Background Study on Political Economy of Education Tools

PEER Network
Political Economy of Education Research Network

PEER Working Paper 1

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Introduction

Education systems, and the content and outcomes of policy interventions, do not exist in isolation from broader social issues, structures, and processes. Education policies and interventions, as with development processes more generally, both affect and are affected by relationships between political and economic structures, institutions, and agents and associated sets of interests. Policy environments in conflict-affected contexts are especially dynamic and require particular attention to interactions between development interventions and their contexts. Political economy analysis (PEA) provides a means of unpacking the political and economic interests and relationships that underpin and intersect with educational policies and interventions, from setting policy agendas to policy formulation to implementation.[1] PEA has thus become an increasingly important part of national and international education policy making processes in conflict-affected contexts.

The emergence and expansion of PEA tools and frameworks since the late 1990s reflects a shift toward a more 'political' understanding of development – viewing development as a fundamentally and inherently political rather than a simply technical process – and a shift from normative approaches toward grounding development in 'local' realities. This also reflects a recognition of the unintended consequences or failures of many technically 'good' policies as they are implemented 'on the ground', due to a failure to locate these within distinctive political, economic, social, and conflict contexts.[2] This has paralleled the emergence of conflict analysis, intended to inform a better understanding of political, economic, socio-cultural, and historical dimensions and dynamics of conflict, as development actors are increasingly engaged in conflict-affected contexts.[3]

While different definitions of PEA exist, they commonly point to interactions of political and economic processes, distribution of (and imbalances in) power and resources between groups and individuals, and underlying systems and processes that create, sustain, and transform these dynamics over time. PEA considers how these influence development processes and outcomes, and points to possibilities for change.[4] It draws explicit attention to forms, structures, relations, and dynamics of power – between 'local' and international, and governmental and non-governmental actors – that are central to development politics, processes, and outcomes.[5] This involves intersectoral, multiscalar perspectives that see education policies, systems, programs, and practices as influenced by (and in turn influencing) dynamics within *and* outside the sector and at local, national, and global scales.[6]

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[1] Novelli et al. 2014. See also: Abdul-Hamid and Yassine 2020; Kingdon et al. 2014; Shah and Lopes Cardozo 2014.
[2] Duncan and Williams 2012; Edelmann 2009; Hudson and Leftwich 2014; Novelli et al. 2014.
[3] Routley and Hulme 2013.
[4] Haider and Rao 2010; Mcloughlin 2014; Novelli et al. 2014.
[5] Acosta and Pettit 2013; Hudson and Leftwich 2014.
[6] Novelli et al. 2017.

In these ways, PEA can help to better understand structural inequalities that underpin conflict – which can be reproduced through education interventions – and identify directions for sustainable peacebuilding.[7] PEA approaches can help address key disjunctures associated with education development in conflict-affected contexts, addressing tensions between global security/peacebuilding agendas and education; between global education agendas (centred on questions of access, quality, and efficiency) and post-conflict peacebuilding needs (e.g. social cohesion, addressing inequalities); between narrow and technical ('educationalist') framings of interventions and their transformative potential; between national sectors; and between global policy formulation and national or local agency and perspectives.[8]

Political economy encompasses a range of approaches, theories, and ideologies, and PEA tools reflect, either explicitly or implicitly, particular political economy traditions. The questions asked, areas explored, and methodologies deployed provide insights into their underpinning values, ideologies, and theoretical approaches. They reflect particular understandings of the forms and operation of power, the nature and roles of institutions and individual action, the interplay between structure and agency, and the nature of social change.[9] These can range from narrow approaches focused on economic rationality and self-interest and simplified policy solutions, to broader institutional approaches exploring how institutions affect individual behaviour and economic and political outcomes, including aspects of power and distribution, to critical approaches (including feminist and post-colonial approaches) examining complex dimensions of (in)equality and (in)justice and calling for more transformative responses. PEA tools also reflect different theoretical and ideological assumptions about conflict and peacebuilding and about education development (e.g. 'modernisation' theories, neoliberal development ideologies, or more critical perspectives).[10]

This background paper critically reviews PEA tools, considering the **extent** of existing tools, their **content**, **methods and process**, and **types and sources of data** required as well as their **application** in different contexts. It considers general PEA tools and those focused specifically on conflict and education. It also draws on previous PEA reviews, which highlight important gaps and limitations as well as directions for change. These include previous reviews of PEA approaches to education in conflict-affected contexts[11] and reviews of PEA tools and frameworks more generally,[12] as well as previous reviews of tools and frameworks for analysing relationships between education and conflict.[13] The aim of this document is to show

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[7] Novelli et al. 2014; Novelli et al. 2017.

[8] Novelli et al. 2014.

[9] Acosta and Pettit 2013; Novelli et al. 2014.

[10] See Novelli et al. 2014 for detailed discussion of the theoretical and ideological underpinnings of PEA of education and conflict.

[11] Boak 2011; Novelli et al. 2014.

[12] Edelmann 2009; Harris, Kooy and Jones 2011; Mcloughlin 2014.

[13] Akukwe and Emerson 2011; Koons 2013.

some different ways that PEA is being done and to encourage reflection on doing PEA research in terms of both content and process as well as the key issues associated with the political economy of education and conflict.

While PEA can encourage 'thinking politically', this review points to limitations in 'working politically' through PEA. First, PEA approaches and tools have largely emerged from the demands of 'Global North' donors and development organisations, to manage their interests and facilitate their interventions in the 'Global South'. They often reflect Eurocentric ideas, concepts, frameworks, and blind spots in content and implementation, reflecting broader colonial legacies and neocolonial dynamics of international development. Second, PEA can fail to challenge normative assumptions about development arrangements, ideologies, and outcomes (e.g. 'good governance' agendas), particularly in identifying directions for action. PEA requires both thinking and *working* politically, including 'having politically transformative objectives, such as distributing rights and resources more fairly in society, and using our knowledge of power and politics to achieve those objectives'.[14] Third, tools' and frameworks' analytical strength comes from researchers' knowledge and approaches: the person(s) conducting PEA are instruments of analysis, and even the best tools cannot overcome some of individual ideologies, biases, and blind spots. Together, these call attention to the political economy of PEA itself and the need for reflexivity and self-assessment as part of PEA.[15]

Existing tools and frameworks

PEA tools and frameworks generally fall into three broad categories: country-level analyses, examining broad political and economic environments (often to inform country planning processes, programmes, and strategies); sector-level, focusing on dynamics, challenges, and opportunities within particular sectors (to inform sector programming priorities and decisions); and problem-focused or 'applied', to understand and resolve specific project or policy issues (to inform design and implementation). A fourth type, 'everyday PEA', is a rapid, 'bare bones' approach to inform day-to-day decision-making on emerging issues. Some tools focus on one specific scale, while others can be applied at multiple scales. This section provides an overview of the extent of existing tools and frameworks, considering education-focused, conflict-focused, and more general PEA tools and frameworks. While numerous general tools exist, specific conflict- and education-focused PEA tools are more limited.

PEA of education
Only a few PEA tools and frameworks focus specifically on education systems in conflict-affected contexts. These include:
- The Global Partnership for Education (GPE), UNICEF, and World Bank's *Risk and Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector* guidelines, which are part of the revised Education Sector

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[14] Haines and O'Neil 2018, p. 3.
[15] Copestake and Williams 2012; Fisher and Marquette 2014.

Analysis (ESA) Guidelines and examine impacts of conflict on education systems, effects of education on risks and conflict and potential on peacebuilding, and education system (political, institutional, and governance) vulnerabilities and capacities.[16]

- USAID's *Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into Education System Analysis (ESA) Guidelines*, which outlines a country-level methodology to integrate conflict analysis into the *ESA Methodological Guidelines*.[17] These were developed by UNESCO, World Bank, UNICEF, and GPE to guide country-level education sector analyses, and call attention to the political economy of policy processes.[18]
- Novelli et al.'s *4Rs framework*, developed as part of the UNICEF-supported Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, which examines interconnected dimensions of political, economic, and cultural (in)equality in education systems, focusing on education's peacebuilding role.[19]

While not explicitly identified as PEA, other frameworks analysing connections between education and conflict cover issues common to PEA, and consider relationships between education systems and wider political, economic, and social dynamics. These include:

- USAID's *Education and Fragility Assessment Tool*, which presents a macro-level analysis of relationships between education systems/programmes and fragility in countries at risk for conflict.[20]
- INEE's *Analytic Framework for Education and Fragility*, which guides a macro-level analysis of relationships between education systems and drivers of fragility (security, economy, governance, social, and environment).[21]
- Save the Children's *Education and Fragility Barometer*, which guides assessment, scoring, and comparison of relations between education and fragility or conflict at school or national levels.[22]
- USAID's *Rapid Education and Risk Analysis (RERA) Toolkit*, intended as a 'good enough' analysis of interactions between education systems and contextual risks in conflict- and crisis-affected countries.[23]

PEA of conflict

Similarly, few PEA tools and frameworks focus specifically on conflict-affected contexts and associated drivers, dynamics, and responses to violent conflict. These include:

- ODI's *PEA in Conflict, Security and Justice Programmes* guidance note, which outlines a

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[16] GPE et al. 2020. **Reference details to be added to the reference list. Is there an electronic link available?**

[17] Koons 2013.

[18] UNESCO et al. 2014.

[19] Novelli et al. 2015, 2017.

[20] Miller-Grandvaux 2006. See also: Miller-Grandvaux 2009.

[21] Davies 2011.

[22] Save the Children 2007.

[23] USAID 2015.

problem-focused approach to analysis for designing and implementing conflict, security, and justice programmes.[24]

- The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's (WILPF) *Guide to Feminist Political Economy*, a country-level analysis of conflict-affected contexts and pathways to peace centring the gendered dimensions of war and 'post-conflict' processes.[25]
- Pact's guide to *Applied PEA (APEA) for Human Rights Programs*, a project- or problem-focused analysis for human rights projects in dynamic political environments with a 'high risk of unintended consequences', as in conflict contexts.[26]

Other conflict-focused studies present less formal frameworks for PEA, which provide insights into issues relevant to policy and development processes in conflict-affected contexts.[27]

Broader conflict analysis tools and frameworks examine the causes, actors, and dynamics (political, social, economic, and security) of violent conflict, and directions for peacebuilding, overlapping with conflict-focused PEA. These include:

- UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*, intended to enhance understanding of conflict causes and dynamics in programme planning and implementation.[28] It draws on UNICEF's *Conflict Sensitivity and Peacebuilding Technical Note*, intended to inform a more systematic approach to conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding, and was applied as part of UNICEF's Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Program (PBEA) to examine interactions between conflict dynamics and education and inform peacebuilding contributions of education.[29]
- The UN Development Group's (UNDG) *Conflict and Development Analysis*, which examines drivers and dynamics of conflict and peace to inform UN programmes and policies.[30]
- The UK Stabilisation Unit's *Joint Analysis of Conflict and Stability (JACS)*, which examines conflict actors, causes, and drivers, to identify priorities for UK stability, security, and peace interventions.[31]
- USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*, which examines dynamics of violent conflict and factors contributing to peace and stability, to inform country programming.[32]
- The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict's (GPPAC) *Conflict Analysis Framework*, which examines conflict drivers and dynamics in different phases of conflict.[33]

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[24] Denney 2016.

[25] Isaković 2018a, 2018b.

[26] Pact 2018.

[27] See e.g. Anten et al. 2012.

[28] UNICEF 2016.

[29] UNICEF 2012, 2019.

[30] UNDG 2016.

[31] Stabilisation Unit 2017.

[32] USAID 2012a, 2012b.

[33] GPPAC 2017.

- Conciliation Resources' *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit* and Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict Toolkit*, which both centre gender in analyses of conflict and peacebuilding, intended for use by peacebuilding practitioners,[34] and can guide attention to other aspects of social categorisation, oppression, and violence.

General PEA tools and frameworks

Most existing tools and frameworks guide general analyses of **country or sector dynamics**. While these may lack attention to the specific aspects of both conflict and education, they can provide relevant insights into broader dynamics of politics and power. These include:
- DFID's *Politics of Development (PoD) framework*, which outlines an approach to analysing political dynamics, decision-making, and implementation at country or sectoral levels.[35]
- UNDP's *Institutional and Context Analysis (ICA)*, intended to inform understanding of political and institutional contexts and their effects at country, sector, or project levels.[36]

Some recent frameworks attempt to (re)centre power and 'the political' in response to limitations of other PEA frameworks:
- The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency's (SIDA) *Power Analysis*, a country-level approach focused on the workings and distribution of power (including its less visible forms) and possibilities for change.[37]
- Acosta and Pettit's *Combined Political Economy and Power Analysis (PEPA)*, which brings together a PEA approach focused on 'visible' actors, structures, rules, and processes, and power analysis centring less visible social norms, beliefs, and structures.[38]
- Hudson and Leftwich's *Political Analysis Framework*, presented as a 'more explicitly political approach to the politics of development', to guide systematic analysis of power, structures and institutions and how actors use these to bring about change.[39]

'Applied' or **'problem-focused'** tools have emerged in response to critiques of earlier frameworks considered excessively broad in scope and providing little direction for action.[40] These include:
- The World Bank's *Problem-Driven Governance and PEA Framework*, a broad framework outlining 'good practices' for analysis, focusing on specific sectoral or development challenges or opportunities at country, sector, project, or policy levels.[41]
- USAID's *Applied PEA (APEA) Framework*, a problem-focused approach applied to country,

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[34] Conciliation Resources 2015; Saferworld 2016.
[35] DFID 2009; Leftwich 2007.
[36] UNDP 2012.
[37] Pettit 2013.
[38] Acosta and Pettit 2013; Pettit and Acosta 2014.
[39] Hudson and Leftwich 2014, p. 72.
[40] Booth et al. 2016; Copestake and Williams 2012; Fisher and Marquette 2016; Menocal 2014.
[41] Fritz et al. 2009. See also: Fritz and Levy 2014; Poole 2011.

sector, or issue-focused analysis, intended to inform understanding of political-economy dynamics and influence programming.[42]

- ODI's *Problem-Driven Framework for Applied PEA (APEA)*, intended to guide understandings of and responses to 'practical problems'.[43]
- The Gender and Development Network's *Gender in PEA* guidance note, a problem-focused approach to analysing gendered dimensions of power and political economy,[44] which can inform analysis of other social categorisations, oppression, and violence.

