UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

The 4Rs Framework: Analyzing Education's Contribution to Sustainable Peacebuilding with Social Justice in Conflict-Affected Contexts

Novelli, M.; Lopes Cardozo, M.T.A.; Smith, A.

DOI
10.17609/N8S94K

Publication date
2017

Document Version
Final published version

Published in
Journal on Education in Emergencies

License
CC BY-NC

Link to publication

Citation for published version (APA):
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. https://doi.org/10.17609/N8S94K

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:18 Nov 2026

THE 4RS FRAMEWORK: ANALYZING EDUCATION'S CONTRIBUTION TO SUSTAINABLE PEACEBUILDING WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE IN CONFLICT-AFFECTED CONTEXTS

Mario Novelli, Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo, and Alan Smith[1]

ABSTRACT

This paper lays out a theoretical and analytical framework for researching and reflecting on the peacebuilding role of education in conflict-affected contexts. The 4Rs framework recognizes that working toward "positive peace" (Galtung 1976, 1990) requires working toward peace with social justice and reconciliation, challenging dominant "security-first" and "liberal peace" models, and gaining a better understanding of how education might support these processes in building sustainable and peaceful postconflict societies. The 4Rs framework combines dimensions of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation to explore what sustainable peacebuilding might look like through a social justice lens. The paper addresses the cultural translation of these concepts, highlighting the need for locally embedded interpretations. Rather than a fixed theoretical model, the 4Rs approach is designed as a heuristic device that promotes a dialogue among key stakeholders on the dilemmas and challenges in the field of education in emergencies. We highlight the application of a 4Rs framework through a recent case study of Myanmar, which demonstrates both the interrelated connections and the tensions between the different "Rs." Finally, we reflect on the challenges and limitations of the approach, and the tasks ahead.

Received January 22, 2016; revised September 30, 2016, and December 21, 2016; accepted January 30, 2017; electronically published July 2017.

Journal on Education in Emergencies, Vol. 3, No. 1
Copyright © 2017 by the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE). All rights reserved.
ISSN 2518-6833

1 Corresponding authors: t.a.lopescardozo@uva.nl; m.novelli@sussex.ac.uk; a.smith@ulster.ac.uk

INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE OF THE 4RS FRAMEWORK

While education is a core demand of communities affected by conflict and a crucial element in recovering from war and building sustainable peace at various levels, it is often seen as a soft measure that can be put aside. As such, it remains of marginal concern to the major United Nations and other international agencies tasked with promoting peacebuilding. Responding to this reasoning, several nongovernmental and governmental actors have campaigned for the contrary view: that education cannot wait, especially not in contexts ravaged by conflict and other types of emergencies. We extend this broader argument that education cannot wait by focusing on the crucial role education plays in promoting sustainable peacebuilding. The overarching rationale for our approach is underpinned by a broad definition of the long-term objective of education and peacebuilding interventions—that is, promoting peace with social justice and reconciliation—as well as the role education can play therein.

Previous research has led us to recognize that working toward "positive peace" (Galtung 1976, 1990) requires working toward peace with social justice and gaining a better understanding of how education might support these processes in building sustainable and peaceful postconflict societies. It also has made us aware of the complex challenges faced by policy-makers and practitioners who are seeking to expand the role of education in peacebuilding activities. In this article, we build on our previous work on the role of education in peacebuilding (Smith 2005; Novelli and Lopes Cardozo 2008, 2012; Smith, McCandless, Paulson, and Wheaton 2011; Novelli and Lopes Cardozo 2012; Novelli, Valiente, Higgins, and Ugur 2014; Lopes Cardozo and Hoeks 2014; Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, and Valiente 2014; Lopes Cardozo and Shah 2016) by presenting an analytical model that reaches beyond academic analytical relevance. This model tends to be of more practical use in the planning and evaluation phases of policy and programming in social service delivery.

This model was specifically developed as part of the work of the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, which was supported by UNICEF's Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy (PBEA) program between July 2014 and June 2016. The work was led by the universities of Amsterdam, Sussex, and Ulster and co-directed by the authors of this article.[2] The consortium, which sought

2 The consortium has emerged out of a longstanding relationship between the authors, UNICEF, and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs that stretches back to 2006. The UNICEF PBEA program is a $200 million, four-year partnership (2012-2016) between UNICEF, the Government of the Netherlands, the national governments of 14 participating countries, and other key supporters.

to gain knowledge on the relationship between education and peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts, carried out research in Myanmar, Pakistan, South Africa, and Uganda. The research focused on three key thematic areas: (1) the integration of education in UN peacebuilding missions and frameworks, and the integration of peacebuilding in national education systems, policies, and programs; (2) teachers' role in peacebuilding in contexts of conflict; and (3) education's role in peacebuilding initiatives that involve youth in contexts of conflict. The research, which was completed in partnership with colleagues in each of the participating countries, aimed to contribute to theory and practice in the field of education and peacebuilding, and to develop theoretically informed, policy-relevant outputs (Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding 2014).

To lay the foundation for the discussion that follows, we first need to address the problematic nature of the term "peacebuilding" itself, which has become an increasingly slippery term that is employed by a variety of actors for a wide range of political projects: maintaining security, ensuring stabilization, and other, more transformational processes (Barnett, Kim, O'Donnell, and Sitea 2007). This reflects the contested nature of the concept and the historical evolution of debates regarding peacebuilding, particularly as related to Galtung's (1976) notions of negative and positive peace, and the different agendas of actors involved in peacebuilding across the world.[3] For some actors, particularly those working from a humanitarian or security-first approach, peacebuilding denotes a narrow set of activities aimed at ensuring stability in the immediate aftermath of a conflict. For others, peacebuilding represents a more transformational agenda that takes place over a much longer timespan (for a review of approaches, see Heathershaw 2008; Richmond, Björkdahl, and Kappler 2011). Clearly, while acknowledging that actors' approaches are situated along a continuum, the role education plays might look very different, depending on various conceptualizations of peacebuilding. These different discursive and often context-specific understandings of peacebuilding are important, as the various actors pursuing disparate interpretations have unequal power and influence.

Due to the highly contested nature of peacebuilding, we have found it necessary to develop a normative framework for what we consider the core dimensions of a "socially just" postconflict society that is heading toward sustainable peace and

3 Galtung (1976) introduced an important distinction between negative peace (the absence of violence) and positive peace (the absence of structural violence and the conditions for war). He distinguishes between three forms of violence. Direct violence refers to physical injury inflicted on another human being. Structural violence is more indirect, is built into the structures of society, and shows up as social injustice and unequal life chances. Cultural violence involves any cultural norms, beliefs, and traditions that make other types of violence seem legitimate, accepted, normal, or natural.

reconciliation. In our approach to sustainable peacebuilding, we argue for a greater emphasis on social development—including education—to address the underlying causes of conflict, such as political, economic, and sociocultural inequality and injustice. Political, economic, social, and cultural transformation are needed in conflict-affected societies to support positive peace, and to address rather than reproduce or sustain the injustice and inequality that largely drive conflicts. "Transformations" are described in terms of the extent to which education policies, individual and institutional agency, and development programs promote the social justice dimensions of redistribution, recognition, and representation, as defined by Nancy Fraser (2005), complimented by postconflict issues of reconciliation (Lederach 1995, 1997; Hamber 2007, 2009). These four elements constitute our 4Rs framework.

