291–305.

Hamber, B., & Kelly, G. (2004). *A working definition of reconciliation: SEUPB & democratic dialogue*. Belfast: PEACE II Funding Guidelines.

Hay, C. (2002a). *Political analysis: A critical introduction*. Balkingstoke: Palgrave.

Hay, C. (2002b). Globalisation as a problem of political analysis: Restoring agents to a 'process without subject' and politica to a logic of economic compulsion. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 15*(3), 379–392.

Jessop, B. (2004). Critical semiotic analysis and cultural political economy. *Critical Discourse Studies, 1*(2), 159–174.

Jessop, B. (2005). Critical realism and the strategic-relational approach. *New Formations, 56*, 40–53.

Kabeer, N. (2005). Gender equality and women's empowerment: A critical analysis of the third millennium development goal. *Gender and Development, 13*(1), 13–24.

Leach, M. (2000). Gender implications of development agency policies on education and training. *International Journal of Educational Development, 20*(4), 333–347.

Lederach, J. P. (1995). *Preparing for peace: Conflict transformation across cultures*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Lopes Cardozo, M. T. A. (2011). *Future teachers and social change in Bolivia: Between decolonisation and demonstration*. Delft: Uitgeverij Eburon.

Lopes Cardozo, M. T. A., & May, A. (2009). Teaching for peace – Overcoming division? Peace education in reconciliation processes in Sri Lanka and Uganda. In S. Nicolai (Ed.), *Opportunities for change. Education innovation and reform during and after conflict* (pp. 201–217). Paris: IIEP UNESCO.

Lopes Cardozo, M. T. A., & Shah, R. A. (2016). The fruit caught between two stones': The conflicted position of teachers within Aceh's independence struggle. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 14*(3), 331–344.

Lopes Cardozo, M. T. A., Higgins, S., Maber, E., Brandt, C. O., Kusmallah, N., Le Mat, M. L. J. (2015). *Literature review: Youth agency, peacebuilding and education, research consortium education and peacebuilding*. University of Amsterdam. Available online: http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/partners/research-consortium/research-outputs/

Mang, P., Haggard, B., & Regenesis. (2016). *Evolution, in regenerative development: A framework for evolving sustainability*. Hoboken: Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119149699.ch1.

Novelli, M., & Smith, A. (2011). *The role of education in peacebuilding: A synthesis report of findings from Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone*. New York: UNICEF.

Novelli, M., Lopes Cardozo, M. T. A., & Smith, A. (2017). The 4Rs framework: Analyzing education's contribution to sustainable peacebuilding with social justice in conflict-affected contexts. *Journal on Education in Emergencies, 3*(1), 14–43.

O'Sullivan, M. C. (2002). Reform implementation and the realities within which teachers work: A Namibian case study. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 32*(2), 219–237.

Pawson, R. (2006). *Evidence-based policy: A realist perspective*. London: Sage Publications.

Poppema, M. F. (2009). Guatemala, the Peace Accords and education: A post-conflict struggle for equal opportunities, cultural recognition and participation in education. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 7*(4), 383–408.

Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing education policy*. London: Routledge.

Robertson, S. L. (2000). Teachers' labour, social class and change: Toward a new theoretical framework. *International Studies in the Sociology of Education, 10*(3), 285–302.

Robertson, S. L. (2012). Placing teachers in global governance agendas. *Comparative Education Review, 56*(4), 584–607.

Robertson, S. L., & Dale, R. (2015). Towards a 'critical cultural political economy' account of the globalising of education. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 13*(1), 149–170.

Robertson, S., Novelli, M., Dale, R., Tikly, L., Dachi, H., & Ndibelema, A. (2006). *Globalisation, education and development: Ideas, actors, dynamics*, *Researching the Issues* (Vol. 68). London: DFID.

Sayed, Y., & Novelli, M. (2016). *The role of teachers in peacebuilding and social cohesion: A synthesis report of South Africa, Uganda, Pakistan and Myanmar case studies. Research Consortium Education and Peacebuilding*. University of Sussex.

Sayed, Y., Badroodien, A., McDonald, Z., Balie, L., De Kock, T., Garisch, C., Hanaya, A., Salmon, T., Sirkhotte-Kriel, W., Gaston, J., Foulds, K. (2016). *Teachers and youth as agents of social cohesion in South Africa*. Research Consortium Education and Peacebuilding. Available online at: http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/partners/researchconsortium/researchoutputs/

Scheper-Hughes, N., & Bourgois, P. (Eds.). (2004). *Violence in war and peace: An anthology*. London: Blackwell.

Shah, R., & Lopes Cardozo, M. T. A. (2014). Education and social change in post-conflict and post-disaster Aceh, Indonesia. *International Journal of Educational Development, 38*, 2–12.

Smith, A. (2010). *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, *Paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011*. Paris: UNESCO.

Smith, A. (2014). Contemporary challenges for education in conflict affected countries. *Journal of International and Comparative Education, 3*(1), 113–125.

Smith, A., Datzberger, S., McCully, A. (2016). *The integration of education into peacebuilding processes at global and country levels. Global synthesis study: Myanmar, Pakistan, South Africa and Uganda*. Research Consortium Education and Peacebuilding. Ulster University.

Stewart, F. (2010). *Horizontal inequalities as a cause of conflict: A review of CRISE findings*, *World Development Report 2011 Background Paper*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Stewart, F., Brown, G., & Mancini, L. (2005). *Why horizontal inequalities matter: Some implications for measurement*, *CRISE Working Paper No. 19*. Oxford: CRISE.

Sum, N., & Jessop, B. (2013). Competitiveness, the knowledge-based economy and higher education. *Journal of the Knowledge Economy, 4*(1), 24–44.

UNESCO/ILO. (2008). *Recommendation concerning the Status of Teachers, 1966*. ILO and UNESCO.

UNICEF. (2009). *Young people in West and Central Africa: Trends, priorities, investments and partners*. UNICEF West and Central Africa Regional Office.

UNICEF. (2014). *PBEA programme social cohesion definition*. UNICEF.

Unterhalter, E. (2005). Global inequality, capabilities, social justice: The millennium development goal for gender equality in education. *International Journal of Educational Development, 25*(2), 111–122.

Vongalis-Macrow, A. (2007). I, Teacher: Reterritorialization of teachers' multi-faceted agency in globalized education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 28*(4), 425–439.

Weldon, G. (2010). Post-conflict teacher development: Facing the past in South Africa. *Journal of Moral Education, 39*(3), 353–364.

Welmond, M. (2002). Globalization viewed from the periphery: The dynamics of teacher identity in the Republic of Benin. *Comparative Education Review, 46*(1), 37–66.

Young, I. M. (2006). Taking the basic structure seriously. *Perspectives in Politics, 4*(1), 91–97.