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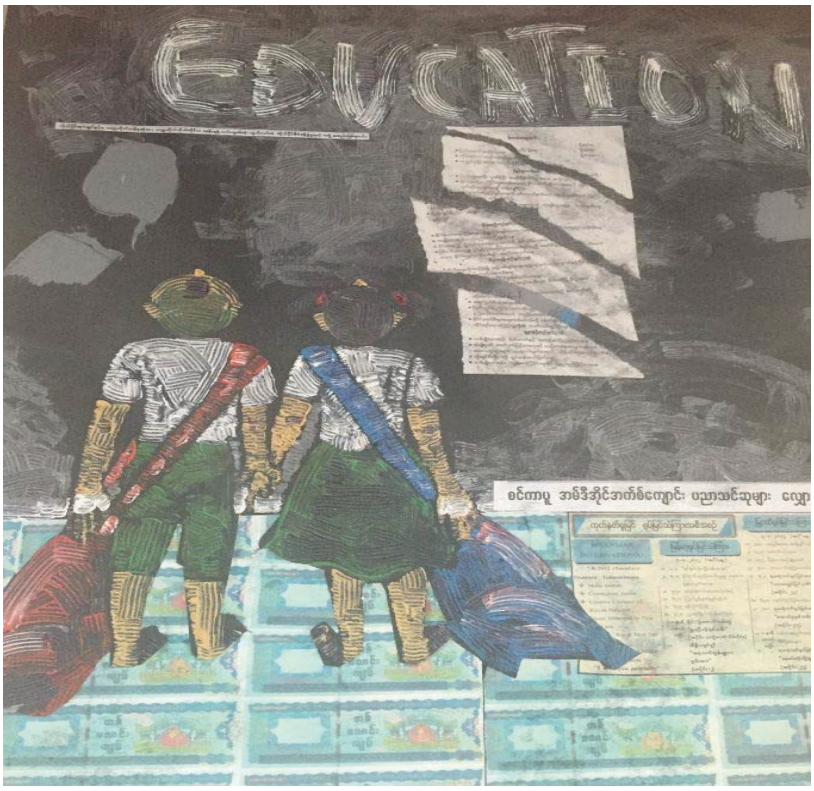
A Theoretical Framework for Analysing the Contribution of Education to Sustainable Peacebuilding: 4Rs in Conflict-Affected Contexts

January 2015



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Introduction

This paper presents the theoretical and analytic framework for a Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding supported by UNICEF's Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme which began in July 2014 led by the Universities of Amsterdam, Sussex and Ulster. The consortium seeks to build knowledge on the relationship between education and peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts and has emerged out of a long-standing relationship between the authors, UNICEF and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Netherlands that stretches back to 2006.

The overarching rationale for the work of the research partnership is underpinned by a broad definition of what constitutes the long-term objective of education and peacebuilding interventions – the goal of sustainable peacebuilding. This builds on earlier work by the authors for UNICEF on the role of education and peacebuilding (Smith et al, 2011; Novelli and Smith, 2011) as well as recent (Novelli et al 2014) and earlier scholarly work in this area (Smith, 2005; Novelli and Lopes Cardozo, 2008, 2012). Previous research led the consortium to recognise that working towards 'positive peace' (Galtung, 1976; 1990) necessitates working towards 'peace with justice' and a better understanding of how education might support these processes in building sustainable and peaceful post conflict societies. It also made us aware of the complex challenges faced by policy makers and practitioners seeking to expand the role of education in peacebuilding activities.

The UNICEF PBEA programme is a US $200 million 4-year partnership (2012-2016) between UNICEF, the Government of the Netherlands, the national governments of 14 participating countries, alongside other key supporters. It is an innovative, cross-sectoral programme focusing on education and peacebuilding.[1] The Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding will carry out research on three key thematic areas: 1) The integration of education in UN peacebuilding missions and frameworks and vice versa, the integration of peacebuilding in national education systems, policies and programmes; 2) The role of teachers in peacebuilding in conflict contexts; 3) The role of education in peacebuilding initiatives involving youth in conflict contexts. The research will be carried out in partnership with colleagues in each of the participating countries and will seek to contribute both to theory and practice in the field of education and peacebuilding, developing theoretically informed, policy relevant outputs.[2]

This Working Paper begins by synthesising findings from earlier work that challenged the contemporary and dominant 'security-first' and 'Liberal Peace' model of peacebuilding, outlines the role and potential of education to contribute to a more sustainable peacebuilding model and provides the foundations for a better understanding of key theoretical, methodological and policy challenges in this complex area. In the second part of the paper, we lay out our emergent analytical framework, which we will draw upon to critically analyse education policy and programmes and provide a framework for visualising what a sustainable peacebuilding and education system might look like. The framework develops a normative, but non-prescriptive vision of the broad components of a peaceful and just society and applies these to the education sector. This '4R' framework