We contend that, when education applies these multidimensional elements to injustice, it can contribute effectively to what Fraser terms a transformative remedy. Rather than overcoming social injustice with so-called affirmative remedies, which correct outcomes without changing structural frameworks or the status quo, Fraser (1995, 82, 86) argues for transformative remedies that correct outcomes by restructuring the underlying generative framework. We see this transformative emphasis as closely connected to the notion of sustainable peacebuilding. Our basic claim is that education can play an important role in fostering positive peace and social justice, both of 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 on one end, to positive peace on the other end. This continuum provides us with a normative scale or lens that we can use to analyze and review education and peacebuilding policies and programs. While normative, our 4Rs model aims to be broad and inclusive, and to recognize that each of these dimensions needs to be "translated" and embedded in particular local and national geographies, which we further elaborate in later sections.

In other words, by developing and applying this 4Rs framework, we claim that the key postconflict transformations needed to produce sustainable peace—or, as Galtung (1990) refers to it, positive peace—involve redistribution, recognition, and representation. These factors, together with issues of postconflict reconciliation that are linked to transitional justice and dealing with the legacies of conflict, will help bring about greater social justice, as suggested by Fraser (2005). We highlight these four key messages in Textbox 1.

TEXTBOX 1: FOUR KEY MESSAGES FROM THE 4RS FRAMEWORK

Our theoretical framework contends the following:

- A sustainable approach to peacebuilding emphasizes social development and addresses the underlying causes of conflict, such as political, economic, and sociocultural inequality and injustice.
- Education can make a significant contribution to sustainable peacebuilding by providing greater security, as well as political, economic, social, and cultural transformations within conflict-affected societies.
- Transformation refers to the extent to which education policies, individual and institutional agency, and development programs promote redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation—the 4Rs.
- We need to acknowledge the politics and other complex factors at play in the close interconnections among the 4Rs.

We have developed the 4Rs approach as a heuristic device that supports the process of design, data collection, and analysis in order to reflect on the dilemmas and contradictions inherent in supporting the positive role education plays in peacebuilding. Our aim is that this framework will spark a dialogue among key stakeholders and be adapted in ways relevant to each cultural, political, and economic context.

This article has a threefold structure. We first critique the dominant "security-first" and "liberal peace" peacebuilding models by showing how they fail to support positive peace, and then lay out the potential, and the challenges, for education to play a greater role in peacebuilding processes. Second, we propose an alternative theoretical and analytical model that puts education at the center of building sustainable peace with social justice. We identify how the 4Rs framework combines dimensions of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation, and examine the work of Nancy Fraser (1995, 2005), Johan Galtung (1976, 1990), and John Paul Lederach (1995, 1997), among others, to demonstrate what sustainable peacebuilding might look like in postconflict environments. And third, we

illustrate the methodological opportunities and challenges in applying this model to the work of the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding and to a recent case study of Myanmar. This third section aims to operationalize our analytical framework in practical terms by critically analyzing education policy and programs to show the interrelated connections and tensions among the 4Rs. We close by reflecting on the importance of theory-building and development in the field of education in emergencies.

EDUCATION AND PEACEBUILDING: FROM A CRITIQUE OF THE FIELD TO A CRITICAL METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In this section, we analyze the shortcomings of the hegemonic approaches that currently dominate the field of peacebuilding, namely, the security-first and liberal peace theses. We then contrast these with the theoretical literature that informed our rethinking of what sustainable peacebuilding could look like and helped to shape the theoretical and methodological approach that frames our research on education and peacebuilding.

As described above, one's approach to peacebuilding depends on one's conceptualization of it, which concurrently informs the role one foresees for social development in these processes, including education. Importantly, there is clear evidence of an imbalance of power between actors operating on different geographical scales. This is reflected in tensions between setting agendas, formulating national policy, and implementing phases of the policy cycle. There is a strong sense of global agendas trumping national priorities, while local needs are marginalized and sidelined. Realities and priorities appear to be highly divergent, and while we can clearly trace global policies that filter downward through the policy cycle, evidence of upward feedback that reflects more bottom-up participation is less prevalent (Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, and Valiente 2014). One example of this is the security-first agenda, which 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 Castañeda (2009), this can be conceptualized as a "trickle-down" approach to peace, where the aim is to first achieve a negative peace (cessation of violence) and to then introduce representative democracy. The idea is that these two factors will encourage foreign direct investment and lead to economic growth. However, just as trickle-down economics failed to reach many of the

most vulnerable populations in the 1980s when the International Monetary Fund and World Bank promoted structural adjustment policies, it is now not clear that trickle-down peace is a sufficiently robust development model to reach the most marginalized populations. It may in fact "contain the seeds of continuing insecurity" (Duffield 1998, 10; see also Paris 2004; Pugh, Cooper, and Turner 2011; Richmond and Mitchell 2012). This global agenda frames much of the international discourse on peacebuilding and, according to Paris (2010), has received wide-ranging critiques over the past decade. 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 understand why UN peacebuilding programs' investment in the social services—health, education, and welfare—lags behind investment in promoting security and democracy (McCandless 2011).

The prioritization of security and the marginalization of education were evidenced in a three-country UNICEF study of the relationship between education and peacebuilding in Sierra Leone, Lebanon, and Nepal (Smith, McCandless, Paulson, and Wheaton 2011; Zakharia 2011; Novelli 2011a, 2011b; Vaux 2011; Novelli and Smith 2011). The findings of this study indicated that the major international actors involved in peacebuilding (UN Peacebuilding Support Office, Department for International Development, USAID, among others) prioritized security, democracy, and free market issues, particularly in the early to medium postconflict phases. They did so at the expense of social-sector spending. The rationale underpinning the prioritization of these issues is that security is the foundation on which development can occur. Denney (2011) notes the following in her research into Department for International Development activities in Sierra Leone:

> "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. (279)

Denney (2011) suggests that security and development do not occur symbiotically, that it instead appears increasingly that development has not followed security, which has led to the uncomfortable coexistence of security and what she terms "misery." Acknowledging this uneasy coexistence, the research conducted in Sierra

Leone, Lebanon, and Nepal suggests that, while security in postconflict situations is clearly important, it is not a sufficient condition to reach positive peace or support the social transformation necessary to ensure that peace is sustained (Novelli and Smith 2011).