Broad country-level tools and frameworks provide varying levels of insight into sector-level dynamics, including macro-level structural and historical features, but often lack attention to sector-specific factors.[45] General **sector-focused** tools and frameworks can provide insights for education sector analysis:

- ODI's *Analytical Framework for Understanding the Political Economy of Sectors* focuses on specific sectors or policies, intended as a guide for DFID country offices.[46]
- WaterAid's *PEA Toolkit* includes four different tools, drawing on existing frameworks: a country strategy PEA, a sector strategy PEA, a tactical PEA (focusing on specific challenges or projects), and a two-step 'everyday' PEA.[47]

Exercise for reflection and discussion: Meaning and purpose of PEA
Briefly scan the introduction of three of the tools or frameworks listed above, then formulate responses to the following questions: 1. What is political economy analysis?   2. How is PEA different from conflict analysis? From other types of education sector assessments?   3. How might PEA contribute to strengthening education and peacebuilding policies and programmes in conflict-affected contexts?

Content

While PEA tools and framework differ in focus, content, and methods, they generally examine underlying factors shaping individual and collective behaviour and political processes and outcomes (including structural factors, institutions, and associated rules and incentives), and a mapping of actors or stakeholders, interests, and motivations.[48] While not all follow this

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[42] Menocal et al. 2018; USAID 2016. See also: USAID n.d.a, n.d.b.
[43] Harris 2013.
[44] Haines and O'Neil 2018.
[45] Edelmann 2009.
[46] Moncrieffe and Luttrell 2005.
[47] WaterAid 2015.
[48] Duncan and Williams 2012; Harris, Kooy and Jones 2011; Pettit and Acosta 2014.

specific framing, many general tools share common components.[49] These include:

- **Structural or 'foundational' features**, at national, subnational, and/or sectoral levels, which are deeply embedded and shape political and economic systems. These include territorial and geographic aspects, geostrategic/geopolitical position, historical legacies, economic systems, revenue sources, national and global economic integration, demographic/population dynamics, and social structures. Hudson and Leftwich's *Political Analysis Framework* also draws attention to structural factors and forms of power operating at both macro and micro (e.g. local, organisational, household) levels.[50]

- **Institutions and 'rules of the game'** influencing behaviours, relationships, incentives, and actions. These include formal frameworks, laws, regulations, and policy processes governing political and economic systems; informal rules, norms, and arrangements; and sociocultural norms and patterns. Some tools also consider legitimacy, responsiveness, accountability, and acceptance of political processes, institutions, and actors.[51]

- **Actors/agents and agency**, focusing on relevant stakeholders (individual and collective, governmental and non-governmental, domestic and external), their interactions and relationships, and their associated interests, motivations, incentives, ideas/ideologies, capacities/capabilities, resources, and power.

- **Interactions** between structures, institutions, and agents, including structural constraints on agency, and how agents reinforce, challenge, or subvert structures. For example, the *Political Analysis Framework* examines contingent structure-agency dynamics, considering how institutions and structures shape agents' conduct and context, how agents interpret contexts, interests, and opportunities, and forms of political agency.[52]

Some frameworks more explicitly focus on **dynamics of change**. USAID's *APEA Framework* includes the 'here and now', referring to recent domestic or international circumstances influencing actors' objectives, behaviours, and responses to events that provide opportunities for or impediments to change.[53] The *Gender in PEA* guidance considers drivers of social/political change including sudden events or longer-term trends that disrupt the status quo and/or the balance of power,[54] while ODI's *Framework for Understanding the PE of Sectors* includes 'processes of change' when analysing contexts and relationships, considering the nature, dynamics, and directions of both short- and longer-term change.[55]

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[49] **Tools:** ODI's *PEA in Conflict*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; DFID's *PoD framework*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; Combined *PEPA*; *Political Analysis Framework*; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; USAID's *APEA Framework*; ODI's *Problem-Driven Framework for APEA*; *Gender in PEA*; WaterAid's *PEA Toolkit.*

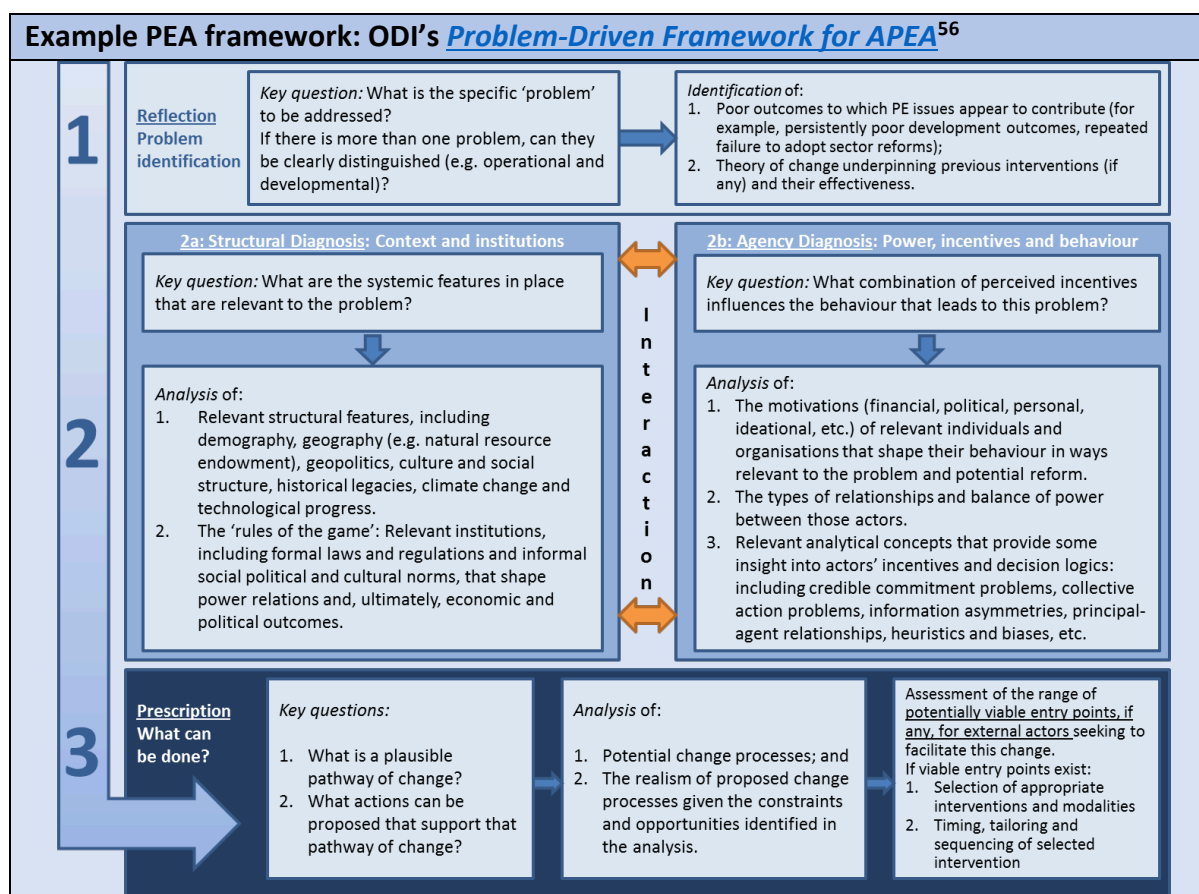[50] Hudson and Leftwich 2014*.*

[51] **Tools:** DFID's *PoD framework*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; *Combined PEPA.*

[52] Hudson and Leftwich 2014*.*

[53] Menocal et al. 2018; USAID 2016.

[54] Haines and O'Neil 2018*.*

[55] Moncrieffe and Luttrell 2005*.*

Example PEA framework: ODI's _Problem-Driven Framework for APEA_[56]

1

Reflection
Problem
identification

Key question: What is the specific 'problem' to be addressed?
If there is more than one problem, can they be clearly distinguished (e.g. operational and developmental)?

Identification of:
1. Poor outcomes to which PE issues appear to contribute (for example, persistently poor development outcomes, repeated failure to adopt sector reforms);
2. Theory of change underpinning previous interventions (if any) and their effectiveness.

2

2a: Structural Diagnosis: Context and institutions

Key question: What are the systemic features in place that are relevant to the problem?

Analysis of:
1. Relevant structural features, including demography, geography (e.g. natural resource endowment), geopolitics, culture and social structure, historical legacies, climate change and technological progress.
2. The 'rules of the game': Relevant institutions, including formal laws and regulations and informal social political and cultural norms, that shape power relations and, ultimately, economic and political outcomes.

Interaction

2b: Agency Diagnosis: Power, incentives and behaviour

Key question: What combination of perceived incentives influences the behaviour that leads to this problem?

Analysis of:
1. The motivations (financial, political, personal, ideational, etc.) of relevant individuals and organisations that shape their behaviour in ways relevant to the problem and potential reform.
2. The types of relationships and balance of power between those actors.
3. Relevant analytical concepts that provide some insight into actors' incentives and decision logics: including credible commitment problems, collective action problems, information asymmetries, principal-agent relationships, heuristics and biases, etc.

3

Prescription
What can be done?

Key questions:

1. What is a plausible pathway of change?
2. What actions can be proposed that support that pathway of change?

Analysis of:

1. Potential change processes; and
2. The realism of proposed change processes given the constraints and opportunities identified in the analysis.

Assessment of the range of potentially viable entry points, if any, for external actors seeking to facilitate this change.
If viable entry points exist:
1. Selection of appropriate interventions and modalities
2. Timing, tailoring and sequencing of selected intervention

While these dimensions apply to country-, sector-, or issue-level analyses, some tools point to more specific **sector-level components**. The World Bank's _Problem-Driven PEA Framework_ identifies considerations for sector-focused analysis, including ownership structures, national and sub-national distribution of responsibilities, sector funding sources, past reform processes and legacies, social or ethnic factors in sector dynamics, and public opinion on sector performance and reforms.[57] ODI's _Framework for Understanding the PE of Sectors_ analyses relations between institutions and actors by mapping sector boundaries and organisation, actors, and roles and relationships within _and_ across sectors,[58] and in WaterAid's _PEA Toolkit_ the sector-level tool involves mapping the sector's political economy around sectoral goals such as universal access.[59]
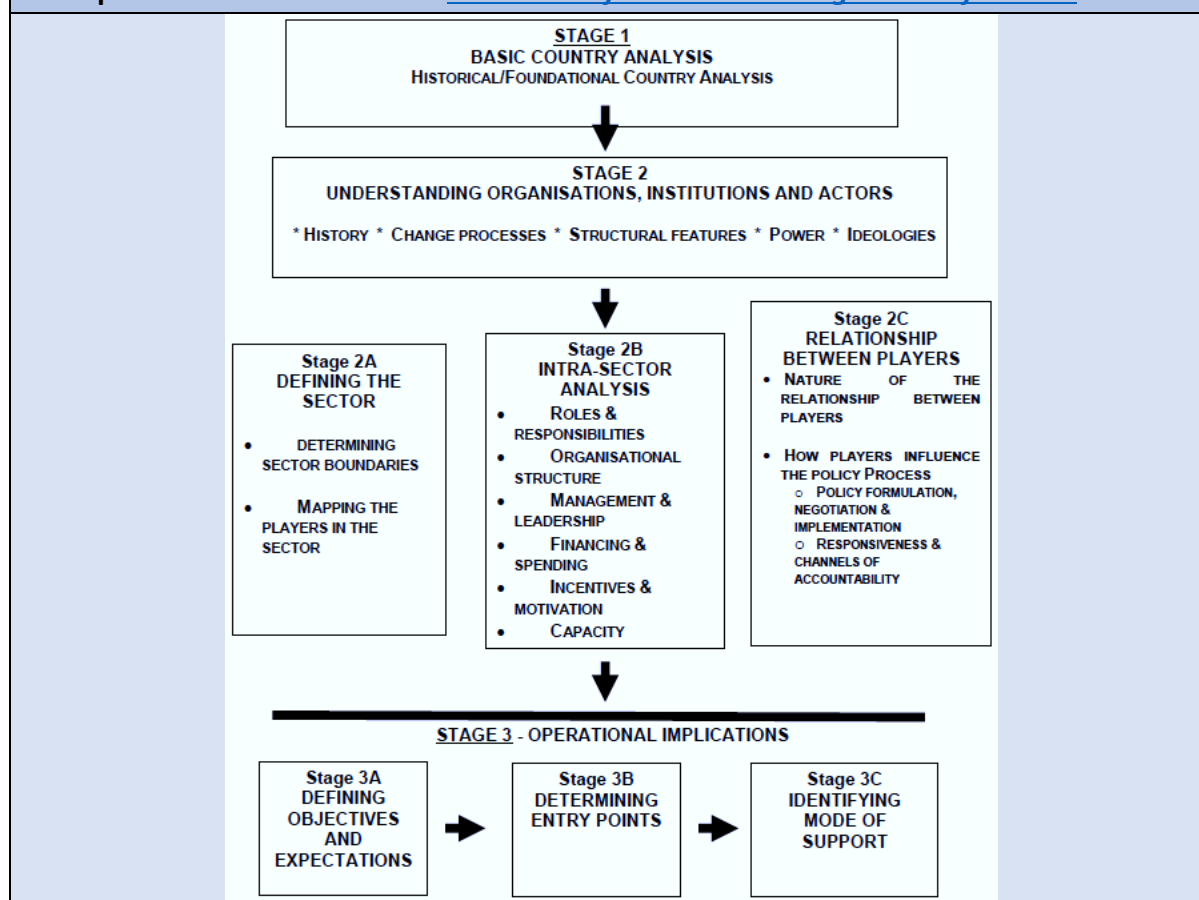
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[56] Harris 2013, p. 5.
[57] Fritz et al. 2009; Poole 2011.
[58] Moncrieffe and Luttrell 2005.
[59] WaterAid 2015.