[1] See http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/
[2] See Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding (2014) Research Briefing 1: Introducing the research: http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/partners/research-consortium/research-outputs/

combines dimensions of Recognition, Redistribution, Representation and Reconciliation, linking the work of Nancy Fraser (1995, 2005), Johan Galtung (1976, 1990) and John-Paul Lederach (1995, 1997), among others, to explore what sustainable peacebuilding might look like in post-conflict environments. We recognise there are multiple interpretations of the term 'peacebuilding', but the research consortium has developed a framework based on what we consider to be core transformations that may contribute to post-conflict societies moving towards sustainable peace. We claim that the key post-conflict transformations necessary to produce sustainable peace – or positive peace, as Galtung (1990) refers to - involve **redistribution, recognition** and **representation**, to bring about greater social justice as suggested by the work of Fraser (2005), together with post-conflict issues of **reconciliation**. The consortium likewise employs a broad interpretation of what 'sustainability' entails, by connecting it closely to both immediate and longer-term key transformations in relation to the four R's.

Education and Peacebuilding: policy challenges and knowledge limitations

In this section we synthesise the findings from a range of work that we have been engaged with over the last decade, which helps to shape the theoretical and methodological approach that frames our research on education and peacebuilding. Below we present the major findings from our recent work on the role of education in peacebuilding (Novelli & Lopes Cardozo, 2008; Smith et al, 2012; Novelli & Smith, 2012; Novelli et al, 2014). We present these in the form of a series of policy challenges.

Firstly, our 3-country UNICEF study of the relationship between education and peacebuilding in Sierra Leone, Lebanon and Nepal (Smith et al 2011; Zakharia, 2011; Novelli, 2011; Vaux 2011; Novelli & Smith, 2012), indicated that the major international actors involved in peacebuilding (UNPBSO, DFID, USAID, among others) have prioritised addressing 'security' issues, particularly in the early to medium post-conflict phase, at the expense of social sector spending. Security is perceived as the foundation upon which development can occur. In research into DFID's activities in Sierra Leone, Denney (2011) notes that:

'Security first' denotes the idea that before one can sustainably engage in development, a basic level of security must be established. A secure environment will ensure that development efforts are less likely to be disrupted or diverted by conflict, and that stability will attract investors who would otherwise be dissuaded by volatility. In this way, security is a precondition of development (Denney 2011: 279)

Denney (2011) suggests that rather than security and development occurring symbiotically, it increasingly appears that security has not been followed by development, but rather there is 'an uneasy co-existence of security and misery'. Our research suggested that while security in post-conflict situations is clearly important, it is not a sufficient condition to reach positive peace and to support the social transformations necessary to ensure that peace is sustained (Novelli & Smith, 2011).

The security first agenda is closely linked to the implementation of what Paris (2004, 2010) calls the 'liberal peace thesis'. The liberal peace thesis prioritizes the introduction of liberal democracy and market forces as key drivers of stability once security has been achieved. According to Castaneda (2009) this can be conceptualized as a 'trickle-down peace' approach, whereby you first aim to obtain a 'negative peace', then democracy, and these two factors will then encourage foreign direct investment, which will then lead to economic growth. However, just as trickle-down economics failed to reach many of the most vulnerable sections of populations in the 1980s during International Monetary Fund/World Bank-promoted structural adjustment policies, and acted as a catalyst to many conflicts, so it is not clear that 'trickle-down peace' is a sufficiently robust development model to address the most marginalized, and may itself "contain the seeds of continuing insecurity" (Duffield 1998:10; Paris 2004; Pugh et al 2011; Richmond & Mitchell 2012). This agenda frames much of the international discourse on peacebuilding, and according to Paris (2010) has received a wide range of critiques over the past decade that in his eyes are often unsubstantial or

unconstructive in nature. While we recognize that the liberal peacebuilding model should not be viewed as a unitary and homogenous model (see Selby 2013), our critical analysis of its core rationales can help us to understand why investment in social services – health, education and welfare – in UN peacebuilding programmes lags behind investment in security and democracy promotion (McCandless, 2011).

Secondly, our UNICEF case-studies (Smith et al 2011; Novelli & Smith, 2011) demonstrated that among agencies and practitioners working in the education sector, the concept of peacebuilding is often unclear, its relationship to education under-developed, and the concept often greeted with a degree of suspicion and scepticism. We also encountered either a highly reductionist view of education's role in peacebuilding, which limited it to 'peace education', changing minds and behaviour, rather than focusing on more structural issues of governance, access, quality and provision, or paradoxically a broad conceptualisation which essentially equated all educational activities with peacebuilding without any analytical clarity. Across the cases, interviewees lacked a coherent vocabulary to differentiate between long-term and more structural education interventions that contributed to peacebuilding; short-term educational interventions seeking to target particular conflict and security-related phenomena; and, finally, more specific thematic-related education interventions where education supported reintegration, economic growth, social cohesion, etc., as part of broader peacebuilding interventions. This perhaps reflects the fact that there is a lack of a knowledge base, at least among education practitioners, regarding the relationship between education and peacebuilding, which leads people to draw on either a generic and well developed 'rights-based' discourse and/or an equally well developed discourse around 'peace education'. Clearly then, there is a need for greater clarity on the understanding and implications of peacebuilding of different agencies involved in conflict-affected countries and the development of a common language to discuss its components and parameters (Barnett et al, 2007).