The UNICEF literature review and case studies in Sierra Leone, Lebanon, and Nepal (Smith, McCandless, Paulson, and Wheaton 2011; Novelli and Smith 2011) demonstrate that, among agencies and practitioners working in the education sector, the concept of peacebuilding is often unclear, its relationship to education underdeveloped, and the concept often greeted with a degree of suspicion and skepticism. In Lebanon, for example, peacebuilding was often equated with the Arab-Israeli conflict and treated with the utmost suspicion (Novelli and Smith, 2011, 24). In both Lebanon and Nepal we also encountered, on the one hand, a highly reductionist view of education's role in peacebuilding that limited it to peace education or changing minds and behavior, rather than addressing the more structural issues of governance, equal access, and quality. On the other hand we encountered the acceptance of a paradoxically broad conceptualization that essentially equates all educational activities with peacebuilding without any analytical clarity, drawing instead on a generic and well-developed rights-based discourse. For example, several informants in Sierra Leone expressed the idea that all education provision was somehow related to peacebuilding, but there was little recognition of the damage education could do by exacerbating inequality and undermining peace (see Bush and Saltarelli 2000).

Interviewees across the case studies lacked a coherent vocabulary to differentiate between long-term, structural education interventions that contributed to peacebuilding (e.g., curriculum reform, reorganizing education funding to redress inequalities); short-term educational interventions that targeted particular conflict and security-related phenomena (e.g., the educational reintegration of child soldiers, refurbishing schools); and more specific thematic education interventions that supported reintegration, economic growth, social cohesion, etc., as part of broader peacebuilding interventions (e.g., technical and vocational education and training for ex-combatants). These previous studies imply that key staff working in the broad area of peacebuilding and conflict as both policymakers and practitioners rarely have sufficient knowledge of education. In contrast, education advisors and practitioners normally have a strong education background but little training in or sufficient confidence to debate the role of education in conflict and peacebuilding. There clearly is a need for greater understanding of the implications peacebuilding has for the different agencies involved in conflict-affected countries, and for a common language to discuss the components and parameters (Barnett, Kim,

O'Donnell, and Sitea 2007). The absence of such a language causes education and peacebuilding communities to remain in silos and results in missed opportunities for both sectors.

A further tension lies in this siloed approach between the humanitarian, development, and security sectors, each of which has its own logic and agenda that intersect with education in complex ways (see Winthrop and Matsui 2013). While progress has been made in recognizing education's potential role in the humanitarian conflict and postconflict phases, it still is perceived as peripheral to the core business of shelter, food, and medical attention. This is an issue of priorities and timing, with education seen not a short-term imperative but as a long-term goal. The security sector also sees education as a marginal component that can wait until the postconflict development phase. Meanwhile, although the development sector sees education as central to its objective of helping the poor, it often is 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. Although underpinned by somewhat different global agendas, the security and development sectors both tend to frame education's role narrowly by focusing on its market-oriented and productive outcomes, rather than on the more comprehensive sociocultural, political, and reconciliatory aspects of peacebuilding.

Compounding these problems is the fact that, while it was previously thought that the humanitarian, security, and development sectors each operated in a different timeframe, they are increasingly operating simultaneously in many conflict-affected contexts. However, as the UNICEF review finds (Novelli and Smith 2011), they do not necessarily operate in a complementary manner. They also have different resources, the security sector being the most powerful, due to its links to defense and diplomacy departments. Under these conditions, better collaboration and coordination might lead one sector to dominate others, rather than the different sectoral priorities being incorporated (Novelli 2010). A disconnect between various national government departments (e.g., ministries responsible for justice, youth, gender, employment, and land rights) and between these departments and education results in an absence of cross-sector collaboration to leverage change, which under other conditions could address intersectoral issues and make education a component of a broader peacebuilding agenda.

What this discussion so far highlights is the difference between the global education agenda and the distinct needs of societies that have been affected by and are emerging from conflict (Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, and Valiente 2014). The

global education agendas of Education For All, Universal Primary Education, and the Millennium Development Goals, while emphasizing equity, were strongly influenced by concerns about economic productivity and efficiency. While the Education For All and Millennium Development Goals of the 1990s and 2000s underpin the relation between education and social justice as a fundamental right (Shah and Lopes Cardozo 2014, 2015; Lopes Cardozo and Shah 2016), Robertson and Dale (2013) argue that this focus on social justice has been fairly meager. They claim it has over-emphasized the distribution of access and paid too little 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' . . . of, some interests, life chances and social trajectories over others" (3).

However, postconflict societies may demand putting greater focus on education's potential to address inequalities and prioritize interventions that favor the promotion of social cohesion and reconciliation, along with more economic approaches. Linked to this is a disconnect between education's potential to contribute to broad societal change and narrowly defined education policies and programs. As a result of this mismatch, education policy and programs are sometimes framed within technical parameters that bypass pivotal peace-related issues in postconflict societies, including the rectification of economic, political, social, and cultural inequalities within and between groups. The conceptual language adopted recently in the Sustainable Development Goals could open up a more comprehensive and intersectoral approach, yet it remains unclear whether creating separate goals will advance or sustain segregated work within silos.[4] More comprehensive approaches require new thinking on what a sustainable peacebuilding education might look like. They require a context-sensitive approach that builds on the specific political economy and conflict dynamics of each country, and on the ways education might support broader peacebuilding goals. We recognize Bush and Saltarelli's (2000) influential report, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* which suggests that simply restoring the provision of education after a conflict is insufficient if the goal is to promote positive peace. While education has the potential to play such a role in postconflict societies (what they call the positive face of education), it can also do harm (the negative face; see also Smith and Vaux 2003; Smith 2010; Shah and Lopes Cardozo 2015).

The 4Rs framework aims to stimulate this process of rethinking what policy and programmatic responses, and research initiatives, might look like if they move beyond a narrow technical framing of education to an approach that starts from a

4 The Sustainable Development Goals are a set of 17 global goals that have 169 targets between them.

more comprehensive 4Rs-inspired conflict analysis, while simultaneously planning for future outcomes that address the interconnected dimensions of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation. We therefore now turn to the theoretical tools that have inspired our own rethinking and development of this model, acknowledging that it is not a fixed model but a process of ongoing theory-building that needs thematic and context-specific adaptations.

A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH INSPIRED BY SOCIAL JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

In this section we address the idea of social justice, while also recognizing the longstanding 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 scholars who aim to move beyond (1) the historical positivist (neo)liberal and utilitarian interpretations of justice (Hayek 1944; Friedman 1962; Bentham, 1981, 1988, cited in Zwarteveen and Boelens 2014, 146); and (2) the legal and uniform interpretations of justice that build on the influential work of Rawls (1971, cited in Zwarteveen and Boelens 2014). In that these theories focus mainly on abstract and universal models of redistribution to address inequality, they essentially fail to take into account the experiences and claims of marginalized groups in society (Zwarteveen and Boelens 2014, 147) and leave out a proper analysis of the social, cultural, and political conditions that underlie unequal distribution in the first place. What is needed instead is a historically informed, relational, and place-based conceptualization of justice (Zwarteveen and Boelens 2014), which in our view is what Nancy Fraser's model to a large extent offers us.

