The rise of resilience in education in emergencies

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The rise of resilience in education in emergencies

This paper explores how resilience as a concept is being increasingly mobilised within the Education in Emergencies (EiE) community. Using content and a close textual analysis, the paper finds that resilience as a term was virtually absent from early EiE publications. Now, its use outpaces the production of EiE documents. The paper identifies a range of different purposes for which the concept has grown in its prominence. Alongside this, it critically assesses the implications of these purposes of resilience in terms of the international community's continued responsibility in protecting the right to education for all in times of crisis, and the wider possibilities for supporting peacebuilding efforts with and through education. It argues that the use of resilience as a concept is reflective of a number of shifts around the problem, subjects and purposes of EiE which together, limit the transformative potential of resilience in contributing to positive peace.

Keywords: resilience, education in emergencies, peacebuilding, education, conflict

Introduction

Recent advertisements on the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) jobs newsletter profile positions such as, 'Resilience-Building Specialist – Education in Emergencies' for an international NGO, or 'Education, Resilience and Conflict Specialist' for a global consultancy firm who regularly supports the US Agency for International Development (USAID). Yet, when the INEE published its first edition of the Minimum Standards in 2004, seen as the benchmark by which education services should be supported and delivered in emergency and post-emergency situations, the term resilience did not appear anywhere in the document. Since then, and as the recent job advertisements indicate, resilience has become a core focus for education in emergencies (EiE) responses, so much so that agencies working in EiE need positions focused primarily on it.

This paper seeks to explore this rise of resilience in EiE. It does so by asking two key questions:

1. First, has the use of resilience as a concept within EiE increased over time, to reflect its growing prominence in wider peacebuilding practice?

2. And second, how is resilience conceptualised within EiE and with what implications?

We ask these questions because resilience is an increasingly important concept for international peacebuilding agendas and its uptake has supported and enabled a series of profound shifts in how peacebuilding is conceptualised and carried out by international actors. However, the ways in which these shifts are reflected in the EiE community, how they resonate with an increasing emphasis on finding and supporting transformative solutions, and how they are linked to a peacebuilding agenda for education has been underexplored. By tracing the expansion of resilience in the EiE community and setting this against the backdrop of a period of significant consolidation of various and competing priorities within the community anchored in part around this concept, we identify that resilience has enabled a number of discursive shifts. Overall, we argue that the employment of resilience as an organising grammar for action limits the transformative potential of EiE responses to contribute towards building a positive peace. Instead, and reflective of wider critiques of resilience within the peacebuilding arena, we identify the concept has been employed in the EiE community to seek responses which direct attention and responsibility onto the backs of individuals and communities affected by emergencies. Despite this, the paper also identifies possibilities for resilience to retain a more transformative identity in the EiE community and maps out where and how they currently exist, and how this may be further developed and strengthened.

We begin by charting the emergence, consolidation and expansion of EiE as a field, and alongside this, the evolution of the peacebuilding community. In doing so, we seek to clarify how and where resilience fits into this nexus. We then engage specifically with resilience as a concept, acknowledging its ambiguity, and outline four discrete ways in which it has been treated in wider literature. After outlining the methodology used to both identify and analyse a number of key EiE texts published during the past 20 years, the paper moves onto presenting our findings to the two research questions. In doing so, we draw on scholarship which critically explores the deployment of resilience within broader peacebuilding efforts to inform our analysis for these texts.

The rise and evolution of the education in emergencies and peacebuilding communities

The 'rise' (Lerch, 2017; Lopes Cardozo & Novelli, 2018) of EiE as a field of both practice and of research has been documented in a number of recent reviews (Burde, Guven, Kelcey, Lahmann, & Al-Abbadi, 2015; Lerch, 2017; Lopes Cardozo & Novelli, 2018; Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, & Valiente, 2014; Winthrop & Matsui, 2013). Authors highlight how a confluence of factors through the 1990s and 2000s, including the consensus around the education for all agenda and growing attention to the need to protect children during armed conflict, brought together humanitarian, international development, and disaster risk reduction agendas (Lerch, 2017; Winthrop & Matsui, 2013). The formation of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), the creation of EiE related posts at donor organisations and NGOs, and the development of standards for practice all enabled what Winthrop and Matsui (2013) describe as a consolidation period for EiE in the mid-1990s to mid-2000s. This has then been followed by what the same authors label as a 'collaboration phase', which

continues until today, and where an outward looking EiE community advocates for its cause and seeks to engage with other actors working in conflict-affected contexts. For Lerch (2017, p. *vi*), this represents "a major global transformation that is bound to profoundly shape the international education sector and national systems of schooling in crisis-affected countries in the coming decades." In particular, focus was given in the EiE community to bringing together the securitisation, DRR, peacebuilding, and education communities, and much of this has been done under the banner of resilience.