The above two points imply that key staff working in the broad area of peacebuilding and conflict, both as policy and practitioners, rarely have sufficient knowledge of education. In contrast, education advisers and practitioners normally have a strong background in education, but little training and confidence in engaging in debates over conflict and peacebuilding and the role of education therein. This leads both communities to remain in silos, and therefore results in missed opportunities for integrating insights from the two sectors, with potentially mutually beneficial outcomes.

Thirdly, a further tension lies between the humanitarian, development and security sectors, each of which has different logics and agendas that intersect with education in complex ways (c.f the recent Brookings report of Winthrop and Matsui, 2013). While progress has been made in recognising education's role and potential in the humanitarian phase (during and in the immediate aftermath of conflict), it remains perceived as marginal to the core business of shelter, food and medical attention. This is both an issue of priorities and also timing, with education being seen as a long-term goal, not a short-term imperative. The security sector similarly sees education as a marginal component and something that can wait until later, in the post-conflict development phase. Meanwhile, while the development sector sees education as central to objectives of pro-poor growth, it often remains framed in terms of its economic potential (human capital), while its role in social cohesion and other broader dimensions of social justice is often underplayed. Compounding

the problem here is that while in the past it was thought that each of these sectors operated in different time frames, increasingly in many conflict-affected contexts, humanitarian, security and development sectors are often operating simultaneously, but as the UNICEF review finds (Novelli & Smith, 2012), not necessarily in a complementary manner. They are also imbued with different resources, with the security sector being the most powerful, due to its links to both defence and diplomacy departments. In this scenario, better collaboration and co-ordination might lead to domination by one sector over others rather than complementing different sectoral priorities (Novelli, 2009).

Fourthly, another challenge coming from the research (Novelli et al, 2014) is the difference between the 'global education agenda' and the distinctive needs of conflict-affected societies affected by and emerging out of conflict. The global education agenda is focused on Education For All, Universal Primary Education, the education Millennium Development Goals and current discussions on Sustainable Development Goals, and is most strongly influenced by concerns related to economic productivity and efficiency. However, post-conflict societies may require a much greater focus on education's potential to address inequalities and to prioritise interventions that favour the promotion of social cohesion and reconciliation. Linked to the above is a disconnection between the potential of education to contribute to broad societal change and more narrowly defined education policies and programmes. As a result of this mismatch, education policy and programmes are sometimes framed within technical parameters that bypass pivotal peace-related issues in post-conflict societies, including the rectification of economic, political, social and cultural inequalities and recognition of the identities of marginalised groups. This requires new thinking on what a conflict-sensitive peacebuilding education might look like, and necessarily requires a context-sensitive approach that builds on the specific political economy and conflict dynamics of each country and how education might support broader peacebuilding goals.

Fifthly, and linked to the previous points, is a disconnection between various national government departments (e.g., ministries responsible for justice, youth, gender, employment, land rights) and between these and the education departments (mirroring the lack of coordination at global levels). This disconnection results in an absence of cross-sector collaboration to leverage change that would address inter-sectoral issues in which education is a component of a broader peacebuilding agenda.

Sixthly**,** a recurring message within the literature points to the failure of 'state-centric' approaches by international actors to connect to the agency of local actors within civil society and sub-national contexts. This failure limits or undermines the scope for capitalising on the knowledge and peacebuilding practices of local actors, as well as for responding to their educational needs and aspirations. It also creates a disjuncture between a rigid supply of education and flexible/varied community demands for educational provision.

Finally, and emerging from much of our own work, there is clear evidence of strong imbalances of power between actors operating at different geographical scales. This is reflected in tensions between agenda setting, national policy formulation and implementation phases of the policy cycle, with a strong sense of global agendas trumping national priorities, and local needs becoming marginalised and side-lined. Realities and priorities appear highly divergent and while we can clearly see and trace global policies filtering downward through the policy cycle, evidence of upward

feedback loops, reflecting more bottom-up participation and prioritisation, are less prevalent (Novelli et al, 2014).

From a Critique of the Field to a Critical Methodological Approach

Having laid out some of the research and policy challenges for the field of education and peacebuilding, we now move on to reflect on what we can extract from these insights to develop a methodological approach to the research ahead of us.

Firstly, we feel that an interdisciplinary, and inter-sectoral approach to the research is necessary precisely because education and peacebuilding and its potential is effected both from within the sector and without. That is to say, we need to move beyond 'educationism' and the idea that we can understand education from within itself and recognise that education policy, systems, programmes and practices are embedded in a complex local, national and global political economies that both shape and are shaped by this relationship (Dale, 2005; Robertson and Dale, 2009; 2014).