Building on Fraser's (2005) work, we position the potentially transformative role education can play as inherently connected to and embedded in processes of social justice and societal transformation. Fraser, a philosopher by training who departs from but is not limited to a critical feminist perspective, asserts that a socially just society would entail "parity of participation." She argues further that, to ensure "participation on par with others, as full partners in social interaction" (73), one should adopt the economic solution of redistributing resources and opportunities and include sociocultural remedies for better recognition and political representation. There also is a need for reconciliation processes that deal with historic and present tensions, grievances, and injustices in order to build a more sustainable peaceful society.

The 4Rs model is geared toward these conflict-affected and postconflict contexts. Hence, we start with Frasers' theory and adapt it to the various insights of scholars working on the relation between peacebuilding, reconciliation, and social justice (Hamber and Kelly 2004), and the relation between education and social justice (Young 2006; Connell 2012; Keddie 2012; Robertson and Dale 2013; Lopes Cardozo and Shah 2016). Although focused primarily on Western education systems in less conflict-prone environments, Keddie (2012) attempts to apply Fraser's three-dimensional model to educational injustice. 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" (15). Tikly and Barrett (2011) argue further that, in developing contexts, a social justice approach that draws 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" (3-4). For the purpose of our analysis, we apply these insights to studying injustice in and through education in conflict-affected regions, where sociocultural, political, and economic inequalities are often the root causes of tension and violence.

It is important to note that, in keeping with Fraser's line of thought, while the dimensions of the 4Rs are separated for analytical purposes, they actually are closely interlinked. We also need to acknowledge how internal relations between these "Rs" can be reinforcing or conflictive. For example, recognizing formerly excluded ethnic languages in education and redistributing resources to train teachers and develop material to enhance this process could lead to greater representation of ethnic minority graduates in decision-making positions at the school governance level or later in political positions. However, opening up to diverse languages also might hinder the reconciliation process, as some minority languages might be included as a language of instruction while others are not, thus creating resentment among various groups of students.

What does this theoretical inspiration about social justice, inspired primarily by Fraser, imply for our methodological choices? For one thing, we feel that an interdisciplinary and intersectoral approach to the research is necessary precisely because education and peacebuilding are affected from both within and outside the sector. Thus we need to move beyond "educationism" and the idea that we

can understand education from within itself and recognize that education policy, systems, programs, and practices are embedded in complex local, national, and global political economies that both shape and are shaped by this relationship (Dale 2005; Dale and Robertson 2009; Robertson and Dale 2014).

We also need a methodological approach that neither reifies nor privileges local, national, or global geographic scales and instead seeks to develop a framework for understanding the complex relationships between scales and interrogates multiscalar relationships. In other words, we want to avoid drifting into either modernization theories' blindness toward exogenous factors or dependency theories' often equally myopic avoidance of endogenous factors. This requires tracing policies, practices, and power across local, national, and global actors and factors to understand education and peacebuilding activities more fully—in short, we need a multiscalar approach (Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, and Valiente 2014). However, this approach should not be applied only to research initiatives, as recurrent messages in the literature point to the failure of "state-centric" approaches by international actors to connect to the agency of local actors within civil society and in sub-national contexts. This failure limits or undermines the ability to capitalize on the knowledge and peacebuilding practices of local actors, and to respond to their educational needs and aspirations. It also creates a disjuncture between a rigidly supplied education and flexible and varied community demands for educational provision (Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, and Valiente 2014).

Also needed is a highly sensitive methodological approach that is attentive to the particular contexts in which the research is taking place. This requires that the research be located within a well-developed cultural, political, economic, and conflict analysis of the particular places and spaces being examined, and a recognition of culture as centrally embedded in these analyses. We refer here 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; Sum and Jessop 2013; Robertson and Dale 2014; Lopes Cardozo and Shah 2016), which seeks to bridge materialist and poststructuralist approaches to understanding the political economy. It recognizes 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 analysis of education (Robertson and Dale 2014) can provide a comprehensive framework to help understand first, how the relationship between education and peacebuilding is articulated discursively and materially through social relations, experiences, and practices (the cultural); second, the ways education and peacebuilding fit into relations of

production, distribution, and exchange in society (the economic); and third, the way an agenda promoting education's links to peacebuilding has been determined and subsequently governed (the political).

Finally, we want to recognize that, in their application in policy, programming, or research, the concepts of the 4Rs model must be translated in particular conflict contexts into local understanding of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation. Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007) has noted that there can be no global social justice without global cognitive justice, which requires a process of "decolonizing the social sciences" by opening up alternative knowledges, approaches, and paradigms that emerge from the global south. He calls for a process of translation that brings alternative understandings of social issues and problems into dialogue through a process of "translation." Santos poses the problem of how different groups with different histories, objectives, and trajectories can unite around certain common issues. He talks of the possibility of drawing together at the global level the concept of human rights and the Hindu and Islamic concepts of human dignity; Western strategies of development and Ghandi's *swadeshi* (Santos 1998); Western philosophy and African oral *sagesse;* modern democracy and traditional authorities; the indigenous movement and the ecological movement, etc. The task of a "politics of translation," then, is to facilitate communication between different subjects. This entails recognizing the "other" as a producer of knowledge while bearing in mind a sociology of absences—that is, an understanding of the hierarchy of the available hegemonic and sometimes silenced counter-hegemonic discourses; a move from decontextualized absolute knowledge to forms of contextualized knowledge; and a focus on the duality between conformist action and rebellious action, particularly the attempt to reconstruct the idea and practice of emancipatory social transformation (Santos 1998, 133). While knowledge-as-regulation has been (and often still is) the dominant form, Santos encourages us to reinvent knowledge-as-emancipation, and the need for "alternative thinking of alternatives" (129).

In practical terms, the process of translation and "alternative thinking of alternatives" that the 4Rs model calls for requires researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners to engage with existing scholarly work in each context we are working in, and with local academics, social activists, and practitioners, to get a sense of how our conceptions of social justice and reconciliation align with and support other conceptions of human dignity—and do not—and the forms this takes. While interdisciplinary and international collaborations between researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners logically follow from this line of thinking, we recognize the remaining challenges in working in intercultural and

multilingual teams, and in contexts with unequal access to resources, including online working and communication facilities. Our hope is that working with the 4Rs model will stimulate serious engagement and a process of (self-)reflection, and that it will promote constant collaborative decision-making aimed toward socially just studies, policies, and programs.