Alongside this evolution of the EiE community has been the emergence of peacebuilding as an international priority and more recently, changes in the ways in which peacebuilding is practiced and conceptualized. Peacebuilding entered the UN vocabulary in 1992 with the publication of *An Agenda for Peace* by then Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali. Through the 1990s and into the early 2000s, UN and other international efforts at peacebuilding focused on building a 'liberal peace' with efforts concentrated upon a set of interventions assumed to work together in a linear fashion to build successful liberal democracy and therefore peace. These included fostering economic growth, strengthening democratic processes and institutions, ensuring security and promoting market-based reforms (Paris, 2004, 2010). Liberal peacebuilding was critiqued on a number of fronts, as "universalist and externally imposed" (Juncos, 2018), lacking legitimacy and being distant from local needs (Couch, 2019; Dodge, 2013), and as ineffective, with conflict reigniting within five years in many contexts where peacebuilding initiatives were supported (Roberts, 2011).

Within the UN, it was acknowledged in a review of its entire apparatus in 2015 that peacebuilding was largely seen as an "afterthought" that was "under-prioritised, under-resourced, and undertaken only after the guns fall silent," despite it being a core aspect of the organisation's mandate (United Nations, 2015, p. 7). The review called

for: (1) a more comprehensive approach to sustaining peace, to extend the role of the UN much more strongly into conflict prevention, as well as better link the peace and security, human rights and development arms of the UN; (2) inclusive national ownership in the peacebuilding process, ensuring that a wide spectrum of political opinions and domestic actors, including women and youth, participate in the process; and (3) identification of root causes of conflict, rather than mere focus on conflict cessation. In response, the then Secretary General gave strong overtures to shifting to approaches focussed on strengthening resilience through an increased emphasis on risk-informed planning and prevention, and stronger engagement and attention before and after acute crises in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, starting with a strong conflict analysis that identifies immediate needs and structural drivers of risks and vulnerabilities. Additionally, it was argued that managing and response to these risks would necessitate national ownership and responsibility—of the government as well as people and civil society (United Nations, 2015).

This 'rethink in international intervention', was also motivated by austerity and security concerns in the Global North (cf. Juncos, 2018). This has been accompanied by an ontological shift in the international community away from linear understandings of possibilities for building peace towards an acknowledgement of uncertainty, complexity, and an acceptance of 'risk' as both an unpredictable and inevitable feature of contemporary international relations (cf. Clapton & Hameiri, 2012; Juncos, 2018). Increasingly, there is also recognition that norms and practices of peace and peacebuilding in the Global North may need to be recontextualised by local understandings, practices and interpretations of these concepts (cf. Gabay & Death, 2012).

Resilience as a 'common denominator' between the EiE and peacebuilding communities?

In this same period, significant developments were also occurring with regards to education's role in supporting peacebuilding efforts. Within liberal peacebuilding efforts, education was commonly perceived as providing an early 'peace dividend.' The reconstruction and return to normal functioning of the education system was understood as a protective measure against future conflict by strengthening social cohesion which may have been eroded during times of conflict (World Bank, 2005). Yet, Bush and Saltarelli's (2000) report, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, also began a sustained questioning of the widespread assumption that education is innately a positive transformative experience for students, teachers and communities fragmented by conflict, and naturally supportive of peacebuilding. A strong body of evidence now exists which demonstrates how education may at best do no harm, or at worst exacerbate or perpetuate existing inequalities, particularly when it does little to transform underlying structural inequalities within society and the education sector (Davies, 2010; Paulson, 2008; Shah & Lopes Cardozo, 2015). What is increasingly noted in this literature is that particular educational aspects (such as equity, relevance and management considerations) and conflict dimensions (such as security, economic factors and political representation) operate in contingent and specific ways. Education as a whole is rarely the panacea for conflict transformation, and paradoxically, particular dimensions of the system or its location within the post-conflict political economy in which it finds itself, may cause it to do more harm than good. Recent efforts to think more concretely through the ways in which education can constructively support peacebuilding efforts suggest the critical need to begin with an understanding of the drivers or risk factors for conflict within and affecting the education sector. Peacebuilding efforts through education also necessitate working at multiple levels.