Example PEA framework: ODI's _Framework for Understanding the PE of Sectors_[60]

Other tools cover **education-specific aspects** of governance, service delivery, and teaching and learning. USAID's _Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into ESA Guidelines_ includes six main components, examining relations to conflict for each: context of education sector development (socio-demographic, political, security, humanitarian, and macroeconomic contexts, and stakeholder analysis); enrolment, internal efficiency, and exclusion; cost and financing; quality and management; external efficiency (economic and social impacts of education); and equity.[61] USAID's _Education and Fragility Assessment_ considers education access, quality, relevance, equity, and management, and their relationships with 'fragility domains' (governance, security, social, and economic dynamics) and 'patterns of fragility' (corruption, exclusion and elitism, insufficient capacity, transitional dynamics, organised violence, public disengagement).[62] Similarly, INEE's _Analytic Framework for Education and Fragility_ examines interactions between education planning (policy and coordination), service delivery, resource mobilisation, and monitoring, and five 'fragility domains' (security, governance, economy, social, environmental).[63] Save the Children's _Education and Fragility Barometer_ considers relations between education and conflict across domains of culture

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[60] Moncrieffe and Luttrell 2005, p. 5.

[61] Koons 2013.

[62] Miller-Grandvaux 2006, 2009.

[63] Davies 2011.

(decision making, tolerance, protection, language), policy (teachers, inclusion, planning, resources, curriculum), and practice (security and protection, student flows, teaching content), at school/community and national/system levels.[64]

USAID's *Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into ESA Guidelines*[65]	
Context of the development of the education sector	**Objective:** Analyse socio-demographic, humanitarian, and macroeconomic contexts affecting the education sector, including past trends and future prospects **Conflict/fragility issue:** What is the political, economic, socio-cultural structural profile surrounding education? What are the causes of conflict and factors for peace? Who are the main education, conflict, and peacebuilding actors and how do they relate to one another? • Social, humanitarian, security, demographic, political, and macroeconomic contexts • Drivers of conflict and peace • Stakeholder analysis
Enrolment, internal efficiency and out of school	**Objective:** Understand the quantitative performance of the education system, for all levels and types of teaching, in terms of enrolment capacity, coverage of different age groups, obstacles to access and completion, efficiency, and exclusion **Conflict/fragility issue:** When considering the performance of the education system, what is the relationship between this performance and dynamics of conflict/fragility? • Evolution of enrolment and education system enrolment capacity • School coverage: schooling profiles, school life expectancy, education pyramids • Supply and demand issues on access and retention • Internal efficiency • Out of school children
Cost and financing	**Objective:** Analyse 1) structure of education financing (by government, donors and households), its distribution (by item, education level, and school type) and evolution over time, and 2) breakdown of spending (unit costs, household contributions, and capital costs) **Conflict/fragility issue:** When considering the structure, distribution, evolution and breakdown of education financing, what is the relationship between these elements and dynamics of conflict/fragility? • Evolution of education expenditure and its composition • Estimation of unit costs and analysis of their composition • Estimation of household contributions • Cost of different types of school construction and other equipment
Quality and management	**Objective:** Analyse 1) learning outcomes and achievements and their evolution; 2) how resources are converted into results, and institutional arrangements and monitoring tools for results-based management; 3) management of teacher

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[64] Save the Children 2007.
[65] From Koons 2013.

	recruitment, training and posting; and 4) management of other resources and teaching time
	Conflict/fragility issue: When considering learning outcome assessments, results-based management, and management of teachers and other educational resources, how do they relate to the dynamics of conflict/fragility?
	• Assessment of student learning
	• Management of the conversion of resources into results
	• Management of teachers
	• Management of other resources and of teaching time
External efficiency	**Objective:** Analyse the extent to which education, and each level of education or training, contributes to the achievement of national economic and human development goals
	Conflict/fragility issue: How does education's contribution or lack thereof, to the productivity and employability of youth, relate with dynamics of conflict/fragility?
	• Economic impact of education
	• Social impact of education
Equity	**Objective:** Analyse 1) the extent to which enrolment patterns and school results vary according to key sociodemographic factors, and 2) how policy choices in terms of public resource distribution affect equity
	Conflict/fragility issue: How does equity or lack thereof, in enrolment, learning achievements and distribution of public education resources relate to dynamics of conflict and fragility?
	• Equity in enrolment and learning achievements
	• Equity in the distribution of public education resources

Other tools examine aspects of education in relation to both wider conflict dynamics, and possibilities for peace. The GPE, UNICEF, and World Bank *Risk and Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector* guidelines cover mapping key risks (including violent conflict), the effects of risks on education, the influence of education on conflict and on peacebuilding, and education sector risk management, mitigation and governance approaches.[66] The *4Rs framework* is oriented around four dimensions of inequality representing both conflict drivers and legacies, and peacebuilding directions: redistribution (addressing economic inequalities in the distribution of education resources and opportunities), recognition (addressing 'cultural' inequalities and injustices related to recognition and difference), representation (addressing political inequalities in representation and participation in governance), and reconciliation (addressing conflict legacies, historic memory, and truth, justice, and trust).[67]

See Appendix 1 for media resources that illustrate some of these key elements of PEA of education.
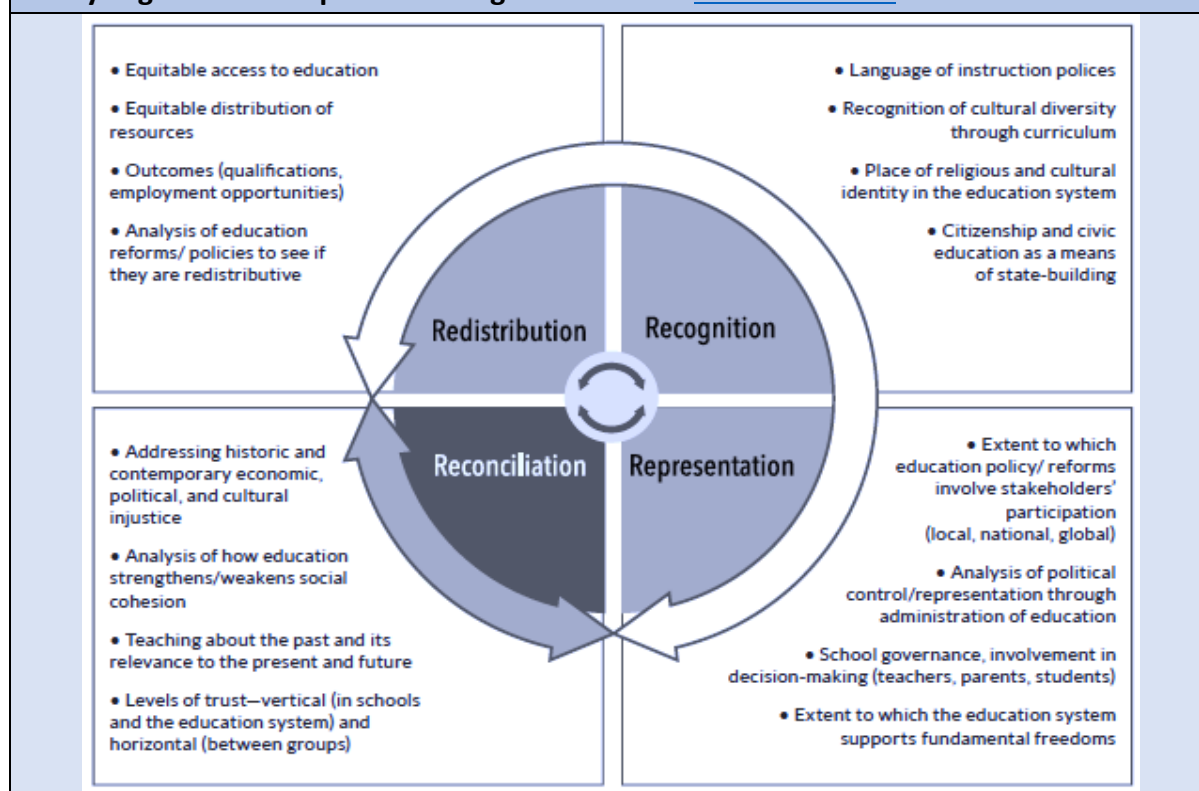
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[66] GPE et al. 2020.
[67] Novelli et al. 2015, 2017.

GPE, UNICEF, and World Bank's *Risk and Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector*[68]	
Overview and mapping of risks	**Objectives:** Present a shared view of the risk landscape that a country and its populations face • Country's global risk profile, in international context • Main risks likely to affect education, and differences in risk at sub-national levels • Root causes and contributing factors of risks, and interrelations between them • Overall humanitarian impact of existing hazards and conflict based on exposure, vulnerability and capacities • The most severe risks to be addressed
Effects of risks on education	**Objectives:** Understand the extent to which hazards and conflict have affected the education system • Extent to which risks impact education in general, and supply and demand in particular (including at sub-national level) • Correlation between risk and education indicators for access, internal efficiency, quality inputs, learning outcomes and equity • Financial impact and cost to the sector of hazards and conflict
Influence of education on conflict and hazards	**Objectives:** Examine the multiple faces of education, including contributions to tensions and conflict by exacerbating inequities, exclusion or polarization; reconstruction, reconciliation, respect for diversity, human rights, and peace; and preparing the population to face risks, to avoid the occurrence of disaster or crisis • Aspects of education that may contribute to create or fuel conflict • Dimensions of the education system as sources of grievance, intentionally or unintentionally creating inequity • Education's contribution to peacebuilding, social cohesion and social justice • Education's contribution to natural disaster prevention and preparedness
Education sector risk management, mitigation and governance	**Objectives:** Examine the education's coping capacity, which at the level of the system, reflects its strengths and weaknesses in terms of risk management, mitigation and governance • Risk reduction enabling factors in national policy and institutional contexts that are favorable to education sector resilience • Strengths and weaknesses of education sector-specific arrangements for preparedness and response • Extent to which Education in Emergencies funding is adequate and sustainable

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[68] GPE et al. 2020. **Add hyperlink.**

Analysing sustainable peacebuilding in education: 4Rs framework[69]

- Equitable access to education
- Equitable distribution of resources
- Outcomes (qualifications, employment opportunities)
- Analysis of education reforms/ policies to see if they are redistributive

Redistribution

Recognition

- Language of instruction polices
- Recognition of cultural diversity through curriculum
- Place of religious and cultural identity in the education system
- Citizenship and civic education as a means of state-building

Reconciliation

- Addressing historic and contemporary economic, political, and cultural injustice
- Analysis of how education strengthens/weakens social cohesion
- Teaching about the past and its relevance to the present and future
- Levels of trust—vertical (in schools and the education system) and horizontal (between groups)

Representation

- Extent to which education policy/ reforms involve stakeholders' participation (local, national, global)
- Analysis of political control/representation through administration of education
- School governance, involvement in decision-making (teachers, parents, students)
- Extent to which the education system supports fundamental freedoms

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Exercise for reflection and discussion

Referring to the *4Rs framework* in the table above, select one component (redistribution, recognition, representation, or reconciliation) to consider in relation to your own context, drawing on your own knowledge and experience and considering national and/or subnational issues. This does not have to be a detailed analysis. Rather, the aim is to begin thinking about the political economy dynamics of elements of education systems and their interacts with conflict and peace.

- What are the key issues at play? What are some of the key education sector 'challenges', and how are these connected to dynamics of conflict? Of peacebuilding?
- Why are things the way they are? Why have past efforts not worked? What past efforts *have* worked?