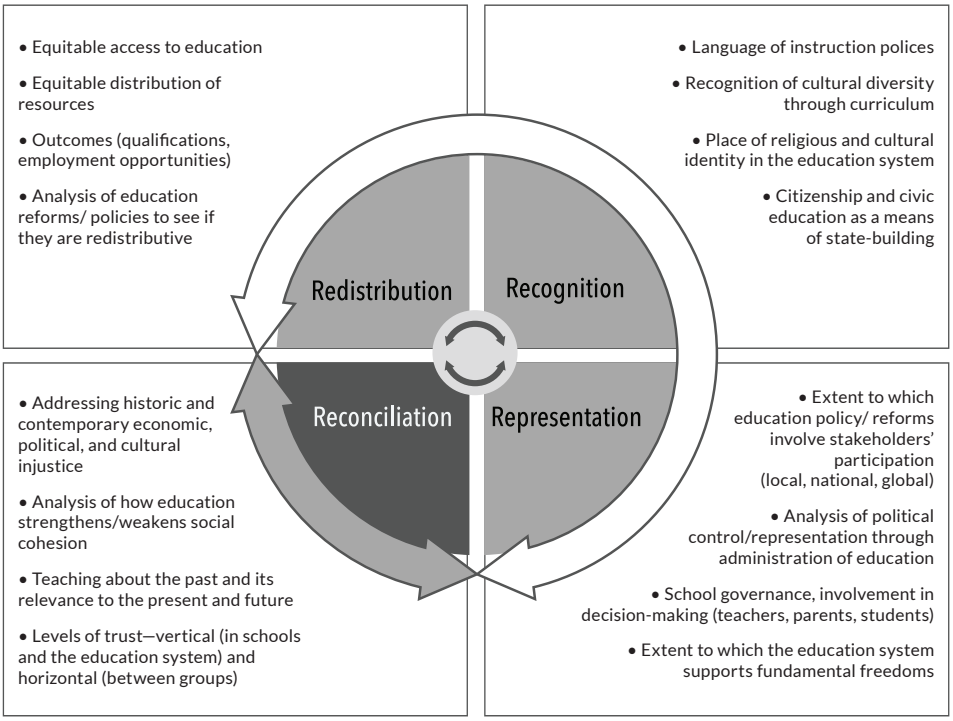
EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACEBUILDING: THE 4RS FRAMEWORK

Our analytical framework contends (1) that sustainable peacebuilding is dependent on societal transformation; (2) that social sectors (including education) play a crucial role in such transformation; and (3) that the transformative processes involve not just the three Rs as suggested by Fraser, but a combination of the four Rs discussed above and shown in Figure 1. In this visualization of the 4Rs model, we emphasize the porous boundaries and interconnections between the Rs, as depicted by the arrows that connect the 4Rs segments. The outer white arrow signals how the 3Rs Fraser (1995, 2005) developed require a thorough analysis of the various drivers of injustice and, in contrast, how the positive face of education could be supported by addressing such concerns. The gray arrow, visualized in relation to the reconciliation segment, requires us to engage with an analysis of the various legacies of violent conflict, and at the same time to envision ways that education governance, content, and pedagogy can support education's potential contributions to transitional justice, healing, and trust-building. Although we find it useful for analytical purposes to separate out these four dimensions, we want to recognize from the outset that they are parts of a complex whole that needs to be understood relationally.

As Figure 1 illustrates, the first R of redistribution provides a range of "remedies" for social injustice caused by unequal distribution of resources, exclusive participation in economic structures, and a lack of equal social (educational, health, employment, etc.) opportunities. The second R of recognition entails possible solutions to injustice that have to do with status inequalities, which prevent some people from having equal or full interaction in institutionalized cultural hierarchies. This is often related to there being little acceptance or space for cultural, ethnic, linguistic, racial, gender, age, or other types of diversity. The third R, for representation, leads us to analyze the (absence of) transformative politics on multiple scales—global, national, local—which lead to citizens' unequal participation in decision-making or claim-making processes (Fraser 2005). The fourth R is for reconciliation, and it takes us beyond Fraser's work into a process

that is crucial for postconflict societies in order to prevent a relapse into conflict. It incorporates education's role in dealing with the past and with historic memory, truth and reparations, transitional justice processes, issues related to bringing communities together, processes of forgiving and healing, and the broader process of social and psychosocial healing (see Hamber 2007, 2009).

Figure 1: Sustainable Peacebuilding in Education: The 4Rs Analytical Framework



In simple terms, Fraser's 3Rs help us analyze and understand the different dimensions of the "drivers of conflict" in various contexts and in relation to education, while the fourth R of reconciliation helps us explore the "legacies of conflict" in relation to education. Addressing both the drivers of conflict and the legacies of conflict is a complex process, but one that is crucial for the promotion of sustainable peace.

In our effort to develop an analytical model of peace with social justice that is relevant for the analysis of peacebuilding and education in conflict-affected contexts, we find that a "relational dimension" (Hamber and Kelly 2004) of reconciliation is indispensable. We argue that, as we "add" 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 postconflict environments as "a process of addressing conflictual and fractured relationships" through "voluntary acts that cannot be imposed" (3-4). Reconciliation also should be considered 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).

Hamber and Kelly (2004) further define five interconnected "strands" of reconciliation:

- The development of a shared vision of an interdependent and fair society
- Acknowledging and dealing with the past
- The need to build positive relationships that address "issues of trust, prejudice and intolerance"
- The need for significant cultural and attitudinal change
- The need for substantial social, economic, and political change

Education's potential role lies in providing or supporting what these authors call mechanisms for justice, healing, restitution or reparation, and restoration. According to Hamber and Kelly (2004), individuals and institutions can acknowledge their role in historic conflicts, and by doing so learn to avoid a relapse into conflict.

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. Hence, in our own understanding of reconciliation as part of our analytical framework, we recognize the need to develop contextualized, locally defined, and historically informed understandings of what reconciliation could/should mean in the very different contexts under study. 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 meaningful long-term encounters and reflection.[5] 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.

Finally, we recognize that there is significant tension between Nancy Fraser's 3Rs of social justice and the fourth R of reconciliation. While the former seeks to identify and reduce the "drivers of conflict," reconciliation is much more concerned with dealing with the aftermath, or "legacies of conflict," and bringing people and communities together. 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) is therefore a political decision that needs to be worked out on the ground by the key stakeholders in each particular context.