This includes strengthening of sector governance and institutional capacity, supporting diverse communities to engage in dialogue and cooperation and to strengthen their own capacities to respond to the effects of violent conflict, and creating opportunities in education for those affected by conflict to become active citizens in conflict transformation (Shah, Maber, Lopes Cardozo, & Paterson, 2016).

Underpinning this theory is the belief that state fragility is not just a product of weak institutions, governance and security, but also a lack of social cohesion and resilience of communities and individuals to risks and vulnerabilities, and a lack of trust between citizens and the state. Where intersections occur between a state that is responsive to its citizenry, and diverse communal groups and individuals that are networked together and equipped with the capacities to respond, adapt and transform risks that might undermine social cohesion, the more likely it is that society can mediate and manage conflict on its own (Colleta & Cullen, 2000). More recently, research has found in recent times the critical importance of networks, relationships and connections to the underlying capacities of individuals, households, and institutions to manage risk and hazards faced in the midst of conflict (Maxwell et. al, 2017).

It is at this interface, between the acknowledgement of multiple risks which manifest themselves in conflict, and the sources of protection or mitigation against these risks where resilience has arisen as a key risk management approach for peacebuilding more broadly and the education sector more specifically (Juncos, 2018). Resilience aligns with a 'local turn' in peacebuilding, moving away from external intervention by international actors as the modus operandi, towards the strengthening of internal capabilities and capacity to cope with and respond to crisis and uncertainty (Juncos, 2018). Resilience is appealing, at least in part, because it offers an alternative to deficit discourses common in international development and in peacebuilding, which assign

little agency to local community and actors and locate them instead as subjects in need of fixing. Resilience, on the other hand, is concerned with the agency of local communities and individuals and with enhancing their capacities to 'cope' and even to 'bounce back better' (Bene et. al, 2012). In relation to the education sector, a significant amount of interest in the subject has arisen out of recognition of the need to bring more sustainable solutions to interventions in the midst of conflict, as well as the need to not unduly undermine past gains achieved, in respect to improved access and quality and learning (Nicolai et. al, 2019).

In addition to its increasing prominence within peacebuilding, the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) offer another clear example of the rise of resilience. Resilience was not mentioned once within the goals or specific targets of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), set in the year 2000, which expired in 2015. Within the SDGs, resilience has become an outcome in itself, with several targets seeing resilience as an explicit outcome of development activity. For example, SDG target 1.5 aspires to: "By 2030 build the resilience of the poor and those in vulnerable situations, and reduce their exposure and vulnerability to climate-related extreme events and other economic, social and environmental shocks and disasters." Resilience also features in a number of other targets, including targets 13.1, 9.1, 11.5, and 11.b. Its appearance in the SDGs echoes the awareness of uncertainty, risk and unpredictably that the peacebuilding community has acknowledged, recognizing that if the overall aim of the SDGs is to ensure development gains for all, and to ensure the sustainability of whatever improvements are achieved, then the "multiplicity of risks and vulnerabilities faced by people and communities, now and in the future, needs to be addressed" (Bahadur, Lovell, Wilkinson, & Tanner, 2015, p. 2). Interestingly, despite resilience featuring across a number of other development targets in the SDGs, it is notably absent

from SDG4, the education-specific goal, and associated targets, as well as SDG 16, focussed on peacebuilding. Research in EiE and in education and international development more widely has not engaged substantively or critically with the concept of resilience (see Shah, 2015 for a notable exception), despite an associated growing research focus in the area of resilience and peacebuilding (Chandler, 2014; de Coning, 2016; Juncos, 2018). Attention to the emergence and mobilisation of a concept – in this case resilience – within the consolidated field of EiE enables us to look in more detail at the degree to which consensus does and doesn't exist across the various actors who share commitment to EiE, and to explore the implications of dominant understandings that emerge.

Conceptualising resilience

The ambiguity around the term resilience has led it to be described as a 'boundary object', which enables conversations across disciplines or sectors despite the fact that participants may have different understandings of the term (Juncos, 2018). Sturgess and Sparrey, writing for DFID, (2016, p. 15) agree, stating that "resilience can be seen as a bridging construct to break down silos between different sectors/disciplines and provide a common agenda." It is important to unpick what these different understandings may be, as well as exploring the ways in which conceptual ambiguity might contribute towards the rise of a concept like resilience.