Conflict-focused tools and frameworks are organised around key **dimensions of conflict and peacebuilding**. For instance, UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis* focuses on conflict dynamics (patterns or trends, dividers and connectors), root and proximate causes, conflict triggers, and peace capacities.[70] The UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis* covers political, economic, security, and socio-cultural contexts, conflict factors (structural dimensions, triggers, and manifestations of conflict), conflict stakeholders and their interests and motivations, and interactions between these, as well as current responses and their relations

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[69] Novelli et al. 2017, p. 29.
[70] UNICEF 2016. See also: UNICEF 2012, 2019.

to conflict and peace.[71] Other tools similarly examine structural roots of conflict, conflict drivers and triggers, key actors, patterns of conflict, responses to violence, peace-making opportunities and drivers, and wider contexts.[72] However, most general PEA tools and frameworks include no explicit reference to conflict dynamics, and even tools with a conflict focus may pay limited attention to wider structural dimensions of conflict. And conflict analysis frameworks not explicitly focused on political economy dynamics may involve insufficient attention to the 'messiness of politics' and interests, motivations, and power associated with dynamics and persistence of violent conflict.[73]

Conflict analysis guiding questions: UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*[74]
Stakeholders   • Which individuals, groups, networks and other actors are viewed as central to social and political dynamics? As peripheral to social and political dynamics? Which are excluded or alienated?   • What role do diaspora, refugee, migrant and other communities play in conflict dynamics?   • What role do international actors (states and others) and organizations play in conflict dynamics?
Root and proximate causes   *Community dynamics:*   • How is the population geographically organized along identity, gender, age or other lines? How is this diversity viewed?   • What is the nature of intra-group contact (within communities)? What is the nature of inter-group contact (between communities)?   • Is there a history of tension or violent conflict that might drive further conflict?   • Are there current disputes or events around specific issues within or between communities?   *Sector policies:*   • How and to what degree are current sector policies and structures inclusive or discriminatory in providing access to basic social services? How and to what degree are they conflict sensitive?   • How and to what degree do educational opportunities promote equity, social cohesion, peacebuilding and conflict resolution capacities?   • How and to what extent are platforms created for the participation of 'beneficiaries' in shaping/providing feedback on said programmes/social sectors?   *Sector governance:*   • To what degree do governance capacities ensure equitable access to services, resources and protection?   • How and to what degree are benefits from natural resources equitably distributed through governance structures?   • What is the nature and level of institutional capacity for democratic participation, including for young people, women and minorities? How and to what degree are sector institutions governing inclusively and consultatively?

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[71] UNDG 2016.

[72] **Tools:** ODI's *PEA in Conflict*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; Stabilisation Unit's *JACS*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict.*

[73] Newton 2014.

[74] From UNICEF 2016, pp. 34-37.

- What roles does civil society play in sectors? What is the range and scope of civil society organizations engaged in meaningful participation and open dialogue?
- How and to what degree are major groups represented in governance? How and to what degree are there governance disparities across different regions?
- How and to what degree are public funds/budgets managed and distributed equitably and fairly?

Social services, protection and security provision:

- What are the current security issues at the community level? How is violence manifested in communities (direct/physical, structural, cultural, etc.)?
- What is the nature and degree of inclusive informal/community-based and formal mechanisms for access to health services, water, social protection and education?
- What is the level and sense of physical safety for men and women, boys and girls across identity groups in homes? In public and community spaces?

Cultural ideologies and social norms:

- How and to what degree has violence become a norm?
- How and to what degree do social and cultural values and norms promote social exclusion? How and to what degree do they promote social cohesion?
- What are the norms in homes, community and public spaces related to conflict and violence?
- What is the nature and degree of a sense of dominance of certain groups over others? What form does this take? How does it relate to identity or gender dynamics?
- What is the nature and degree of social norms and practices promoting participation of women and men in decision-making in the household, community life and public affairs?
- How and to what degree do social norms and ideologies value the voices, experiences and participation of children and young people, both boys and girls in all spheres of life?

Perceptions and experiences of conflict:

- What is the range of perception, narration and memories of individuals related to conflict dynamics and experiences?
- How and to what degree do divisive or discriminatory norms and ideologies impact individuals?
- What are the perceptions and experiences related to rights protection and security? To equity of basic social services?
- What are the impacts of division and violence on socio-psychological dispositions (sense of hope, self-esteem and us/them vs. inclusive identity formation)?
- What is the nature and degree of transfer of trauma and negative worldviews from caretakers to children (rhetoric regarding 'others', anger, normalization of violence, etc.)?

Triggers
- What events, dynamics or changes have triggered conflict escalation in the past?
- What events, dynamics or changes may occur that may trigger conflict escalation?
- How and to what degree is there early warning available regarding these triggers? What is the nature and degree of early action regarding these triggers?
- How do state actors tend to react to the triggering events, dynamics or changes? Civil society? The media? Individuals?

Conflict dynamics
- What trends or patterns related to conflict reoccur frequently or cyclically?
- Which groups, processes, mechanisms, practices, policies and/or institutions tend to divide people, and to what degree? Which tend to connect people, and to what degree?

> - What are the roles of traditional, cultural, political and religious institutions and practices in building social cohesion or triggering tension? What role do media providers and institutions play? What are national, regional or local narratives about the area's history and conflicts?
>
> **Peace capacities**
>
> - What formal or informal conflict resolution mechanisms exist? How and to what degree are they implemented, accessed and effective?
> - What institutions or groups exist that are currently supporting – or could support in the future – peacebuilding efforts?
> - What is the nature and capacity for individuals to participate in peacebuilding efforts?
> - What traditions or events exist that relate or could be linked to peacebuilding efforts?
> - What are potentially shared interests, concerns, norms, values or social processes that do or could contribute to peacebuilding efforts?

Some specific issues important to education, conflict, and peacebuilding should be highlighted. A comprehensive understanding of political economy dynamics requires a multi-scalar perspective that considers national or sectoral policies, systems, programs, and practices as influenced by (and influencing) dynamics at local, national, and global scales.[75] Existing frameworks involve different assessments of the relative significance of local or subnational, national, and international contextual factors and actors. While most focus primarily on national-level (internal) dynamics, some do consider **external (regional or international)** actors (e.g. donors, transnational economic actors), structures, and contexts, and/or the influence of external actors' funding and ideas.[76] In addition, many frameworks consider both **contemporary *and* historical dimensions**, referring to the impacts of historical legacies on country-, sector-, or issue-level dynamics.[77] However, few refer explicitly to colonisation and colonial legacies – which are crucially important given their role in both violent conflict and education development – as part of understanding historical influences.[78] A broad focus on 'internal' and contemporary aspects of the political economy of education and conflict means that 'problems' are located within national boundaries and socioeconomic and political practices, while the historical and ongoing roles of external actors and systems (e.g. colonialism and imperialism, militarisation, neoliberal economic policies) and the highly unequal nature of the global world order may be given limited attention.[79]

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[75] Fritz et al. 2009; Novelli et al. 2017.

[76] **Tools:** UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; USAID's *Education and Fragility Assessment Tool*; WILPF's *Guide to Feminist PE*; Stabilisation Unit's *JACS*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; DFID's *PoD framework*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; USAID's *APEA Framework*; ODI's *PE of Sectors*; WaterAid's *PEA Toolkit.*

[77] **Tools:** UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; *4Rs framework*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights*; Stabilisation Unit's *JACS*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict*; DFID's *PoD framework*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; *Combined PEPA*; *Political Analysis Framework*; USAID's *APEA Framework*; ODI's *Problem-Driven Framework for APEA*; ODI's *PE of Sectors*; WaterAid's *PEA Toolkit.*

[78] **Tools:** USAID's *RERA Toolkit*; ODI's *PEA in Conflict*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; DFID's *PoD framework*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework.*

[79] Novelli et al. 2014.

Examples of global contexts and influences: WILPF's *Guide to Feminist PE*[80]
Militarisation: 'When put in a conflict context feminist political economy can be used to look at the ratio between resources allocated to security institutions (such as police and military) and those allocated for peacebuilding; the ratio between militarization and effective demilitarization and how it plays out… [It] is important to understand political economy of war and peace, and to use feminist political economy to envision demilitarized societies built on solidarity, justice, and equality.'
Neoliberal policies: 'Economic policies that are not based on solidarity and equality can be harmful for societies as growing inequalities are one of the root causes of war… Austerity measures typically consist of public expenditure cuts: less money for health, education, pensions, social welfare, and everything else that is typically funded through public budgets, and more so, what is typically needed in a society recovering from conflict. Within the "package" of these measures economic growth is often understood to take place through freeing the economy from state-imposed restriction. This often translates into flexibilisation of labour laws, deregulations and privatisation that directly influences public ownership and control over resources, and subsequently also the distribution of those resources. Feminist political economy can be used to challenge the assumption of economic growth happening through minimal state and minimal public intervention… [and] the inability of neoliberal policies to challenge such environment and create gender just and environmentally sustainable growth for everybody.'

While most PEA tools and frameworks consider aspects of power and power relations, only some – mainly those with a conflict focus – include **explicit references to inequality**, in relation to distribution of resources, power, and opportunities and patterns of exclusion along gendered, ethnic, socioeconomic, geographic, or other lines.[81] The *4Rs framework*, for instance, focuses on dimensions of political, economic, and cultural inequality, as both drivers and legacies of conflict,[82] while SIDA's *Power Analysis* notes a need to consider hierarchies, inequalities, and power across location (e.g. urban/rural), class, caste, indigenous or migrant groups, race, ethnicity, able-bodiedness, mode of production (e.g. agriculturalists or pastoralists), sexual orientation, and gender identity.[83]

Gender is often not systematically included in mainstream PEA approaches, which fail to consider 'interactions between gendered ideas, discourses and actors' in policy design, implementation, and outcomes.[84] Some tools identify gender relations or inequalities as elements of analysis,[85] although only a few include guidance on integrating gender into PEA

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[80] From Isaković 2018a, pp. 3-6; 2018b.

[81] **Tools:** UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; *4Rs framework*; USAID's *Education and Fragility Assessment*; Save the Children's *Education and Fragility Barometer*; USAID's *RERA Toolkit*; ODI's *PEA in Conflict*; WILPF's *Guide to Feminist PE*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; WaterAid's *PEA Toolkit.*

[82] Novelli et al. 2015, 2017.

[83] Pettit 2013*.*

[84] Chopra et al. 2013. See also: Browne 2014.

[85] **Tools:** *4Rs framework*; USAID's *Education and Fragility Assessment Tool*; USAID's *RERA Toolkit*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Not*e.

processes.[86] WILPF's *Guide to Feminist PE* and the *Gender in PEA* guidance note centre gendered dynamics, relations, and inequalities, guided by feminist PEA principles – understanding gender as a system of power, encompassing gendered institutions, meanings, identities, roles, and relations.[87] WILPF provides a list of questions covering gendered dimensions of political and economic contexts and actors, agendas, and realities, resources and rights, violence and security, and effects of conflict interventions and post-conflict developments. Conciliation Resources' *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit* and Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict* similarly guide gendered analyses of conflict dynamics, issues, actors, and causes, and peace opportunities.[88] These tools highlight the need for **intersectional analysis** that considers not only gender but also how different systems of power, access, discrimination, and disadvantage interact, with attention to race, ethnicity, class, caste, age, sexual orientation, migration status, disability, geographic location, etc.[89]

Gender in PEA of conflict: WILPF's *Guide to Feminist PE*[90]
• What does the overall context for women's rights, equality, and participation look like?
• Who are the main political and economic actors? Who sets the agenda? Whose priorities and needs are catered for? Whose are not?
• How do social and economic realities look like for women and men? What roles do they play in that reality? How do decisions/reforms affect them? Can they participate in decision-making processes? Can they influence planned reforms?
• What are the constraints (in private and public spheres) for women and men to engage in formal economy? What circumstances would be conducive for equal, just participation in the economy and realisation of rights?
• What is the division between the formal/informal and productive/reproductive economy?
• What is being invested in (including in social capital)? How? By and for whom? Is there a preference for certain types of investments? How do these play into gender (in)equalities?
• How does the access to resources look like? Who owns them and who controls them?
• How does the access to social, economic and cultural rights look like for women and men? How is access gendered? Is there a strategy for development of socio-economic rights? Is it gendered?
• What is the ratio between resources allocated to security (e.g. police, military) and public services (e.g. health care, education, day-care)? How does this play regarding power and gender relations?
• How do local communities understand security? Through militarised responses of security forces (i.e. physical security)? A broader understanding of security? What does security for women in the given context mean? How can this be achieved?

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[86] **Tools:** UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; Stabilisation Unit's *JACS*; SIDA's *Power Analysis.*

[87] Haines and O'Neil 2018; Isaković 2018a, 2018b*.*

[88] Conciliation Resources 2015; Saferworld 2016*.*

[89] **Tools:** WILPF's *Guide to Feminist PE*; Conciliation Resources' *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict.*

[90] From Isaković 2018a, 2018b. Similar questions might also be asked to understand other dimensions of inequality, marginalisation, and exclusion (e.g. race, ethnicity, class, caste, sexual orientation, migration status, nationality, disability, geographic location).