Secondly, we need a methodological approach that neither reifies nor privileges local, national or global geographical scales and instead seeks to develop a framework for understanding the complex relationships between scales and interrogates multi-scalar relationships. That is to say that we seek to avoid drifting into either 'modernisation theories' blindness towards exogenous factors or dependency theories equally myopic avoidance of endogenous factors. This requires tracing policies, practices and power across local, national and global actors and factors to better understand education and peacebuilding activities. That is to say we need a multi-scalar approach.

Thirdly, we need a methodological approach that is highly sensitive and attentive to the particular contexts within which the research is taking place. This requires the research to be located within a well developed political economy and conflict analysis of the particular places and spaces under analysis, but also to recognise culture as being centrally embedded in these analyses. Here, we refer to issues related to ethnicity, gender, cultural and religious heritage and civilizational issues (see Robertson and Dale, 2013). This leads us to adopt a critical cultural political economy approach (Jessop, 2005; Robertson and Dale 2014;), which seeks to bridge materialist, and post-structuralist approaches to understanding political economy, recognising the complex interplay between language/culture and the interconnected materialities of economics and politics within wider social formations. We believe that such a *critical cultural political economy of education* analysis can provide a comprehensive framework to help understand: firstly, how the relationship between education and peacebuilding is articulated discursively and materially through social relations, experiences, and practices (the cultural); secondly, the ways in which education and peacebuilding fit into relations of production, distribution and exchange in society (the economic); and thirdly, the fashion in which an agenda promoting education's links to peacebuilding has been determined and subsequently governed (the political).

Fourthly, we need to address the problematic nature of the term 'peacebuilding' itself – which often appears to be used for a wide variety of purposes and activities: maintaining security, ensuring stabilization, or more transformational processes. This reflects the contested nature of the concept, and the historical evolution of debates regarding peacebuilding, particularly related to Galtung's

(1974) notions of negative and positive peace, and the very different agendas of actors involved in 'peacebuilding' across the world. For some actors, particularly those working from a humanitarian or security-first approach, peacebuilding denotes a very narrow set of activities aimed at ensuring post-conflict stability in the immediate aftermath of conflict. For others, peacebuilding represents a much more transformational agenda that takes place over a much longer time span (for a review of approaches see Heathershaw 2009; Richmond et al 2011). Clearly, while acknowledging actors approaches might be situated along a continuum, dependent on one's conceptualization of peacebuilding, education's role might look very different. These different discursive and often context-specific understandings of peacebuilding are important to explore, as the different actors pursuing disparate interpretations are unequal in power and influence. Due to this highly contested nature of peacebuilding, we have found it necessary to develop a normative framework for what we consider to be the core dimensions of a 'just' post-conflict society heading towards sustainable peace. This links social justice dimensions of Redistribution, Recognition and Representation (building on Nancy Fraser's work (c.f. Fraser, 2005)) together with post-conflict issues of Reconciliation to produce a '4Rs' framework through which we can analyse our research topics. While normative, the approach aims to be broad and inclusive, and recognise that each of these dimensions needs to be 'translated' and embedded in particular local and national geographies.

In summary, drawing upon these insights, we seek to develop a normative ,interdisciplinary, multi-scalar, cultural political economy approach to researching education and peacebuilding. In the next section we develop in greater detail the '4 Rs' framework, which will act as our overarching analytical framework for exploring the 3 thematic research areas.

Education for Sustainable Peacebuilding: The Four R's

The overarching rationale for the work of the research partnership is underpinned by a broad definition of what constitutes the long-term objective of education and peacebuilding interventions – the goal of sustainable peacebuilding, and the role and potential of education therein. The concept of peacebuilding has become an increasingly slippery term, deployed by a range of actors for a wide range of political projects (Barnett et al, 2007). This led us to think through and develop what might be the broad components of a socially just 'post-conflict society' and from that we have developed the '4R' approach incorporating dimensions of **redistribution, recognition, representation** and **reconciliation**.

Our starting point begins with addressing the idea of social justice, and recognising the long-standing debates in both academia and the policy field on what justice 'should be' (Lauderdale, 1998, in Zwarteveen and Boelens, 2014: 146). We align ourselves with a range of political-philosophical theoretical scholars, who aim to move beyond: 1) the historical positivist (neo-)liberal and utilitarian interpretations of justice (Hayek, 1944; Friedman, 1962; and Bentham, 1781/1988, as cited in Zwarteveen and Boelens, 2014: 146); and 2) the legal and uniform interpretations of justice building on the influential work of Rawls (1971, as cited in Zwarteveen and Boelens, 2014). As these theories mainly focused on abstract and universal models of redistribution to address inequality, they essentially failed to take into account the experiences and claims coming from marginalised groups in society (Zwarteveen and Boelens, 2014: 147), and left out a proper analysis of the social, cultural and political conditions that underlie unequal distributions in the first place. What is needed instead, is a conceptualisation of justice that is historically informed, relational and place-based in nature (Zwarteveen and Boelens, 2014), which in our view is what Fraser's model to a large extent offers to us.