Here we present four conceptualisations of resilience to which we will return when considering the concept within EiE. First, resilience has been developed within psychiatric and psychological literatures, where resilience is understood and researched as an individual trait, capacity or attribute that might be developed, supported or nurtured. Much of the evidence on which such claims are made come from studies that explore students as individual units of analysis, grounded in the discipline of psychiatry,

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with focus on psychological dispositions and personality traits which act as 'protective factors' (cf. Seccombe, 2002 in Harrison, 2013; Howard, Dryden, & Johnson, 1999; Mohaupt, 2009; Shah, 2015). Such research found that traits such as having hope, purpose, social competence, problem-solving skills, emotional regulation, and a sense of place and future were all critical to being resilient as an individual.

A second strand of resilience literature draws on the natural sciences, biological and ecological understandings of complex adaptive systems (cf. Walker & Salt, 2006). The ecological understanding of resilience emphasises the capacity of an ecosystem to absorb shocks, adapt and maintain functioning (cf. Folke, 2006 in MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013). The idea of 'bouncing back' and, even of 'bouncing back better' that often accompanies or is seen as a desirable outcome of resilience has its roots in attempts to apply ecological concepts of resilience to the social world and to think about social systems as (potentially resilient) ecosystems (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013).

A third strand of literature develops a critique of the ways in which resilience, conceptualised both psychologically and ecologically, has become a tool of neoliberal governance (cf. Joseph, 2018; O'Malley, 2010). This critique explores the ways in which resilience enables and aligns with the neoliberal governing of subjects from a distance through consent, self-regulation and individual responsibilisation. According to O'Malley (2010) resilience becomes a discursive technology and tool used to get individuals to accept uncertainty and risk and to live with and thrive in the uncertainty of their existence, effectively distancing those with the power to govern from the governed subjects. These governed subjects must become ever more resilient. The SDG 1.5 target mentioned above is susceptible to this critique, calling as it does for the "poor and those in vulnerable situations" to become ever more resilient without drawing attention to the causes of their poverty and vulnerability. The post-structuralist critique

highlights the conservative tendency of the ecological metaphor when applied to social relations. The complex adaptive systems fits neatly with the governmentality needs of neoliberal capitalism (O'Malley, 2010) and encourages enthusiasm for a return to equilibrium, be it that which came before a shock or a new form of equilibrium which leaves the status quo undisrupted (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013).

A fourth strand of literature builds on ecological conceptions of resilience, but works to emphasise the unpredictability and uncertainty of complex systems and the opportunities for agency, change and learning that these present (Chandler, 2014; Juncos, 2018). Chandler (2014, p. 47) extends the post-structural critique of resilience described above, by conceptualising resilience as postmodern governance which "entails a flatter ontology of interactive emergence where the knowledge which needs to be acquired can only be gained through self-reflexive approaches." This moves on from the top-down (liberal peace) versus bottom-up (risk management) approaches to peacebuilding towards a more horizontal practice that requires both an acknowledgement of and openness to both complexity and learning on the part of policymakers and decision takers. This 'resilience thinking' (Chandler, 2014) enables opportunities to acknowledge and learn from (and even expect) policy failure and requires reflexivity on the part of those making and enacting policy.

Despite, or perhaps because of these very different ontological roots for resilience, the risk is that resilience means everything and nothing at once to those working in EiE. As Mitchell (2013) observes, this has led to co-option of the term for a variety of different reasons, and failed to afford time for introspection into how, why, and with what potential effects the concept may be deployed across various sectors and realms of humanitarian, development, conflict mitigation, DRR, and peacebuilding activity. It is to these questions that we now turn.

Research methods

This study explores the two questions specified at the outset of the paper (henceforth noted as RQ1 and RQ2). To answer these questions, we identified and analysed a sample of key EiE strategy documents from a range of international actors. This follows similar patterns of engaging critically with institutional reports and documents within the field of EiE more broadly. For instance, Smith and Ellison (2015) incorporate documents from international actors during their exploration into the contributions which education can make to peacebuilding. Both Bengtsson (2011) and Paulson and Shields (2015) drew on a range of institutional documents and reports to explore donor definitions of the concept of fragility, drawing out wider implications. Since documents produced by institutional actors, often referred to as 'grey literature' (Auger, 1998), are generally not included in bibliographic databases (e.g. EBSCO, ERIC) we needed to adopt more creative strategies than those often employed by systematic approaches to literature searching. This is not a systematic review, first because we are asking critical and configurative questions of a body of literature that does not constitute research, and second because of limitations around the 'searchability' of the literature we are collecting. Nonetheless, we employ the "logic of transparency and consistency" (Gough, Thomas, & Oliver, 2012; Paulson, 2015) that would underpin a systematic review methodology and therefore outline our strategy in detail here.