- What constitutes 'economic activity' in a conflict/post-conflict country? Is unpaid care economy part of overall economic analysis by government or international institutions?
- Which rights do we deem important to ensure in a conflict or post-conflict context? How are those rights safe-guarded?
- Is there analysis of violations and harms suffered by the population? Are those analyses gendered? How can these be redressed?
- Is there an understanding of the gendered aspects and the effects of the war on people's ability to engage in labour market, access healthcare, education etc.? How can that nexus be addressed?
- How do conflict and post-conflict interventions (militarised interventions, demilitarisation, political interventions – e.g. peace negotiations and agreements, foreign investments or loans, development or humanitarian aid) affect economic, social and other human rights?

Integrating gender into analysis: Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict Toolkit*[91]

- *'Gender' is not synonymous with 'women'.* The lives of men and sexual and gender minorities are also shaped by gender norms and roles, so must be considered in your analysis.
- **There are more than two genders/sexes.** Not everyone fits into the category of 'man' or 'woman'. Who else might you be missing?
- **'Women' and 'men' are not homogeneous groups.** People's experience varies greatly according to other aspects of their identities, such as age, marital status, class, caste, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, (dis)ability and so on.
- **Examine your own assumptions.** This means trying to set aside stereotypes. Women may be perpetrators of violence, and men may be victims/survivors. Many people are both at the same time.
- **Think beyond gender-based violence (GBV).** It is important to identify where GBV occurs, and who commits it against whom. But gender also shapes forms of conflict and violence not typically thought of as 'gender-based'.
- **Look beyond the obvious sources.** There are often 'go-to' NGOs, academics, think tanks or publications which people frequently consult. Are there others who could give a different perspective?
- **Consider public and private spheres.** Think about what goes on in the household and community, and how they link to each other. In practice, the public/private distinction is often a false one.
- **Remember: things change.** Do not assume that gender norms are an inherent part of any culture. They have evolved over time and will continue to do so. Whereas gender norms often change slowly over long periods, gendered behaviours may change more quickly.
- **You have a gender too.** How does the way you understand your own identity and role influence the way you interact with others, or the way you interpret what they say?

Many PEA tools neglect or underplay the role and influence of **ideas and discourses** in political-economic dynamics and development processes.[92] Some tools and frameworks consider, to varying degrees, narratives and discourses, ideas, and beliefs as elements of

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[91] Saferworld 2016, p. 2.
[92] Hudson and Leftwich 2014; Hudson and Marquette 2015.

analysis.[93] UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis* considers perceptions, experiences, memories, and narratives of conflict, violence, and inequity, with attention to differences according to age, gender, identity, geography, and position, while SIDA's *Power Analysis* discusses the significance of cultural norms and beliefs and perceptions of power, inequality, economic exchange, and care.[94] Similarly, USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework* explores perceptions, attitudes, and feelings about conflict dynamics, historical events, and social or economic patterns.[95] More broadly, Hudson and Leftwich's *Political Analysis Framework* examines interactions between power (formal and informal, de jure and de facto) and ideas, referring to aspects of thought and thinking, collective worldviews, individual knowledge, opinions and prejudices, and interpretations of events, contexts, and interests.[96]

Finally, previous reviews point to the centring of economic assumptions and concepts in many frameworks that view political economy 'as the economics of politics – the way incentives shape behaviour' with less attention to 'distinctively political' aspects.[97] This is reflected in approaches oriented around concepts of corruption, neo-patrimonialism, and patronage.[98] In response, some frameworks attempt to (re)centre **power and 'the political'**.[99] SIDA's *Power Analysis* and the *Gender in PEA* guidance note, for instance, explores in detail how power is distributed and is challenged, and different forms, sources, positions, spaces, and levels of power.[100] However, other frameworks centre on aspects of political decision-making which, while providing insights into education politics and decisions, might guide a more limited focus on wider dynamics of conflict.[101]

As previous reviews note, many tools and frameworks lack **theoretical insights and guidance** on how different political economy factors or framework components interact with and influence one another.[102] Few tools mention specific theoretical or ideological orientations. Some implicitly point to narrower political economy perspectives that focus on individual political behaviours, decisions, interests, and incentives (e.g. 'corruption') or – most often – to institutional perspectives exploring how formal and informal institutions and 'rules' affect individual behaviour and political, economic, and conflict outcomes.[103] These include

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[93] **Tools:** UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; *4Rs framework*; DFID's *PoD framework*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; *Combined PEPA*; *Political Analysis Framework*; *Gender in PEA*; ODI's *PE of Sectors*; WaterAid's *PEA Toolkit.*

[94] Pettit 2013; UNICEF 2016*.*

[95] USAID 2012a, 2012b.

[96] Hudson and Leftwich 2014*.*

[97] Hudson and Leftwich 2014; Hudson and Marquette 2015.

[98] Boak 2011*.* E.g. USAID's *Education and Fragility Assessment Tool*; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework.*

[99] **Tools:** *Combined PEPA*; *Political Analysis Framework*; ODI's *PE of Sectors.*

[100] Haines and O'Neil 2018; Pettit 2013*.*

[101] E.g. DFID's *PoD framework.*

[102] Edelmann 2009; Hudson and Leftwich 2014*.*

[103] **Tools:** USAID's *Education and Fragility Assessment*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; DFID's *PoD framework*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; *Combined*

frameworks underpinned by normative conceptions of 'good governance' and democratisation, state 'capacity' or 'weakness', and associated (internal) 'development problems'. Some conflict-focused tools explore forms of 'human insecurity' – social exclusion, discrimination, marginalisation, and inequality – that produce violent conflict, and in turn highlight the need to address structural causes of violence.[104] Few tools and frameworks draw explicitly on more critical theoretical perspectives, centring inequality and injustice in their analysis and pointing to transformative directions for change. The *4Rs framework* is guided by a critical cultural political economy approach that considers both material (economic and political) relations and resources *and* 'cultural' or discursive aspects, and exploring aspects of social justice and equality.[105] Gender-focused PEA tools are guided by feminist theoretical perspectives that draw attention to connections between private and public/political spheres, focusing on intersecting dimensions of inequality and oppression and calling for transformative change that challenges gendered and other forms of injustice.[106]

Methods and process

Most PEA tools and frameworks cover multi-stage processes, involving determining the focus and scope of analysis, desk research, stakeholder mapping and analysis, planning for primary research, primary data collection and analysis, and reporting and dissemination. Most involve both **desk reviews** of existing materials (e.g. policy analysis), to inform understandings of contexts and sectors, key challenges, and knowledge gaps, and **primary field research** involving interviews, focus groups, workshops, and other methods. Others are primarily desk-based (e.g. World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA* country-level analysis). While most frameworks involve extended processes, some present more rapid methods. For instance, WaterAid's *PEA Toolkit* note that country, sector, and tactical PEA tools can be used for internal half-day analysis workshops, or to structure terms of reference for more comprehensive research.[107]

Previous reviews highlight the need to clearly **define the purpose of a PEA**, including focus and expected use, outcomes, and intended audience.[108] Some tools include defining the purpose and scope of analysis (e.g. geographic focus, scale of analysis, expected outputs, timeframe) as a specific first step,[109] while problem-focused tools refer to problem/issue

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PEPA; ODI's *PE of Sectors*; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; USAID's *APEA Framework*; ODI's *Problem-Driven Framework for APEA.*

[104] UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*.

[105] Novelli et al. 2015, 2017.

[106] **Tools:** WILPF's *Guide to Feminist PE*; *Gender in PEA* guidance note; Conciliation Resources' *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict.*

[107] WaterAid 2015*.*

[108] Routley and Hulme 2013*.*

[109] **Tools:** UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; Stabilisation Unit's *JACS*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; *Political Analysis Framework.*

identification.[110] Only some provide concrete guidance on this, such as guiding questions to clarify the purpose, scope, objectives, timing, and other planning components.[111] The purpose and scope of PEA will be determined in part by contextual factors. GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework* identifies questions to guide analysis across different phases of conflict: early intervention for conflict prevention, emerging crises, periods of open violence, cyclical or low-intensity conflict, and post-war or post-peace agreement.[112]

Clarifying the purpose of analysis: SIDA's *Power Analysis*[113]	
Clarifying the purpose	• Who should be involved? • What are the needs and entry points? What do you need to know? • What are the core issues and questions? • What forms of power should be considered?
Defining the core issues and questions	• What were the findings of previous analyses? • What studies have been done by others? • Are there gaps or issues that need to be explored further in light of experience or recent changes in the country? • Are existing analyses too broad, and would a more focused analysis be useful? Or are they too narrow, missing certain structures and relations of power? • What core issues concerning power need to be examined?

Defining the purpose and scope of analysis: UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*[114]	
What is the purpose of conducting the analysis?	• Tool for a quick context assessment? • First step towards programme/response development? • Context assessment to prepare for further engagement/strategic re-positioning? • Navigational tool to help change direction in light of new events? • Dialogue tool for conflict resolution/transformation purposes? • Methodological approach for ensuring conflict-sensitivity? • Peacebuilding or conflict transformation tool?
Defining the scope of the analysis	• Geographical focus of your study • Level of conflict you intend to focus on • Expected output (What recommendations/analysis would be most useful?) • Extent of collaboration • Timeframe • Where in the conflict cycle you are working

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[110] **Tools:** World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; ODI's *Problem-Driven Framework for APEA*; WaterAid's *PEA Toolkit.*

[111] **Tools:** UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; DFID's *How To Note*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; USAID's *APEA Framework*; ODI's *PE of Sectors.*

[112] GPPAC 2017.

[113] Pettit 2013, pp. 23-24.

[114] From UNDG 2016, pp. 33-36.

Considerations for different phases of conflict: GPPAC's _Conflict Analysis Framework_[115]	
Early intervention for conflict prevention	• What are the deeper, long-term structural and cultural causes of conflict? • What issues, if left unaddressed, could lead eventually to violent conflict? Over what time period? • What policies or groups are addressing these issues? How? To what effect?
Emerging crises/urgent conflict prevention	• What immediate issues or events could trigger widespread political violence? • What are the warning signs for any of the above examples or other identified triggers? What forces are attempting to manage these issues? • Is there an increase in violence against women, or any other warning signs?
Period of open violence	• What are the underlying causes of conflict? Why did these factors lead to violence? Were any unsuccessful efforts made to avoid descent into war? • How has conflict shifted during the period of violence? Have new issues emerged? • What efforts are made to stop fighting (e.g. negotiations)? Are there barriers to progress? What issues are on/off the table? • What other initiatives would support movement towards peace?
Cyclical violence or low-intensity conflict	• What are the underlying causes of violence? Why do these issues emerge when they do? Are certain members of society targeted by violence more than others? • Who is doing what to address the underlying causes and immediate triggers? To what effect? • What can be done to prevent the recurrent cycles of violence, in terms of both short-term and long-term strategies?
Post-war/post-peace agreement	• What were the underlying causes of war/violence? How did these factors change during the war? What new factors emerged? • Of these causes, which ones (if any) were addressed in any peace agreement? • What are the persistent issues which could threaten a relapse into violence? • In peacebuilding funding/programming, what conflict drivers are addressed and how? What issues are ignored or avoided? • What is the strategy for recovery? To what extent is it necessary – and are people willing – to address issues of trauma from war/violence? Is there a need for transitional justice or other forms of healing? What factors, perceptions or roles hinder peoples' ability to address recovery and healing?

Many PEA tools and frameworks identify as an initial step **stakeholder mapping or analysis**, identifying key actors/stakeholders and their positions, motivations, interests, strategies, resources, and relationships.[116] Others refer to mapping institutional and governance

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[115] From GPPAC 2017, pp. 30-31.

[116] **Tools:** UNICEF's _Guide to Conflict Analysis_; USAID's _Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into ESA Guidelines_; Pact's _APEA for Human Rights_; UNDG's _Conflict and Development Analysis_; Stabilisation Unit's _JACS_; USAID's _Conflict Assessment Framework_; GPPAC's _Conflict Analysis Framework_; Saferworld's _Gender Analysis of Conflict_; DFID's _PoD framework_; UNDP's _ICA Guidance Note_; _Combined PEPA_; _Political Analysis Framework_; _Gender in PEA_; ODI's _PE of Sectors_.

arrangements,[117] network analysis,[118] or power and interest analysis.[119] PEA of education should include not only education-sector actors but also those relevant to wider political and peacebuilding processes. Some frameworks provide additional guidance on stakeholder mapping and analysis. UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis* suggests disaggregating elements of stakeholder analysis by gender, age, identities, and geography.[120] The *Gender in PEA* guidance calls attention to those with less visible, obvious, or official power and influence, noting that 'a narrow focus on elites and visible forms of power may… legitimise existing power structures by operating consistently on their terms' and fail to see how 'excluded groups have begun to negotiate new rights and resources'.[121]

Stakeholder analysis: UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*[122]	
'The following questions can help identify the range of stakeholders in the conflict context, and assist with an understanding of their positions and interests, and their relationships with one another, and with structural and proximate conflict factors.' • Who are the main stakeholders? • Do they participate in current decision-making bodies? • What are their main interests, goals and positions? What are their capacities and resources? • Are there lines of connection/support between armed and civilian stakeholders? • What are the relationships between and among all stakeholders and how are they connected? • What are their interests? Do their interests converge? • What and where are the capacities for peace? How are they connected to the other stakeholders? • What stakeholders can be identified as 'spoilers' and why? • What horizontal inequalities exist and what are their impacts on relationships among stakeholders, including among groups by identity, religion, ethnicity, region, etc.? • What role does gender play in conflict? Is it a positive transformative role? How can this be encouraged to contribute to conflict prevention? How can negative influences be mitigated?	
Characteristics of each actor	Features that describe the actor (individual, group or organization), e.g. size of the group or organization, location, and membership
Positions	What are the relationships among the various stakeholders? What are their positions on fundamental issues? What are the 'drivers' behind their actions?
Interests and needs	How do these interests and needs of stakeholders influence the conflict? How can the interests of these stakeholders be described? Are their interests political, economic, religious, environmental, or educational?
Capacities	What resources do they have to influence conflict, either positively or negatively?