Building then on Nancy Fraser's (2005) work, we position education's potential transformative role as inherently connected to and embedded within processes of social justice and societal transformation. Fraser, philosopher by training and departing from, but not limited to, a critical feminist perspective, asserts that a socially just society would entail 'parity of participation'. In order to ensure 'participation on par with others, as full partners in social interaction' (Fraser 2005: 73), one should not only assume the economic solution of *redistribution* of resources and opportunities, but also include socio-cultural remedies for better *recognition* and political *representation*. In addition, we argue that for conflict-affected and post-conflict contexts, there is a need for processes of *reconciliation*, so that historic and present tensions, grievances and injustices are dealt with to build a more sustainable peaceful society. Important to note here is that, in line with Fraser's line of thought, the dimensions of these four Rs are separated here for analytical purposes, but in reality are very much interlinked. In addition, we also need to acknowledge how internal relations between these R's can be of a reinforcing or conflictive nature.[3]

[3] For example, as *recognition* of formerly excluded ethnic languages in education, combined with a *redistribution* of resources to train teachers and develop material to enhance this process, could potentially lead to better *representation* of ethnic minority graduates in decision-making positions (at school governance level, or later on in political positions), this opening up of a diversity of languages might (depending on the context) potentially hinder processes of *reconciliation* as in reality some minority languages might be included

Hence, we start from Frasers' theory and adapt it according to various insights of scholars working on: 1) the relation between peacebuilding, reconciliation and social justice (Hamber and Kelly, 2004) and 2) the relation between education and social justice (Young, 2006; Connell, 2012; Keddie, 2012; Robertson and Dale, 2013).

Fraser characterised two types of remedies to social injustices including "affirmative remedies", which correct outcomes without changing structural frameworks or the status quo; and "transformative remedies", correcting outcomes by restructuring the underlying generative framework (Fraser, 1995: 82, 86). We contend that when education applies these multidimensional solutions to injustices, it can effectively contribute to what Fraser termed a "transformative remedy". We see this transformative emphasis as closely connected to the notion of 'sustainable peacebuilding', or what Galtung (1975, in Smith et al, 2011: 12-13) identified as building a positive peace, being: "the absence of structural violence, the presence of social justice and the conditions to eliminate the causes of violence". Our basic claim here is that education can play an important (yet not exclusive or stand-alone) role in fostering positive peace and justice, which are necessary to transform the root causes of conflict. Hence, our analytical model includes a continuum that ranges from negative peace, or the mere absence of violence, to positive peace on the other end. This continuum provides us then with a normative scale, or lens, through which we will be able to analyse and review the empirical data.

With the goal to make education available to all children around the globe, the Education For All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the 1990s and 2000s underpin the relation between education and social justice as a fundamental right (Shah and Lopes Cardozo, 2014). Robertson and Dale (2013: 4) argue how this focus on social justice has been a fairly meagre one, as it over-emphasised the distribution of access, but paid less attention to other important dimensions of social justice. 'Education governance frameworks therefore, both intrinsically and necessarily, have social justice implications in that they structure, and are 'strategically selective' (Jessop, 2005) of, some interests, life chances and social trajectories over others' (Robertson and Dale, 2013: 3). Keddie (2012) – although focusing primarily on 'western' education systems in less conflict-prone environments – also attempts to apply Fraser's three-dimensional model to address educational injustices. While acknowledging some of the critiques and debates around Fraser's work, Keddie convincingly claims that "Fraser's model should not be offered as an ideal of justice that is static and uncomplicated but rather as a productive lens for thinking about and addressing some of the key ways in which different dimensions of injustice are currently hindering the schooling participation, engagement and outcomes of marginalised students" (2012: 15). Furthermore, Tikly and Barrett (2011: 3-4) argue that in developing contexts a social justice approach, drawing on the work of Fraser and Sen, "can provide a fuller rationale for a policy focus on education quality than that provided by a human capital approach with its emphasis on economic growth or by the existing human rights approach with its emphasis on the role of the state in guaranteeing basic rights". For the purpose of our analysis, we apply these insights to studying injustices in and through education in conflict-affected regions, where socio-cultural, political and economic inequalities are often at the root of tensions and violence.