APPLYING THE 4RS TO ANALYZE THE RELATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND PEACEBUILDING

So what does this analytical framework mean in terms of examining the relationships between education and peacebuilding processes, whether in research projects or when designing or reviewing policy-related or programmatic work? Sustainable peacebuilding should not be conceptualized just as a means "to" education (access) but also "in and through" education. It should consider how teaching and learning processes and outcomes reproduce certain (socioeconomic, cultural, and political) inequalities (Keddie 2012) and thus can stand in the way, or reinforce, processes of reconciliation and foster education's negative, or positive, face. Hence, we now explore how we can apply the 4Rs analytical model to look at specific and contextualized "educational problems," along with possible responses in conflict-affected situations. Our aim is to demonstrate the usefulness of the model for (academic) analytical relevance and its more practical utility in the planning and evaluation of concrete initiatives.

We also see the 4Rs model as a possible approach to design and structure (research, programmatic) projects, whereby starting from a comprehensive 4Rs-inspired context-and-conflict analysis informs the choices made. The 4Rs framework also has been applied to analyze and examine the way specific interventions positively or negatively impact sustainable peace outcomes on various fronts. To do justice

5 The contact hypothesis has been described as one of the best ways to improve relations among groups that are experiencing conflict (Allport 1954).

to education's full potential, the model aims to move away from narrow technical approaches to understanding, designing, and implementing education in conflict-affected regions, and toward a model that allows for the exploration of and positive engagement with a wider range of conflict drivers and legacies.

Table 1: Applying the Analytical Framework to Understand Education's Role in Peacebuilding

	To what extent is education contributing to 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 decentralization, privatization, 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 and religious diversity in teaching practices • (Re)production of gendered relations and norms in the education system • Citizenship, civic, sexuality, and history education in relation to state-building
Representation (ensuring participation)	• The 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, civil society) • The extent to which education system supports fundamental freedoms, including equal gender representation

(Table 1 cont.)	**To what extent is education contributing to sustainable peacebuilding (4Rs)?** **Potential "indicators" for a mixed-methods approach**
Reconciliation (dealing with the legacies of the conflict)	• The extent to which the historical and contemporary economic, political, and sociocultural injustices that underpin conflict are redressed 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 • (Dis)connection of educational activities to the work of truth and reconciliation committees, when available • 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. An important aspect of redistribution (not limited to this dimension) is all students having equal access to a safe journey to and through their learning environment. Within education, the inclusion of all students—regardless of age, gender, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, race, language, class, etc.—means including formerly marginalized or disadvantaged groups. This aspect 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 equal opportunities and outcomes for children and youth of different groups in society. The structure and content that feed into pedagogical processes are again connected to both reconciliation (e.g., if/how history is taught or if attitudinal change is part of an educational initiative) and representation (e.g., whether learners are made aware of their various rights and responsibilities as citizens, and if/how/why [certain] political and conflict-related issues are discussed/negated). Issues around representation extend further into the actual "equitable participation" of various stakeholders, including teachers, students, youth, parents, and community members of all genders at the grassroots level. The actual decision-making power is often related to the allocation, use, and (re)distribution of human and material resources (Young 2006; Robertson and Dale 2013).

Our research in Myanmar (Higgins, Maber, Lopes Cardozo, and Shah 2016) provides an example of how the 4Rs framework opened up new insights into the ways education-sector reform, educational governance mechanisms, and pedagogical practices interrelate in complex and often troublesome ways with

ongoing inequalities and tensions in Burmese society. A central issue in the current landscape of Myanmar is the ongoing peace negotiations between the government and multiple armed ethnic groups, which are as yet unresolved after six decades of fighting. Education is not an explicit component of the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreements, but it is an important aspect of the peace dialogue and is perceived to be a key grievance of many of the armed ethnic groups, civil society organizations, and minority groups. While current education reform is deemed vital to securing peace dividends through improved service delivery and a renewed focus on inclusion and equal provision, peacebuilding seems to be only an implicit part of broader discourses of social inclusion, equity, and improved access for those traditionally neglected by the state; it is not explicitly mentioned in education reform discourse. Our analysis of drafts of the Comprehensive Education Sector Reform, National Education Strategy Plan, and Education Law suggests that peacebuilding is everywhere and nowhere: everywhere in the sense that there seems to be a recognition of the need to place education reform in the context of real inequalities and frustrations, but nowhere as peacebuilding logic or language. In that sense, while reconciliation is to some extent part of the latest government discourse, many education stakeholders—including teachers, students, and civil society actors—feel that reconciliation efforts are hardly taking place, especially considering ongoing tensions and struggles. Teaching history was brought forward by students and teachers alike as an area that could foster reconciliation and social cohesion, but teachers felt too constrained by existing curricula to allow this potential positive face of education to be presented.

In Myanmar, then, the reform and policy direction of the 4Rs might do more harm than good by failing to address the root causes of the conflict in the first place: a lack of fair (re)distribution of resources and opportunities; recognition of citizens' various linguistic and cultural needs; sincere representation and a participatory process that not only informs but engages with oppositional and minority perspectives to enable the first steps forward in addressing the grievances expressed through and inflicted by education through reconciliation. Gender-based forms of inequity are either absent from the reform process or tend to focus only on quantitative parity in school enrollments and completion. In fact, little attention has been given to the gendered forms of bias, discrimination, and (structural and indirect) violence that the education system and structures have imposed on learners and communities for decades. They also are not appropriately considered and addressed in current reform efforts.

Our findings further highlight another key tension within this reform package, this one between the aim to deliver quick, visible peace dividends and the desire to take a systematic, evidence-based approach to the education sector as a whole. We observed a possible trade-off between the Rs, in the sense that a focus on redistributing educational resources and reducing access-related barriers to schooling may work against the goals of recognizing a plurality of viewpoints and actors (e.g., regarding language of instruction). Despite efforts to ensure inclusivity, consultation has been fairly unrepresentative and many key national stakeholders feel sidelined. There is an uneasy tension between a state that has expressed its intention to address issues of redistribution, representation, and recognition by decentralizing a strongly centralized system, and the connected process of convergence that raises questions about whether decentralization would limit opportunities for citizens, particularly ethnic minority groups, to vocalize and represent their education interests, at least in the short term.

Finally, recent efforts to revise the formal school curriculum in Myanmar again do not explicitly refer to peacebuilding processes—not as a literal translation but as the broad conceptualization we employ in this framework. However, specific components of the envisaged content, including fewer references to the military in social studies, indicate a commitment to delegitimize violence. Nonetheless, textbooks written primarily in the majority Burmese language and uncertainty about how the curriculum will include 20 percent local content point out the curriculum's limitations in addressing pressing issues of social justice, which is linked to a lack of recognition of the diverse cultures and the representation of minority groups.