We adopted different strategies to answer RQ1 and 2. To clearly answer RQ1, which asks whether the use of resilience as a concept within EiE has increased over time, we needed a sample of key EiE documents from the beginning of the 1990s, when organisation around the idea initially began (Burde et al., 2015; Lerch, 2017; Winthrop & Matsui, 2013) through to the present day. To answer RQ2, which asks how resilience is conceptualised within EiE and with what implications, we needed a sample of

contemporary documents from key actors in EiE who use resilience within their work that either (or both) clearly define the term, or strategically set out the way in which they operationalise it. As we outline below, in a first phase we cast a wide net to find relevant documents to include in the sample used to answer RQ1, arriving at a data set of 77 documents from across the range of international actors involved in EiE since 1990. In the second phase, we narrowed this dataset to 13 documents, which lay out the current EiE strategy of key international actors and which include an attention to resilience. This enabled us to explore the ways in which resilience is currently being defined and used by those seeking to shape and implement EiE on the global stage today. Our study is limited to English language documents, an official language of many global actors in EiE, and the language of a significant proportion of high-level documents addressing institutional approaches to EiE.

We began the first phase by examining the reference lists of five substantial reviews of the field of EiE conducted within the last six years (Burde et al., 2015; Lerch, 2017; Lopes Cardozo & Novelli, 2018; Novelli et al., 2014; Winthrop & Matsui, 2013). These reviews all chart the rise of EiE since 1990 and therefore we reasoned that texts cited more than once across the reviews would occupy a position of importance within the field as it emerged. These reviews were particularly helpful for identifying key texts from the early – mid 1990s, which are less easy to find on current institutional repositories (the next stage of our search). Given our focus on institutional documents, we excluded 30 of the 47 documents that were cited more than once across the reviews since these were academic journal articles or books. The reference lists of these five influential reviews of EiE yielded 17 documents included in the sample used to answer RQ1.

We then conducted targeted searches of 11 institutional repositories. Searches were conducted using variations of our original query: *resilience* AND *education* The inclusion of the term resilience was necessary in order to focus the search in relation to the focus for RQ1 in which we sought to understand the presence and prevalence of the term over time. Without the inclusion of the term resilience, the search parameters would have been too broad, and decisions on which texts to include or exclude from final analysis done by the research team, rather through the search algorithms of each repository. Given that many of these institutions work across a range of sectors, and beyond the scope of the EiE community's remit on conflict and disaster-impacted settings, additional search terms such as 'AND *conflict* OR *peace* OR *peacebuilding* OR *disaster* OR *security* OR *humanitarian*' were also added to ensure greater relevance of the texts recommended by each site. Finally, as each repository had varying degrees of search functions, and consistent with common practice (Biermann, Hillmer-Pegram, Knapp, & Hum, 2016; Mahood, Van Eerd, & Irvin, 2014), we altered our search strategy to ensure that relevant searches could be conducted. For several repositories, this included conducting searches through filters and key terms, or the use of multiple searches. Where results were returned chronologically, we reviewed all results for relevance. Where results were returned based on relevance, we reviewed the first 120 results. Repository-specific searches, including queries and/or filters used, are detailed in Table 1.

Whilst using institutional repositories meant that a targeted representation of documents from key actors could be considered for inclusion, it also presented limitations for this study. For instance, some institutional repositories returned very few results, or omitted documents that authors were aware of through other sources. There were instances where documents from one institution were not included within search

results from their own institution's repository, but were found through other repositories. Filters also varied dramatically. For example, when applying filters to DfID's repository, 0 results were returned. In total, this strategy yielded 29 documents, though in light of the limitations discussed above, we conducted a third phase, in which we snowballed from the reference lists of key documents within the sample thus far, yielding an additional 31 documents.

[Table 1 near here]

We used this sample of 77 documents to answer RQ1, using a simple quantitative content analysis. Similar to the approach used by Biermann et al., (2016), each document was initially searched for a count of *resilience* and its derivatives. Uses in reference lists, running headers, titles and content lists were not included in the final count. Establishing a "description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952, p. 18, as quoted in Rourke & Anderson, 2004, p. 5) was appropriate for identifying whether an increase in the use of resilience language is evident in EiE over time.