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[117] **Tools:** World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; ODI's *PE of Sectors.*
[118] Pact's *APEA for Human Rights.*
[119] ODI's *PE of Sectors.*
[120] UNICEF 2016*.*
[121] Haines and O'Neil 2018, p. 3*.*
[122] From UNDG 2016, pp. 64-67.

Stakeholder analysis: UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*[123]	
Stakeholders: the 'who' of the conflict	• Who are the parties directly involved in the conflict? • What other parties impact the conflict? • What other parties are affected by the conflict? • What parties have not yet been engaged in the process?
Interests: the 'why' of the conflict	• Psychological, i.e. need to belong, to be recognized, for self or group actualization/preservation etc. • Substantive, i.e. need for access to basic services and resources etc. • Procedural, i.e. need to have a voice in decision-making etc.
Dynamics: 'connectors and dividers' of the conflict	• What are stakeholders' capacities to influence the conflict dynamics positively or negatively the conflict dynamics? • Who has formal power? Who has informal power? • How are these capacities currently operating?
Worldview: the 'beliefs' of the conflict	• What are strongly held beliefs, attitudes or values? • How do culture, context and history shape the various worldviews? • What worldview issues appear non-negotiable to stakeholders?
Relationships: 'interactions' between stakeholders	• Who has alliances with whom? • Who has the ability to influence whom? • Who has formal or informal links with whom? • Who is antagonistic with whom? • Where are there mixed dynamics (cooperation and antagonism)?
Process: the 'how' of engagement	• What approach for programming is envisioned? • Who should drive what elements of the programming?
History and narratives	• How does each stakeholder understand and narrate important historical experiences?
Peace perspectives	• How does each stakeholder view opportunities for pursuing sustainable, equitable peace?

Exercise for reflection and discussion: Stakeholders in PEA of education

Considering your own context, and drawing on the questions from the boxes above, conduct a brief initial mapping of key stakeholders that you think might be included in a PEA of education in conflict.

1. Who are the key stakeholders? Think broadly, within and beyond the education sector and within and beyond national borders.
2. Why have you included them? What roles, interests, relationships, or experiences make them 'key stakeholders' in the political economy of education and conflict?

Most PEA approaches end by assessing the **implications of findings** and identifying policy options, recommendations, and entry points, pathways, and strategies for change.[124] For

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[123] From UNICEF 2016, pp. 39-40.

[124] **Tools:** ODI's *PEA in Conflict*; UNICEF's *Conflict Analysis Guide*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; Stabilisation Unit's *JACS*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; SIDA's *Power*

example, UNICEF's *Conflict Analysis Guide* aims to identify peace capacities and peacebuilding implications through sector planning and programming.[125] Yet few tools include guidance to help identify and prioritise operational implications and strategies for change.[126] USAID's *APEA Framework* includes questions to guide analysis of implications, to inform project design or adjustment, monitoring, evaluation, and learning, and longer-term policy, budget, and strategy discussions.[127] The *Gender in PEA* guidance considers how changes will affect women and other marginalised groups and inequalities, while the *Combined PEPA* framework notes the need to clarify definitions of 'meaningful change', how change happens, and entry points for cooperation.[128] More broadly, PEA findings can inform actions that work *within* existing political space, or that seek to *expand* – or more radically transform – political space.[129]

Identifying directions for change: _Combined PEPA framework_[130]

What is the programme's understanding of meaningful change?
- Is this a short-term change or long-term change?
- What is an attainable change in the short run? How is this measurable?

When and how is change likely to happen (or not)?
- Who are the critical actors needed to produce meaningful changes?
- What are the possible coalitions of change?
- What are the arenas, norms and structures enabling (or blocking) change?
- What are the 'bottlenecks' to reform? What are the glass ceilings?

What would a 'successful' donor or organisational strategy or programme look like?
- Who are the key actors that can maximise initiatives? Which actors could potentially block the desired change?
- Who the key actors that have not yet been mobilised or could be better supported?
- What are the assumed spaces of interaction? Could more be done to create new spaces, formal or informal?
- Where and when are the opportunities for change and reform?
- At which point in the policy process can meaningful change take place?
- What complementary strategies may be required?
- Are staff and partners prepared to support meaningful change (financially, technically, politically)?

Analysis; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; ODI's *Problem-Driven Framework for APEA*; *Gender in PEA*; ODI's *PE of Sectors*; WaterAid's *PEA Toolkit.*
[125] UNICEF 2016, 2019.
[126] **Tools:** UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; *Combined PEPA*; *Gender in PEA.*
[127] USAID 2016, n.d.a.
[128] Haines and O'Neil 2018; Acosta and Pettit 2013; Pettit and Acosta 2014.
[129] Haines and O'Neil 2018; Kingsmill and Williams 2016.
[130] From Acosta and Pettit 2013, pp. 19-21; Pettit and Acosta 2014, pp. 19-20.

Identifying pathways for change: _Gender in PEA_ guidance note[131]	
'A PEA usually considers which actions might address the underlying causes of a given problem, and which ones are feasible given social, economic and political conditions... [I]t is important to think about how any change will affect women and other marginalised groups in particular, and whether a course of action will widen or narrow gender inequalities. It is also important to consider how women can be supported to actively drive social, political and economic change, rather than be passive recipients of new rights, opportunities or resources.'	
Causes	What are the underlying causes of problems for different groups of women and men?
Responses	What are the possible responses? How would these affect women and men differently? Are these feasible given social, political and economic conditions?
Change agents and resistors	Which individuals, groups and organisations can drive these changes? Could groups with less obvious sources of power be change agents and how? Which groups are likely to resist change and how might these be co-opted or blocked?
Options	What can the programme do to support and not hinder these processes?

PEA often involves collecting information to inform donor policy and planning while overlooking the relevance of findings to recipient stakeholders and limiting dissemination beyond donor bureaucracy.[132] Indeed, many tools are intended to inform _donor_ strategy and programme development or implementation. Previous reviews note that moving from recommendations to action requires **sharing findings with different stakeholders**, including government and civil society actors, to inform policy dialogue and joint learning and support local advocacy.[133] Yet dissemination of findings is rarely discussed in existing tools. Some note the need to consider how work will be disseminated and used, to and by whom, and in what form.[134] Others suggest holding workshops or briefings with key stakeholders to share and gather feedback on initial findings.[135] The few tools considering dissemination in more detail suggest that findings be shared with both 'primary' audiences (e.g. project teams, donors, ministries) and wider stakeholders at both country and global levels, through summary briefs/reports and presentations, and translation of materials into national languages.[136] This lack of explicit focus on the sharing of findings _within_ the countries and communities where PEA is conducted echoes the privileging of external donor and organisation needs and interests, effectively restricting access to research knowledge rather than explicitly prioritising its sharing with participants and stakeholders.

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[131] From Haines and O'Neil 2018, p. 21. Similar questions might also be asked to understand other dimensions of inequality, marginalisation, and exclusion (e.g. race, ethnicity, class, caste, sexual orientation, migration status, nationality, disability, geographic location).

[132] Fisher and Marquette 2014; Hout et al. 2013; Hutchison et al. 2014.

[133] Bjuremalm 2006; Fritz and Levy 2014; Lane and Martinko 2018.

[134] **Tools:** UNICEF's _Guide to Conflict Analysis_; USAID's _Conflict Assessment Framework_; GPPAC's _Conflict Analysis Framework_; DFID's _PoD framework_; UNDP's _ICA Guidance Note_; SIDA's _Power Analysis_; USAID's _APEA Framework_; ODI's _PE of Sectors_.

[135] **Tools:** UNICEF's _PBEA conflict analysis_; USAID's _RERA Toolkit_; Pact's _APEA for Human Rights_; UNDG's _Conflict and Development Analysis_; USAID's _Conflict Assessment Framework_; GPPAC's _Conflict Analysis Framework_.

[136] **Tools:** USAID's _RERA Toolkit_; Pact's _APEA for Human Rights_; USAID's _APEA Framework._

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Questions for reflection and discussion: PEA audiences and dissemination</td></tr>
<tr><td>1.</td><td>Considering the aims of PEA (e.g. to inform policy dialogue and joint learning, to support local advocacy, to bridge analysis and action) who might be the potential audiences for PEA of education findings and reports? Why?</td></tr>
<tr><td>2.</td><td>What issues should be considered regarding the sharing or dissemination of PEA findings with these different audiences?</td></tr>
<tr><td>3.</td><td>In what formats could PEA findings be presented to particular audiences? What types of PEA 'outputs' might be produced? Think broadly, beyond just research reports.</td></tr>
</table>

PEA requires cross-disciplinary collaboration, with knowledge of political economy *and* sector-specific issues.[137] Regarding the **composition of research teams**, necessary types of knowledge/expertise include PEA and conflict analysis, qualitative and quantitative methods (e.g. participatory methods, facilitation, analysis), technical sectoral issues, and local or national contexts, as well as strong networks with key stakeholders.[138] Others note the importance of expertise on inclusion and marginalisation or gender expertise.[139] Only a few consider the representativeness of research teams, regarding gender balance, ethnicity, nationality, and other dimensions of identity,[140] or the need to consider how the assumptions, biases, and characteristics of those *conducting* analysis can influence data collection, interpretations, and participant interactions.[141]

Previous reviews note that PEA design and implementation has been largely donor-centric, relying on external tools, frameworks, and consultants, with limited attention to the role, participation, and ownership of recipient stakeholders.[142] Yet PEA processes should centre **'local' staff and in-country partners**, to enable closer connections between findings and practice.[143] Some tools emphasise the need for national or local leadership and ownership (e.g. programme staff, practitioners, partners) of PEA processes and outcomes,[144] while others suggest simply involving local researchers/experts.[145] However, some frame this in

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[137] Booth et al. 2016; Harris and Booth 2013; Levy and Palale 2014; Routley and Hulme 2013.

[138] **Tools:** UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; Stabilisation Unit's *JACS*; USAID's *RERA Toolkit*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; USAID's *APEA Framework*.

[139] **Tools:** Pact's *APEA for Human Rights*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*.

[140] **Tools:** USAID's *RERA Toolkit*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*.

[141] **Tools:** USAID's *Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into ESA Guidelines*; USAID's *RERA Toolkit*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict*.

[142] Fisher and Marquette 2014, 2016.

[143] Harris and Booth 2013; Lane and Martinko 2018.

[144] **Tools:** ODI's *PEA in Conflict*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; *Political Analysis Framework*; *Gender in PEA*; ODI's *PE of Sectors*.

[145] **Tools:** USAID's *RERA Toolkit;* DFID's *PoD framework*; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; USAID's *APEA Framework*.

mainly instrumental terms. For instance, DFID's *PoD framework* suggests that 'local consultants' are essential for advising and collecting and interpreting data due to their knowledge of informal political-economy contexts – rather than to ensure local ownership of PEA processes and outcomes.[146] Generally, existing tools and frameworks see PEA as led primarily or in part by external organisations or consultants, reflecting a largely Eurocentric view of knowledge production – both in terms of those conducting PEA and the particular types of skills and knowledge considered necessary (e.g. privileging externally-identified 'technical' over contextual knowledge and lived experience).

Questions for reflection and discussion: Experience and skills for PEA of education
1. Considering your own context, what are some of the most important skills, knowledge, and experiences required to conduct a PEA of education? Consider both PEA content and implementation.
2. What are your existing skills, capacities, and knowledge that can be applied to PEA of education?
3. What other supports might be required to facilitate PEA processes (engagement with participants, data collection, etc.)?
4. What are your own assumptions, biases, and characteristics that might affect the PEA process and your engagement with participants and stakeholders? How might you work through these?

Implementation guidance is key to supporting effective PEA. Some tools and frameworks contain indicators or questions to guide analysis of key political economy factors, their interactions, and directions for change.[147] Others provide more concrete guidance for planning, design, implementation, data collection and analysis, and implications, including practical materials (e.g. tools, templates) alongside questions, topics, considerations, and data sources for framework elements.[148]

Crucially, PEA itself is not a neutral activity. It interacts with and reproduces relations of power, inequality, and violence, requiring attention to the **conflict sensitivity of PEA processes**. Existing tools include some consideration of this, with respect to participant representation and research team composition – but few address this explicitly or directly. Some emphasise the need for a conflict-sensitive or 'do no harm' approach (particularly

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[146] DFID 2009.