Hence, coming back to the five interconnected "strands" of reconciliation (Hamber and Kelly 2004), our analysis of Myanmar's ongoing reform efforts, and even more so the educational realities, show little development of a shared vision for an interdependent and fair society, and a minimal attempt to deal with the past in and through education. At the same time, building positive relationships and trust, and significant cultural and attitudinal change, were only observed in non-formal forms of education led mostly by civil society. We argued in our research on education's role in peacebuilding in Myanmar, in line with Hamber and Kelly's fifth strand of reconciliation, that education alone is not in a position to create peace; it must be integrated into a process of substantial social, economic, and political change. At the same time, a narrow approach to the technical and economic functions of education from a human capital perspective severely limits its potential positive contribution to peacebuilding. In contrast, a more holistic approach to education governance, content, and pedagogy that addresses all 4Rs

would allow younger generations to support their sociocultural, political, and economic agency for peace (Lopes Cardozo, Higgins, and Le Mat 2016).

Overall, applying the 4Rs framework to our analysis of the data and findings in the case of Myanmar (and a range of other cases referred to below) illustrates the closely interrelated connections, and often the contested nature, between the four dimensions of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation. While diagnosis is no guarantee for a cure, the analysis and recommendations that emerged from the research help to challenge education reforms currently taking place in Myanmar. These reforms are supported by both national and international actors that bypassed the nuanced and complex issues raised and instead reproduced a generic "education menu" that appears ill-suited to the contexts and scale of the conflicts and education challenges in these countries.

CONCLUSION: THEORY-BUILDING IN PROGRESS

In this article we have shared the 4Rs analytical framework, which calls for a normative peace with social justice and reconciliation approach to education systems affected by violent conflict. While aspects of the model are potentially relevant across different contexts, it must be tailored to the specific needs of each area of research or intervention, as we have concluded in the recent application of the model in Kenya (Smith, Marks, Novelli, Valiente, and Scandurra 2016); Myanmar, Pakistan, South Sudan, South Africa, and Uganda (Datzberger, McCully, and Smith 2015; Smith, Datzberger, and McCully 2016a; Novelli, Daoust, Selby, Valiente, Scandurra, Deng Kuol, and Salter 2016; Higgins, Maber, Lopes Cardozo, and Shah 2016); and Sri Lanka (Duncan and Lopes Cardozo 2017). This will allow researchers and practitioners alike to produce high-quality, relevant understanding of the challenges, roles, and possibilities of education's contribution to sustainable peacebuilding. In that sense, the 4Rs approach is a heuristic device that can spark a dialogue among key stakeholders, a framework that will enable us to ask the right questions and reflect on the dilemmas and contradictions inherent in working to support education's positive role in peacebuilding.

In so doing, we hope to refine, develop, sharpen, and transform the framework so it can more accurately reflect the combined knowledge that emerges from the ongoing research process. In that sense, we approach theory-making as a non-static process that is informed and reshaped through empirical fieldwork and findings—hence this framework as theory-building in progress. We welcome feedback and suggestions from those interested in exploring the usefulness of this

proposed model (in programming, policy development, and academic studies) to further improve our collective understanding of the complex relationship between education and the processes of sustainable peacebuilding.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are grateful to the comments and valuable input provided on the first drafts of this text by the three respective teams of the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding situated at the University of Amsterdam, the University of Sussex, and Ulster University. We also thank UNICEF for the collaboration and the opportunity to share and discuss this framework in numerous meetings at headquarters and in country offices. We are also grateful for the feedback of the anonymous reviewers and the editorial team of the *Journal on Education in Emergencies,* which has contributed positively to the end result published here.

REFERENCES

Allport, Gordon. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Barnett, Michael, Hunjoon Kim, Madalene O'Donnell, and Laura Sitea. 2007. "Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?" *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 13 (1): 35-58.

Bush, Kenneth D., and Diana Saltarelli, eds. 2000. *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children.* Florence, Italy: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

Castañeda, Carla. 2009. "How Liberal Peacebuilding May be Failing Sierra Leone." *Review of African Political Economy* 36 (120): 235-51.

Connell, Raewyn. 2012. "Just Education." *Journal of Education Policy* 27 (5): 681-83.

Dale, Roger. 2005. "Globalisation, Knowledge Economy and Comparative Education." *Comparative Education* 41 (2): 117-49.

Dale, Roger, and Susan L. Robertson. 2009. "Beyond Methodological 'Isms' in Comparative Education in an Era of Globalisation." In *Handbook on Comparative Education,* edited by Andreas M. Kazamias and Robert Cowen. Dordrecht: Springer, 1113-28.

Datzberger, Simone, Alan McCully, and Alan Smith. 2015. *Education and Peacebuilding in Uganda.* New York: UNICEF.

Denney, Lisa. 2011. "Reducing Poverty with Teargas and Batons: The Security-Development Nexus in Sierra Leone." *African Affairs* 110 (439): 275-94.

Duffield, Mark. 1998. "Post Modern Conflict: Warlords, Post-Adjustment States and Private Protection." *Civil Wars* 1 (1): 65-102.

Duncan, Ross, and Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo. 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.

Fraser, Nancy. 1995. "From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age." *New Left Review* 1 (212): 68-93.

Fraser, Nancy. 2005. "Reframing Justice in a Globalized World." *New Left Review* 36: 79-88.

Galtung, Johan. 1976. "Three Realistic Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding." *Impact of Science on Society* 26 (1-2): 103-15.

Galtung, Johan. 1990. "Cultural Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 27 (3): 291-305.

Hamber, Brandon. 2007. "Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Paradise Lost or Pragmatism?" *Peace and Conflict* 13 (1): 115-25.

Hamber, Brandon. 2009. *Transforming Societies after Political Violence: Truth, Reconciliation, and Mental Health.* New York: Springer.

Hamber, Brandon, and Gráinne Kelly. 2004. "A Working Definition of Reconciliation." http://www.brandonhamber. com/pubs_papers.htm.

Heathershaw, John. 2008. "Unpacking the Liberal Peace: The Dividing and Merging of Peacebuilding Discourses." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 3: 597-621.

Higgins, Sean, Elizabeth Maber, Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo, and Ritesh Shah. 2016. *Education and Peacebuilding in Myanmar.* Research Consortium Education and Peacebuilding, University of Amsterdam; summary of report is available online, https://educationanddevelopment.wordpress.com/rp/outputs-research-consortium/.

Jessop, Bob. 2005. "Critical Realism and the Strategic-Relational Approach." *New Formations* 56: 40-53.

Keddie, Amanda. 2012. "Schooling and Social Justice through the Lenses of Nancy Fraser." *Critical Studies in Education* 53 (3): 263-79.

Lederach, John Paul. 1995. *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation across Cultures.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Lederach, John Paul. 1997. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies.* Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press.

Lopes Cardozo, Mieke T. A., Sean Higgins, and Marielle L. J. Le Mat. 2016. "Youth Agency and Peacebuilding: An Analysis of the Role of Formal and Non-Formal Education Synthesis Report on Findings from Myanmar, Pakistan, South Africa and Uganda." Research Consortium Education and Peacebuilding, University of Amsterdam. https://educationanddevelopment.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/youth-agency-synthesis-report-final16.pdf.