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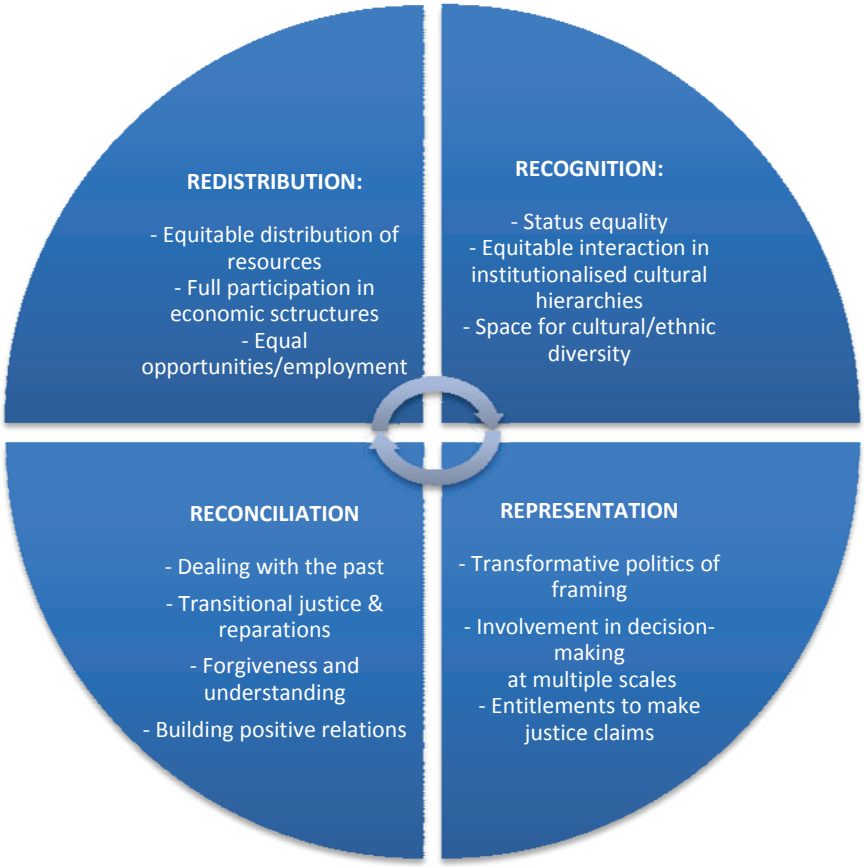
as a language of instruction, while others might not make it, creating resentment among various groups of students.

Our analytical framework contends that: 1) sustainable peacebuilding is dependent on societal transformations; 2) that social sectors (including education, but also for instance health) play a crucial role in such processes; and 3) that such processes involve not just the three "Rs" as suggested by Fraser, but a combination of four "Rs" (Figure 1). As stated above, we emphasise the porous boundaries between these four Rs. Although for analytical purposes we find it useful to develop these four dimensions, we want to emphasise from the onset that there are naturally close connections and overlap between these four.

The first "R" of *redistribution* provides a range of 'remedies' to social injustices caused by unequal distribution of resources, exclusive systems of participation in economic structures and a lack of equal (educational, health, employment etc.) opportunities. The second "R" of *recognition* entails possible solutions to injustices that have to do with status inequalities, that prevent some people from equal or full interaction in institutionalised cultural hierarchies, often related to little acceptance or space for cultural, ethnic, linguistic, racial, gender, age or other diversities. Thirdly, the "R" for *representation* leads us to analyse the (absence of) transformative politics of framing at multiple scales (global, national, local), and leading to this the (un)equal participation in decision-making or claim-making processes of all citizens (Fraser, 2005). The fourth "R" is for *reconciliation*, a process which is crucial for (post-)conflict societies to prevent a relapse into conflict and incorporates education's role in dealing with the past and historical memory, truth and reparations, transitional justice processes, issues related to bringing communities together, processes of forgiving and healing and the broader processes of social and psycho-social healing (see Hamber, 2007; 2009).

Figure 1: The Four Rs



In our endeavour to develop a 'peace with justice' analytical model relevant for the analysis of peacebuilding and education in conflict-affected contexts, we find that a 'relational dimension' of reconciliation is needed.

We view that as we 'add' the fourth R of reconciliation to an existing framework, we need to elaborate a bit more on how we can understand and include reconciliation in a sustainable peacebuilding model, and how it connects to the other three Rs. We draw here on a useful and dynamic definition developed by Hamber and Kelly (2004), who see reconciliation in post-conflict environments as 'a process of addressing conflictual and fractured relationships', through 'voluntary acts that cannot be imposed'. Reconciliation should also be considered a paradoxical process, as on the one hand it 'promotes an encounter between the open expression of the painful past', while on the other hand, it 'seeks a long-term, interdependent future' (Lederach, 1997, as cited in Hamber and Kelly, 2004).

Hamber and Kelly (2004) further define a set of five interconnected 'strands' of reconciliation. These include, firstly, the development of a shared vision of an interdependent and fair society. Secondly, reconciliation entails the acknowledging and dealing with the past. Here we can observe a potential role for education in providing or supporting "mechanisms for justice, healing, restitution or

reparation, and restoration (including apologies if necessary and steps aimed at redress)". According to Hamber and Kelly, individuals and institutions can acknowledge their role in historical conflicts, and by doing so accept and learn from it in a constructive way, to avoid a relapse into conflict (2004). Thirdly, and further clarifying the relational dimension, is the need to build positive relationships, that address "issues of trust, prejudice and intolerance". Fourthly and fifthly, the authors point to the need of significant cultural and attitudinal change, as well as substantial social, economic and political change. Finally, we recognize the 'warning' of Hamber and Kelly (2004) who claim that reconciliation as a concept is always influenced by people's underlying assumptions or (religious, political, economic or other) ideologies. Hence, in our own understanding of reconciliation as part of our analytical framework, we recognise the need to develop contextualized, locally defined and historically informed understandings of what reconciliation could/should mean in the very different contexts under study. In summarizing this short elaboration of the four R's that constitute our model of analysis for this research consortium, there are four important key messages we want to highlight (see textbox 1).