[147] **Tools:** Save the Children's *Education and Fragility Barometer*; ODI's *PEA in Conflict*; WILPF's *Guide to Feminist PE*; Conciliation Resources' *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit*; SIDA's *Power Analysis*; *Combined PEPA.*

[148] **Tools:** UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; USAID's *Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into ESA Guidelines*; USAID's *Education and Fragility Assessment Tool*; USAID's *RERA Toolkit*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; USAID's *APEA Framework*; ODI's *PE of Sectors*; WaterAid's *PEA Toolkit.*

regarding data collection and participants) and provide some guidance,[149] and the Stabilisation Unit's *Joint Analysis of Conflict* includes a list of questions to ensure the conflict sensitivity of recommendations emerging from analysis.[150] Uniquely, USAID's *RERA Toolkit* includes a conflict sensitivity checklist covering team self-assessment, methodology, and partners and stakeholders, which can be equally applied when conducting PEA.[151]

Conflict sensitivity checklist: USAID's *RERA Toolkit*[152]
Team self-assessment
• Team composition, particularly national consultants, sufficiently reflects local demographics
• Team members have openly surfaced and discussed their own biases (political, cultural, technical, gender, etc.)
• The team holds daily full team meetings during fieldwork, either virtually or in person
• The team is knowledgeable about country context, including culture, politics, and identities
• The team is informed about factors that fuel grievance, division, and violence in the country
• The team has experience and strong skills in facilitating sensitive discussions
• The team understands and is equipped to uphold ethical standards relating to research on human subjects
• The team has gender balance among members
• The team understands gender issues beyond women's/girls' equality and participation
• The team is sufficiently informed about how the local public will perceive them
• Management decisions about facilitation, field deployment, interviews, and stakeholder engagement roles of team members consider their identity and bias(es)
Methodology (data collection, analysis, and synthesis)
• The selection of school communities for primary data collection factors in identity groups, grievances, and geography
• Data collection procedures, including informed consent protocols and security of personal information and data, protect the privacy and safety of participants and informants
• Data collection methods are adapted and vetted through consultation with local stakeholders
• Selection of key informants and participants in FGDs considers identity groups and grievances, and reflects a gender balance
• Data collected are disaggregated by age, gender, geography, identity group, and disability type
• Research questions are vetted for identity group sensitivities, gender, and grievances
Partner and stakeholder engagement
• The team has a consistent message about the purpose of analysis (to manage stakeholder expectations)
• Selection of local partners and stakeholders draws from all identity groups, is informed by grievances and power dynamics, and is gender balanced
• Local stakeholders are constantly involved in analysis design, implementation, and data analysis and synthesis

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[149] **Tools:** UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework.*
[150] Stabilisation Unit 2017.
[151] USAID 2015.
[152] From USAID 2015, pp. 40-41.

• Preliminary conclusions and recommendations undergo comment and validation by a diverse range of international and local partners and stakeholders to identify inaccuracies and sensitivities	
Contracted local partner(s)	
• Partners are informed about factors that fuel grievance, division, and violence in the country	
• Partners have at least one risk expert who can guide the analysis' conflict sensitivity measures	
• Partners have experience and strong skills in facilitating sensitive discussions	
• Partners understand and are equipped to uphold ethical standards relating to research on human subjects	
• Partners have gender balance among members	
• Partners understand gender issues beyond women's/girls' equality and participation	

Questions for reflection and discussion: Contextualising conflict sensitivity for PEA
Considering your own community context, and building on the content of the table above, what other issues should be considered to ensure a 'conflict sensitive' approach to PEA of education?
Consider aspects of researcher identity, experience, and knowledge; data collection, analysis, and review; and engagement with partners and other stakeholders; and any other issues.

Finally, the varying possibilities for conducting research – and adapting PEA approaches – across different conflict-affected contexts must be considered, including elements of risk and security, access to sites and populations, available data, and so on. Similar issues must also be considered given the current effects of COVID-19 on possibilities for travel and movement and resulting impacts on research processes. Uniquely, USAID's *RERA Toolkit* briefly outlines how analysis can be adapted to contexts with no, limited, or significant operation access,[153] although such considerations are missing from other tools.

Adjusting analysis to different access contexts: USAID's *RERA Toolkit*[154]	
No operational access: no footprint	• Analysis of secondary data sources • Option of repeating analysis to monitor situation for access opportunities • Remote primary data collection through partners
No operational access: light footprint	• Analysis of secondary data sources • Remote primary data collection through partners • Very limited primary data collection (e.g. key informant interviews, focus group discussions) in capital
Limited operational access: medium footprint	• Analysis of secondary data sources • Limited primary data collection in/near national capital

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[153] USAID 2015.

[154] USAID 2015, p. 12.

Significant operational access: large footprint	• Analysis of secondary data sources • Full discretion as to primary data collection sample • Integrated into rolling analysis

Questions for reflection and discussion: Adapting PEA to contexts of limited access
1. Considering the effects of both violent conflict and COVID-19 on possibilities for travel and movement and in turn access to communities and types of data, what might be some of the key impacts on conducting PEA of education? How might this change the PEA process? 2. What are some strategies or approaches that might be employed to mitigate these challenges?

Types and sources of data

Many PEA tools suggest collecting both qualitative and quantitative data, from both primary and secondary sources, emphasising the importance of triangulation (collecting different types of data from multiple sources).[155] A few rely primarily on qualitative data.[156] Expanding on the largely quantitative focus of the *ESA Guidelines*, USAID's *Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into ESA Guidelines* emphasises the need to consider both quantitative *and* qualitative data (e.g. enrolment figures *and* perceptions of enrolment equity).[157] The most common sources (with most tools including a combination of these) are:

- **Desk reviews** of secondary sources or literature, such as government documents (e.g. laws and policies, national budgets, development strategies, sector policies and plans, records of political debates), academic studies, international and local organisational reports and strategies, media sources, and past sector or country analyses and assessments. Education-focused analysis might examine macro reforms or policies (e.g. decentralisation, privatisation), language and curriculum policies and materials, and education administration and school governance policies.

- **Quantitative data** such as sector-specific data (e.g. financial data), population census data, public opinion or household surveys, and international aid data, as well as conflict data. Education-specific data might include education budget/spending data, Education Management Information System data, education personnel and teacher data, school survey and enrolment data, and outcome data (e.g. retention, learning outcomes).

- **Interviews** with 'power holders' such as national and subnational government/ministry representatives, policy thinkers, and donor, NGO, and private-sector representatives, and

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[155] **Tools:** GPE, UNICEF, and World Bank *Risk and Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector*; UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; USAID's *Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into ESA Guidelines*; *4Rs framework*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; Stabilisation Unit's *JACS*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; *Combined PEPA*; ODI's *PE of Sectors.*

[156] **Tools:** USAID's *RERA Toolkit*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights*; DFID's *PoD framework*; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; USAID's *APEA Framework.*

[157] Koons 2013.

with stakeholders such as civil society representatives, peacebuilding actors, trade/labour unions, religious and traditional leaders, researchers, and journalists. Education-focused analyses might also involve students, youth, parents, teachers, school management and community education committees, government education partners, national and local education officials, and education sector working groups and coordinating bodies.

- **Focus group discussions**, for moving beyond power holders and 'elite' views.

Other data sources include commissioned household, interest group, or opinion, value, or perception **surveys** or **crowdsourcing** through mobile or internet technologies.[158] For example, UNICEF's *PBEA conflict analysis* approach refers to 'knowledge, attitudes and practices' surveys on social cohesion, resilience, and how education as a social service can contribute to peacebuilding.[159] Formal or informal **observation** might also be used to collect data.[160] Some frameworks call for more **participatory methods** such as workshops involving group/stakeholder mapping, participatory appraisal and analysis, collective reflection, or capacity building.[161] PEA on education in conflict-affected contexts requires particular attention to appropriate data collection approaches in school/education contexts[162] and constraints on data access and availability and gaps or biases in existing data.[163]

Questions for reflection and discussion: Conducting PEA in education contexts
What are some of the specific factors or issues that should be considered when planning and conducting PEA in education contexts?   • Particular considerations for PEA activities in school or classroom contexts? Ministries? With donors and NGOs? Other specific research sites?   • Ethical considerations? Practical or logistical considerations? Political considerations?

PEA tools and frameworks highlight the need for attention to **difference and representation among participants** – crucial to nuanced insights about political-economy and conflict dynamics – in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, language, religion, class, sexual orientation, disability, displaced status, familial status, geographic location, experience of violence, etc.[164]

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[158] **Tools:** GPE, UNICEF, and World Bank *Risk and Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector*; UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; USAID's *Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into ESA Guidelines*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; ODI's *PE of Sectors.*

[159] UNICEF 2019*.*

[160] USAID 2012a*.*

[161] **Tools:** UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; USAID's *Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into ESA Guidelines*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights Guide*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*; GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; Conciliation Resources' *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict*; *Gender in PEA.*

[162] USAID's *RERA Toolkit.*

[163] **Add reference: GPE, UNICEF, and World Bank *Risk and Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector***

[164] **Tools:** GPE, UNICEF, and World Bank *Risk and Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector*; UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; USAID's *Integrating Conflict and Fragility Analysis into ESA Guidelines*; USAID's *RERA Toolkit*; WILPF's *Guide to Feminist PE*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights Guide*; UNDG's *Conflict and Development Analysis*;

Pact's *APEA for Human Rights Guide* provides a detailed overview of data collection considerations, focusing not only on *what* and *who* but also *why* particular sources will be consulted.[165] It highlights the importance of engaging 'diverse and representative' informants and considering blind spots and power dynamics in data collection. Similarly, the *Gender in PEA* guidance states that data gathering should ensure participation of those with less power or visibility and consider power relations *within* groups.[166] Others emphasise the need to consider obstacles or barriers to participation for minority groups, people affected by violence, women, and others.[167] While some tools consider groups often *excluded* from research, they do not mention the need to consider 'over-researched' groups and communities who are repeatedly asked to contribute time and knowledge to assessments and other research – necessary to consider given the extractive nature of much research involving or driven by international organisations and donors.

Questions for reflection and discussion: Representative and sensitive data collection[168]

Considering your specific context, reflect on potential approaches and strategies to ensure that data collected for PEA of education is representative of local communities and sensitive to social dynamics:

1. **Diversity and inclusion:** How will you ensure that your data are as reflective of all social groups and identities as possible?
2. **Gender sensitivity:** How will you ensure that both your process and outcomes are gender-sensitive?
3. **Accessibility:** How will you ensure that you can actually access the people and data you need?
4. **Conflict sensitivity:** How will you ensure that your conflict analysis efforts 'do no harm'?

Some tools provide general **guidance on data collection and analysis** methods.[169] A few provide concrete guidance and materials, such as lists of data sources and collection methods and sets of questions to ask for each category or element of analysis and templates/samples for interview guides, data collection, and data analysis.[170] These can serve as useful resources for planning and conducting PEA data collection.

GPPAC's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; Conciliation Resources' *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict*; UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note; Gender in PEA*; ODI's *PE of Sectors.*

[165] Pact 2018*.*

[166] Haines and O'Neil 2018*.*

[167] **Tools:** Conciliation Resources' *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit*; Saferworld's *Gender Analysis of Conflict.*

[168] From UNICEF 2016, pp. 24-25.

[169] **Tools:** UNDP's *ICA Guidance Note*; World Bank's *Problem-Driven PEA Framework*; ODI's *PE of Sectors.*

[170] **Tools:** GPE, UNICEF, and World Bank *Risk and Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector*; UNICEF's *Guide to Conflict Analysis*; UNESCO et al.'s *ESA Guidelines*; USAID's *RERA Toolkit*; Pact's *APEA for Human Rights Guide*; USAID's *Conflict Assessment Framework*; USAID's *Applied PEA Framework.*

Application

While numerous PEA tools and frameworks exist, publicly available reflections on their application in practice, and resulting strengths and limitations, are limited. Taken together, these do, however, point to areas for strengthening PEA content and processes. Among the key points are:

- Education analyses also require consideration of actors and dynamics *outside* the education sector;
- Explicitly consider different dimensions of exclusion – not just gender, but also ethnicity, religion, disability, and others;
- Consider historical dynamics, including how colonial histories and decolonisation have shaped institutions and external relations;
- Consider the appropriateness and acceptability of (and potential sensitivities associated with) terms such as 'conflict' or 'peacebuilding'; and
- Tools' and frameworks' analytical strength comes from researchers' contextual and historical knowledge, rather than deterministic applications – the person(s) conducting PEA are instruments of analysis, and even the best tools cannot overcome some of individual ideologies, biases, and blind spots.