Lopes Cardozo, Mieke T. A., and Celine M. Q. Hoeks. 2014. "Losing Ground: A Critical Analysis of Teachers' Agency for Peacebuilding Education in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Peace Education* 12 (1): 56-73.

Lopes Cardozo, Mieke T. A., and Ritesh Shah. 2016. "A Conceptual Framework to Analyse the Multiscalar Politics of Education for Sustainable Peacebuilding." *Comparative Education* 52 (4): 1-22.

McCandless, Erin. 2011. *Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of Administrative and Social Services to Peacebuilding.* New York: United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office.

Novelli, Mario. 2010. "The New Geopolitics of Educational Aid: from Cold Wars to Holy Wars?" *International Journal of Educational Development* 30: 453-59.

Novelli, Mario. 2011a. "The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: Methodological Framework for Three Country Case Studies." New York: UNICEF.

Novelli, Mario. 2011b. "The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: Sierra Leone Case Study." New York: UNICEF.

Novelli, Mario. 2012. *The Merging of Security and Development in the Education Sector: Discourses, Programmes and Effects (*Discussion paper for the Open Society Foundation, Education Support Programme). London: OSI.

Novelli, Mario, Gabrielle Daoust, Jan Selby, Oscar Valiente, Rosario Scandura, Luka Biong Deng Kuol, and Emma Salter. 2016. "Education Sector Governance, Inequality, Conflict and Peacebuilding in South Sudan, (Research Report UNICEF Eastern and Southern Regional Office). New York: UNICEF.

Novelli, Mario, Sean Higgins, Mehmet Ugur, and Oscar Valiente. 2014. *Rigorous Literature Review of the Political Economy of Education Systems in Conflict Affected States.* London: DFID.

Novelli, Mario, and Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo. 2008. "Conflict, Education and the Global South: New Critical Directions." *International Journal of Educational Development* 28 (4): 473-88.

Novelli, Mario, and Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo. 2012. "Globalizing Educational Interventions in Zones of Conflict: The Role of Dutch Aid to Education and Conflict." In *Global Education Policy and International Development: New Agendas, Issues and Policies,* edited by Antoni Verger, Mario Novelli, and H. Kosar Altinyelken. London: Continuum, 223-44.

Novelli, Mario, and Alan Smith. 2011. "The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: A Synthesis Report of Findings from Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone." UNICEF: New York.

Paris, Roland. 2004. *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Paris, Roland. 2010. "Saving Liberal Peacebuilding." *Review of International Studies* 36 (2): 337-65.

Pugh, Michael, Neil Cooper, and Mandy Turner. 2011. *Whose Peace? Critical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Peacebuilding*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding. 2014. "Introducing the Research: Research Briefing 1." https://educationanddevelopment.wordpress.com/rp/research-consortium-education-and-peacebuilding/.

Richmond, Oliver, Annika Björkdahl, and Stefanie Kappler. 2011. "The Emerging EU Peacebuilding Framework: Confirming or Transcending Liberal Peacebuilding?" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 24 (3): 449-69.

Richmond, Oliver, and Annika Mitchell. 2012. *Hybrid Forms of Peace: From Everyday Agency to Post-Liberalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Robertson, Susan L., and Roger Dale. 2013. "The Social Justice Implications of Privatisation in Education Governance Frameworks: A Relational Account." *Oxford Review of Education* 39 (4): 426-45.

Robertson, Susan L., and Roger Dale. 2014. "Toward a 'Critical Cultural Political Economy' Account of the Globalising of Education." Paper presented at the 55th Comparative and International Education Society Conference, Toronto, March 9-14.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. 1998. "Oppositional Postmodernism and Globalizations." *Law and Social Inquiry* 23 (1): 121-39.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. 2007. *Cognitive Justice in a Global World: Prudent Knowledges for a Decent Life*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, Lexington Books.

Selby, Jan. 2013. "The Myth of Liberal Peace-Building." *Conflict, Security & Development* 13 (1): 57-86.

Shah, Ritesh, and Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo. 2015. "The Politics of Education in Emergencies and Conflict." In *Education and International Development: An Introduction*, edited by T. McCowan and E. Unterhalter. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 181-200.

Shah, Ritesh, and Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo. 2014. "Building Peace and Social Justice through Education in Aceh, Indonesia?" *International Journal for Educational Development* 38: 2-12.

Smith, Alan. 2005. "Education in the 21st Century: Conflict, Reconstruction and Reconciliation." *Compare, Journal of the British Association for International and Comparative Education* 36 (4): 373-91.

Smith, Alan. 2010. The Influence of Education on Conflict and Peace Building. (Paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011, *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education").* Paris: UNESCO.

Smith, Alan. 2014. "Contemporary Challenges for Education in Conflict Affected Countries." *Journal of International and Comparative Education* (3) 1: 113-25.

Smith, Alan, Simone Datzberger, and Alan McCully. 2016. "The Integration of Education and Peacebuilding: Synthesis Report on Myanmar, Pakistan, South Africa and India." New York: UNICEF.

Smith, Alan, Caroline Marks, Mario Novelli, Oscar Valiente, and Rosario Scandurra. 2016. *The Links between Equity, Governance, Education and Peacebuilding in Kenya.* Nairobi: UNICEF.

Smith, Alan, Erin McCandless, Julia Paulson, and Wendy Wheaton. 2011. *Education and Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Contexts: A Literature Review.* New York: UNICEF.

Smith, Alan, and Tony Vaux. 2003. *Education, Conflict and International Development.* London: DfID.

Sum, Ngai-Ling, and Bob Jessop. 2013. *Towards a Cultural Political Economy: Putting Culture in Its Place in Political Economy.* Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Tikly, Leon, and Angeline M. Barrett. 2011. "Social Justice, Capabilities and the Quality of Education in Low Income Countries." *International Journal of Educational Development* 31 (1): 3-14.

Vaux, Tony. 2011. *UNICEF Research Project on the Role of Education in Peacebuilding in Crisis and Post-Conflict Contexts: Nepal Case Study.* New York: UNICEF.

Winthrop, Rebecca, and Elena Matsui. 2013. *A New Agenda for Education in Fragile States* (Working paper No. 10). Washington, DC: Center for Universal Education at the Brookings Institution.

Young, Iris Marion. 2006. "Responsibility and Global Justice: A Social Connection Model." *Social Philosophy & Policy Foundation* 23 (1): 102-30.

Zakharia, Zeena. 2011. *UNICEF Research Project on the Role of Education in Peacebuilding in Crisis and Post-Conflict Contexts: Lebanon Case Study.* New York: United Nations Children's Fund.

Zwarteveen, Margreet Z., and Rutgerd Boelens. 2014. "Defining, Researching and Struggling for Water Justice: Some Conceptual Building Blocks for Research and Action. *Water International* 39 (2): 143-58.