Applying the Four R's to Analyse Relation between Education and Peacebuilding

So what does such an analytical framework mean for examining the relations between education and peacebuilding processes? Sustainable peacebuilding should not just be conceptualised as a means 'to education' (access), but also 'in and through' education – or how teaching and learning processes and outcomes reproduce certain (socio-economic, cultural and political) inequalities (Keddie, 2012) and can therefore either stand in the way or reinforce processes of reconciliation. Here, we recognise Bush and Sartarelli's (2000) influential report, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* which suggests that restoring educational provision after conflict is insufficient if the goal is to promote positive peace. While education has the *potential* to serve such a role in post-conflict societies (what they call the *positive face* of education); it can equally do more harm than good (the *negative face*). Hence, we now look into how we can apply the Four R's analytical model to look at specific and contextualised 'educational problems' in conflict-affected situations.

Textbox 1: Four key messages for the 4 Rs framework

Our Theoretical framework contends that:

1. A sustainable approach to peacebuilding places more emphasis on social development and addresses underlying causes of conflict such as political, economic and social inequalities and injustices.

2. Education has a significant contribution to make to sustainable peacebuilding by contributing to greater security, as well as political, economic, social and cultural 'transformations' within conflict affected societies.

3. 'Transformation' is defined in terms of the extent to which education policies, individual and institutional agency, and development programmes promote redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation.

4. We need to acknowledge the politics and complexities at play in the close interconnections between the four R's.

Table 1: Applying the Analytic Framework to Education

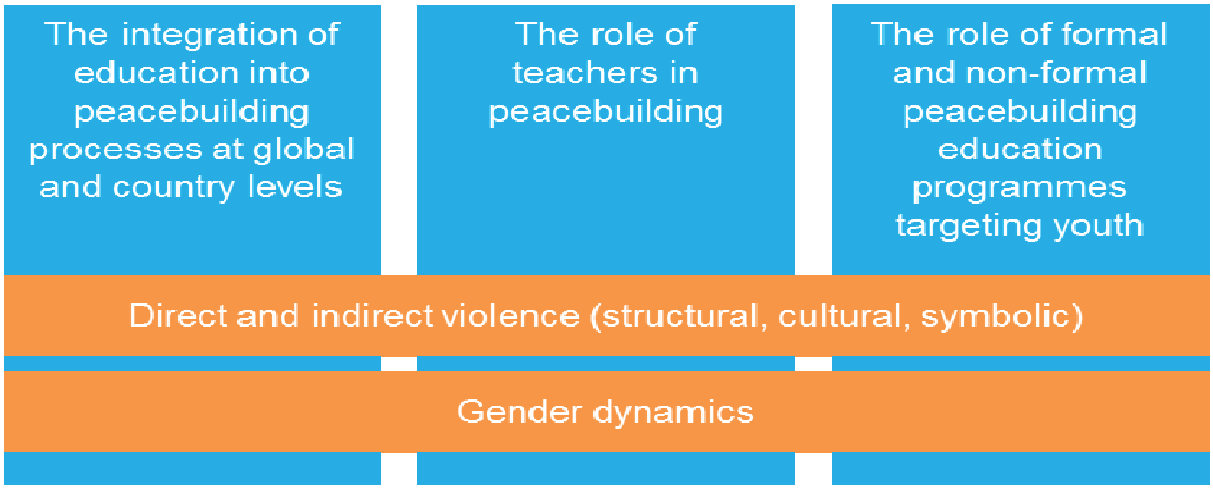
	To what extent is education contributing towards sustainable peacebuilding (4Rs)? **Potential 'indicators' for a mixed methods approach**
Redistribution (addressing inequalities)	Quantitative analysis of existing data to examine vertical and horizontal inequalities relevant to education inputs, resources and outcomes. Analysis of macro education reforms or policies to see if they are redistributive, for example, the impact of decentralisation, privatisation and how they impact different groups and affect conflict dynamics.
Recognition (respecting difference)	Language of instruction polices; Recognition of cultural diversity through curriculum; Place of religious identity in the education system; Citizenship and civic education as a means of state-building.
Representation (ensuring participation)	Extent to which education policy and reforms are produced through participation (local, national, global); Analysis of political control and representation through the administration of education; School governance, school based management, involvement in decision making (teachers, parents, students); Extent to which education system supports fundamental freedoms.
Reconciliation (dealing with past, present and future injustices)	Extent to which historical and contemporary economic, political and cultural injustices that underpin conflict are addressed in/through education (e.g. quota systems, school relocation, textbooks, teacher allocation) Analysis of how education contributes to integration and segregation (social cohesion, shared or separate institutions); Teaching about the past and its relevance to the present and future; Levels of trust – vertical (trust in schools and the education system) and horizontal (trust between different identity-based groups).