A review of UNICEF **PBEA conflict analyses** in 14 countries highlighted a number of lessons and considerations: considering stakeholders outside the education sector (e.g. justice, political, and security sectors, armed groups, human rights organisations, media); strengthening analysis of interactions between stakeholders, and between stakeholders, education responses, and conflict causes; expanding the focus from formal to non-formal and alternative education; more seriously considering dimensions of exclusion (e.g. gender, ethnicity, religion, disability); and balancing local and national, macro-level and education-specific, and current and historical factors.[171] It also noted a need for greater understanding, among those undertaking analyses, of how conflict dynamics and education interact; cooperation between education and peacebuilding experts; engagement of local expertise to ensure credibility and ownership of findings; and consideration of the local relevance of key terms (e.g. 'peacebuilding'). Similarly, a study of education planning in Pakistan used the terms 'social cohesion and resilience' due to tensions among government officials over the terms 'conflict' and 'peacebuilding'.[172]

The **4Rs framework** has been applied in studies of eight conflict-affected contexts – Pakistan, Myanmar, South Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and South Africa – as part of Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding,[173] and to other analyses of links between aspects of education systems and peacebuilding in Sierra Leone, Uganda, Pakistan, and Sri

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[171] UNICEF 2019.
[172] Ekaju and Siddique 2014.
[173] Novelli et al. 2016; Smith, Datzberger and McCully 2016; Smith, Marks, et al. 2016.

Lanka.[174] These studies illustrate the close interconnections and contestations between the four dimensions, although few reflect on the framework's application. A study of teachers' peacebuilding roles noted the need to highlight intersections and effects *between* the 4Rs and found the framework's analytical strength came from researchers' contextual and historical knowledge, highlighting the importance of local research leadership.[175] A study of education reforms in Pakistan expanded the framework by considering the specifically gendered dimensions of each of the 4Rs, while another noted that while the framework is usually applied at the macro level, it can also be applied at the classroom level.[176] And studies in Uganda and Sierra Leone caution against too deterministic an application of the framework, centring the *interconnections* between its dimensions.[177] In applying the 4Rs framework in South Sudan,[178] reflections included the need to consider historical contexts, including both colonial legacies and the role of armed groups in education provision; the political economy of donor-government relations, and the particular understandings of education and peacebuilding advanced by donors; the need to consider the impacts of the research process, including in the demands it placed on 'over-researched' schools (managers, teachers, and students) and communities; and the combined effects of researcher positionality and close engagement – in research design, data collection, and reporting – with stakeholders within and outside the education sector.

USAID's **Education and Fragility Assessment Tool** has been applied in research with youth in Liberia.[179] While the thematic categories were a useful framework to analyse links between education and conflict, the report included no reflection on the tool itself. USAID's **RERA Toolkit** has been applied to the analysis of education systems and projects and contextual risks in El Salvador, Mali, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh.[180] While providing insight into wider political contexts and informing recommendations, reports highlighted the tool's limitations in terms of trade-offs between speed and rigour (e.g. data collection, representativeness of participants, scope of analysis) and highlighted the need to explicitly include gender in analysis.[181]

A review of the application of **INEE's Analytic Framework of Education and Fragility** in Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia, and Liberia reported that while the framework provided insights into education's mitigating *and* contributing impacts on fragility, challenges

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[174] Datzberger 2017; Duncan and Lopes Cardozo 2017; Durrani and Halai 2018; Halai and Durrani 2017, 2018; Novelli and Sayed 2016; van der Veen and Datzberger 2020.
[175] Novelli and Sayed 2016.
[176] Durrani and Halai 2018; Halai and Durrani 2018.
[177] Datzberger 2017; van der Veen and Datzberger 2020.
[178] Novelli et al. 2016.
[179] Walker et al. 2009.
[180] CERIPS 2016; Creative Associates International 2016; Management Systems International, 2018; USAID 2018b, 2018c; USAID/ECCN 2016; USAID Mali 2016.
[181] CERIPS 2016; USAID Mali 2016.

included its failure to clarify the relationship between education and fragility (with researchers interpreting the framework in different ways), complex and abstract definitions of fragility that were difficult to operationalise, and interlinking and cross-cutting dynamics between the five fragility domains making it difficult to develop measurable indicators (and in turn methodologies and questionnaires).[182]

A review of the application of Pact's **APEA for Human Rights** framework in Honduras, the Amazon, South Africa, Tanzania, Somalia, Cambodia, and Armenia identified a number of lessons associated with implementation.[183] It highlighted the importance of involving project staff in design, data collection, and analysis (to strengthen ownership and 'actionable' analysis), having formal inception periods before implementation (for context and stakeholder analysis), and creative and flexible final products to increase accessibility for target audiences. They also called for more explicit guidance on integrating gender equality and social inclusion in research team composition, stakeholder selection, and overall design and analysis.

DFID's **PoD framework** has been applied to studies of health sectors, although with no reflection on the tool itself.[184] Previous reviews of the framework note that while it integrates numerous aspect of policy-making and implementation processes, it lacks concrete theoretical and practical guidance on how the framework could be used in practice (e.g. how to narrow the analytical focus in specific contexts) and how different structural features affect political processes.[185] A review of SIDA's **Power Analysis** approach identifies limitations such as contested definitions of 'power', limited consideration of gender in power analyses or how power distribution is affected by donor aid dynamics, and the failure to systematically link discussions of power to poverty.[186] It also emphasised the role of local experts and researchers, and active dissemination of findings to support dialogue and joint learning.

A review of studies using USAID's **APEA Framework** highlighted some 'lessons learned', including the need to clearly define the scope of the PEA, ensure a long lead-time for desk study and field-study preparation, and involve team members, including local experts, in the full PEA process.[187] The World Bank's **Problem-Driven PEA framework** has been applied to studies of water and sanitation sectors, health sectors, devolution processes, and general policy-making processes in different country contexts, including conflict-affected states.[188] While most include no reflection on the framework, a study of policy processes in Indonesia

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[182] Davies 2011.
[183] Pact 2019.
[184] Lane and Martinko 2018; Witter et al. 2019.
[185] Edelmann 2009; Harris, Kooy and Jones 2011.
[186] Bjuremalm 2006.
[187] USAID 2017.
[188] Datta et al. 2011; Harris, Kooy and Jones 2011; Jiménez et al. 2014; Murta et al. 2018; Hipgrave et al. 2019; El Messnaou et al. 2018.

noted a need for more attention to the role of discourses, knowledge, and ideas shaping policy behaviour, and to how colonial histories and decolonisation have shaped institutions and external relations.[189] Previous reviews suggest explicit issue identification as the initial step, to provide a clear focus for analysis, increase operational relevance, and manage expectations about outcomes.[190] ODI's **Problem-Driven APEA Framework** has been applied to studies of sanitation, agricultural, and health and mental health sectors, but without reflecting on the framework itself.[191]

Of the reviewed tools and frameworks, only one included specific guidance for reflecting on the tool itself and its application. ODI's **Framework for Understanding the PE of Sectors** includes as an annex a checklist of questions for users to provide feedback on the use of the framework, covering background and methodological considerations, stages of the framework (and associated data sources, constraints, utility, suggested modifications), and impacts of analysis.[192]

Moving forward

Building on this review of existing tools, as well as previous critical analyses of PEA approaches, some further directions to consider can be identified, to move from simply 'thinking politically' to 'working politically' through PEA.[193] In terms of content, reflections on the application of PEA tools and frameworks (above) pointed to the need for more attention to the role of discourses and ideas, the influence of colonial histories and decolonisation, and not only gender but other dimensions of inequality, exclusion, and oppression. Previous reviews note the need to **clearly define and carefully disaggregate** key analytical concepts (e.g. 'power', 'institutions', 'structure', 'agency', 'ideas') and how different political economy factors interact with one another.[194]

Recent critiques note a narrowing of PEA agendas over time, from a focus on transforming the ways in which development actors and donors think and act through serious engagement with the politics of development, to a more technical, instrumental analysis of risk factors and a 'problem-solving' focus on tackling specific operational challenges in order to achieve programming goals.[195] PEA approaches should thus explicitly consider wider **dimensions dynamics of power and politics** shaping specific sectors and 'problems' (including moving beyond the 'economics of politics' and narrow focuses on incentives or decision-making), the power implications of development processes, and how 'political thinking' can be integrated

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[189] Datta et al. 2011.
[190] Harris, Kooy and Jones 2011.
[191] Bertone and Witter 2015; Lee et al. 2015; Murta et al. 2018; Sony and Upreti 2017.
[192] Moncrieffe and Luttrell 2005.
[193] Haines and O'Neil 2018, p. 3.
[194] Edelmann 2009; Hudson and Leftwich 2014.
[195] Fisher and Marquette 2014, 2016. See also: Hout 2012; Hudson and Leftwich 2014; Menocal 2014.

into wider policy agenda-setting, formulation, and implementation processes, and how this can inform *working* for transformative objectives and social justice.

PEA approaches should centre the role, participation, and ownership of 'local' stakeholders, as noted in a number of existing tools and frameworks.[196] And, as noted in reflections of the application of specific tools and frameworks, there is a need to **centre local researchers and partners** in PEA leadership, design, and implementation. This is linked to a need for active reflection on who PEA is being done for and why (given that findings will be of different value to different stakeholders) and who is conducting it.[197] In considering questions of 'ownership' of both PEA processes and subsequent change processes, there is also a need to consider *who* is taking ownership, with attention to how this reproduces or challenges existing structures of power (e.g. ownership by elite versus subordinated groups).[198] This should explicitly respond to Eurocentric ideas, concepts, frameworks, and blind spots in PEA content and implementation, rather than centring the interests and needs of 'Global North' donors and organisations.

Regarding the **outcomes of PEA**, previous reviews point to a gap between analysis – often by outside specialists, with reports 'written by governance people for governance people' – and frontline, everyday practice.[199] PEA should move beyond just highlighting constraints and difficulties, to identifying opportunities, possibilities, or entry points for collective action and transformative change.[200] This might involve building in participatory processes to link analysis with 'operational' implications, as well as considering how PEA findings are shared and with whom. More broadly, this involves shifting away from viewing 'politics as purely a problem' (i.e. as simply impeding development objectives), to considering 'what is present and what can be "worked with"'.[201] Previous analyses call for a focus on targeted, incremental change to systems of inequality and marginalisation, rather than broad, generic reform programmes.[202]

Finally, there is a need for a radical rethinking of PEA approaches that consider the **political economy of PEA practice itself** and for more radical reflexivity or explicit self-assessment as part of PEA.[203] This requires attention to the internal political economy of the actors commissioning and conducting analysis (e.g. their systems, processes, interests, incentives, biases, and blind spots) rather than examining only the politics and actions of *other*

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[196] Fisher and Marquette 2014, 2016.
[197] Copestake and Williams 2012.
[198] Hout et al. 2013; Hutchison et al. 2014.
[199] Hudson and Marquette 2015, p. 71.
[200] Copestake and Williams 2012; Duncan and Williams 2012.
[201] Routley and Hulme 2013, p. 16; Fisher and Marquette 2014.
[202] Hout et al. 2013; Hutchison et al. 2014; Routley and Hulme 2013.
[203] Copestake and Williams 2012; Fisher and Marquette 2014.

stakeholders,[204] moving beyond a focus on '"their politics" and not "our" politics'.[205] This perspective considers the micro-politics of PEA, of the 'relationships through which political economy understanding is generated, shared and utilised'.[206] It might also consider the political economy of donor-recipient relations, of donor countries (e.g. political contexts and constraints *within* donor countries, foreign policy priorities), and of changing global development and aid contexts.[207]

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[204] Copestake and Williams 2012; Hout et al. 2013; Hutchison et al. 2014.
[205] Routley and Hulme 2013, p. 22.
[206] Copestake and Williams 2012, p. 5.
[207] Hout et al. 2013; Hutchison et al. 2014; Routley and Hulme 2013.

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Appendix 1: Media resources for elements of PEA of education

Distribution of education resources and opportunities	**Allocation of education sector resources:** 'Honduras schools, hospitals 'falling apart' from lack of funding' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6vJ9Dpuc8kg 'Colombia protests: students want better funding for universities' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DGr-sWIVQqg
	Inequalities and exclusion in education access: 'No school for thousands of Syrian refugee children' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nZVPuSzTu7Y
Difference, recognition, and representation in education	**Segregation and inequality in US schools:** 'In Southern schools, segregation and inequality aren't just history -they're reality' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GKYAt_1VUoY 'Under one roof': segregated schools in Bosnia and Hercegovina https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UFvbwQNifhI
International actors and global dynamics	**Neoliberalism, privatisation, and education:** 'Profiting from the poor: the case of Bridge International Academies in Kenya' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K81RNzFCJpA Protests against World Bank support to private education: 'The World Bank is pushing education privatization' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YngRjGmS0tQ
	Counterinsurgency and the militarisation of education: 'America's counter-insurgency strategy in Afghanistan' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qWVKa32gLXA&t=132s **Counter-extremism and the securitisation of education:**

	'Preventing violent extremism through education' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=79MTkVumCcQ 'Preventing education? End Prevent in schools' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pQR0QZDPMvU
Impacts of historical and colonial legacies	**Legacies of residential schools in Canada:** 'Truth and reconciliation: stories from residential school survivors' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VmjrVfsLRBE 'A residential school survivor shares his story of trauma and healing' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddZEeeaozDE
	Colonialism and language in Kenya: 'Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o talks on value of mother tongue' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ov3f7pD8PZc 'Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o interview: memories of who we are' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AYP9sJvDcYE&feature=emb_title
Applying PEA frameworks	**Applying the 4Rs framework:** 'Tejendra Pherali: applying the 4Rs framework in practice' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AAOCqxPrKHw