A number of important aspects emerge when exploring the four interrelated Rs. Importantly for *redistribution*, but not limited to this dimension, are aspects of equal access for *all* students in society to a safe journey to and stay in their learning environment. Once inside, the inclusion of *all* students, regardless of any identifying characteristic (age, gender, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, race, language, class, etc.), also means including formerly marginalised or disadvantaged groups (an aspect that is also connected to *reconciliation*). The affirmation and *recognition* of learners' diversity and everyone's learning needs in educational processes, structures and content can be defined as 'curricular justice' (Connell, 2012). This aspect of *recognition* is strongly related to the *redistributive* aspect of equality of both opportunities and outcomes for children and youth of different groups in society. The structure and content that feeds into pedagogical/learning processes is then again connected to both *reconciliation* (e.g. if/how history is taught, or if attitudinal change is part of an educational initiative), as well as to aspects of *representation* (e.g. are learners made aware of their various rights and responsibilities as citizens, and if/how/why are (certain) political and conflict-related issues discussed/negated). Issues around *representation* further extend into the levels of actual 'equitable participation' of various stakeholders involved, including teachers, students, youth, parents or community members at the grassroots level. Often, the actual decision-making power is related to allocation, use and *(re)distribution* of human and material resources (Young, 2006; Robertson and Dale, 2013).

Conclusions

Within this overall theoretical framework the aims of the partnership are to provide deeper insight into a number of key thematic areas related to the relationship between education and peacebuilding. The consortium will focus on three areas of study, including 1) the integration of education into peacebuilding at global and country level and vice-versa; 2) the role of teachers in peacebuilding; and 3) the role of (non)formal peacebuilding education programmes focusing on youth agency. In addition, cross-cutting the three research areas will be two thematic areas: 1) direct and indirect violence (structural, cultural, symbolic); and 2) gender dynamics in terms of the different impact and consequences of conflict for girls, boys and adults that might be addressed through education policies and programming (Table 2).

Table 2. Consortium RAs and thematic areas that cut across the RAs



The task that then lies ahead for the research teams working on each of the thematic areas is to develop a methodological approach which draws upon the analytical and theoretical model outlined above but tailors it to the specific needs of their theme and that is relevant to their particular countries. This will hopefully allow us to produce high quality and policy relevant cross-country thematic studies whilst facilitating comparative analysis between the themes to draw out broader implications for the challenges, roles and possibilities for education's contribution to supporting sustainable peacebuilding.

Finally, we want to acknowledge the developing nature of this framework. To a certain extent, the fact that this Research Consortium is co-led by three Europeans universities mirrors the current (epistemological and material) power imbalance within the education and development/conflict field. As we develop our partnerships with national researchers and institutions in the research countries; engage with Ministry of Education and development practitioners, civil society actors and organisations, and dialogue between country contexts we hope to refine, develop and transform the framework so that it better reflects the combined knowledges emergent from the research process. In that sense, we approach theory-making as a non-static process that is informed and reshaped through empirical fieldwork and findings (Dale, 2010), and hence this framework as theory-building in progress.

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Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR), University of Amsterdam

The AISSR Programme Group Governance and Inclusive Development (http://aissr.uva.nl/programme-groups/item/governance-and-inclusive-development.html) consists of an interdisciplinary team of researchers focusing on issues relating to global and local issues of governance and development. The Research Cluster Governance of Education, Development and Social Justice focuses on multilevel politics of education and development, with a specific focus on processes of peacebuilding in relation to socio-economic, political and cultural (in)justices. The research group since 2006 has maintained a particular research focus on education, conflict and peacebuilding, as part of its co-funded 'IS Academie' research project with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Centre for International Education, University of Sussex

The Centre for International Education (CIE) (www.sussex.ac.uk/education/cie) was founded in 1989 on the premise that education is a basic human right that lies at the heart of development processes aimed at social justice, equity, social and civic participation, improved wellbeing, health, economic growth and poverty reduction. It is recognised as one of the premiere research centres working on education and international development in Europe. The Centre has also secured a prestigious UK ESRC/DFID grant to carry out research on the Role of Teachers in Peacebuilding in Conflict Affected Contexts, which aligns directly with the research strategy of the PBEA programme and will form part of the broader research partnership.

UNESCO Centre at Ulster University

Established in 2002 the UNESCO Centre (www.unescocentre.ulster.ac.uk) at the University of Ulster provides specialist expertise in education, conflict and international development. It builds on a strong track record of research and policy analysis related to education and conflict in Northern Ireland. Over the past ten years the UNESCO Centre has increasingly used this expertise in international development contexts, working with DFID, GiZ, Norad, Save the Children, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank, providing research on education and social cohesion, the role of education in reconciliation and analysis of aid to education in fragile and conflict affected situations.

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