The content analysis was also a first step towards narrowing our sample in order to answer our second research question, around the ways in which resilience is used and with what implications. To answer this question, we were only interested in documents in which resilience figures relatively prominently. Therefore, we removed those documents with less than 10 uses of *resilience* and its derivatives from our sample for RQ2, excluding 33 documents. From the remaining 44 documents, we selected a sample of 13 that represented a breadth of key institutional EiE actors and their recent (post EiE consolidation) communication of high-level aims or objectives for EiE and/or their specific strategy or approach to resilience. In selecting these texts, the intention was to ensure that they would provide the richest set of data for responding to RQ2. From the

original 77 documents, a purposeful selection of 13 texts which explore the concept of resilience with some level of depth was chosen.   These are listed in Table 2.

[Table 2 near here]

We then undertook a textual analysis of each of these 13 documents to critically consider how they conceptualise resilience. Specifically, we aimed to identify how resilience is articulated, understood and mobilised within this final group of documents. Following May (2011), documents were analysed to explore their dominant conceptualisation of resilience, and to consider, in conversation with wider theoretical literature, the subsequent implications for EiE. Thematic codes were developed inductively upon initial readings (May, 2011), and as various conceptualisations of resilience became evident. These were refined to four main thematic codes across all 13 documents: resilience-as-resource (either *for* recovery from shock and stress, or to protect *from* susceptibility to violence and extremism); transformative resilience-as-process (drawing on local assets to overcome locally identified sources of adversity); transformative resilience-as-disposition (an end state, made possible by a set of enabling structures and conditions which address inequities); and vulnerability-resilience continuum (education systems are innately vulnerable or resilient, and interventions should shift innate capacity along the continuum towards 'resilient'). As detailed in later sections, several documents mobilised multiple conceptualisations of resilience, and our analysis seeks to engage with the nuance of each broad category resulting from this initial inductive textual analysis. As such, the boundaries between these categories is diffuse rather than distinct. Eleven of the 13 documents have explicit definitions of resilience (all except US Government (2018) and UNESCO (2011)), and these definitions were considered in addition to the way resilience was otherwise mobilised within the documents.

Resilience rises in EiE

In response to RQ1, quantitative content analysis of the 77 documents revealed that the term resilience has gained increasing prominence within EiE global guidance and donor strategy documents, particularly in the period after 2010. Figure 1 below suggests two notable trends. The first, specified at the outset of this paper, is the growth and consolidation of EiE as a discrete area of practice within the broader education and international development community. This is indicated in Table 1 by the growing number of relevant EiE documents in each five year period since 1990. The majority of the 77 documents deemed as relevant to this study were identified in the period after 2010, when, as Withrop and Matsui (2013) and Lerch (2017) identify, the consolidation and professionalisation of the EiE community began in earnest. Part of this process has clearly been the proliferation of EiE specific documentation on the part of international agencies who have developed their work in this area (Lerch, 2017).

The second feature of our content analysis is the frequency with which the use of the term resilience and its derivatives increases as EiE consolidates. In the early years (1995-2005), resilience was rarely or not mentioned in the few EiE documents produced. After 2005, however, the frequency with which the term appears rapidly increases – from it featuring on average 6.67 times across the five documents included in the period 2005-2009, to 44.44 times in the most recent set of 25 documents produced between 2015 and 2018. Up until 2015, we saw the proliferation of EiE documents out-pace the uptake of resilience within them, but this changes from 2015, suggesting that resilience has become an important part of the strategy and vision which is increasingly anchoring the work of the EiE community.

[Figure 1 near here]

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It is only after 2010 that resilience features as a main topic within many of these documents, and in some cases, resilience is specified in document titles post-2010, indicating its strategic importance. Documents such as the World Bank's Education Resilience Approach (Reyes, Kelcey, & Diaz Varela, 2013; World Bank, 2013) and UNESCO-IIEP's (2015) manuals on incorporating safety, resilience, and social cohesion are indicative of this. The increasing frequency with which resilience is used in EiE documents may also support the idea of resilience as a 'boundary object' (Juncos, 2018) or 'bridging construct' (Sturgess & Sparrey, 2016), within an increasingly collaborative and cross-sectoral EiE community (Winthrop & Matsui, 2013).

The *INEE Minimum Standards* present a clear case study of the increasing prominence and focus given to resilience in this relatively short time span. The Minimum Standards were first developed and drafted in 2004. Developed through an inter-agency working group, the aim was to establish a global tool to enhance the quality of educational preparedness, response and recovery, and ensure accountability and strong coordination in the provision of education in emergencies through to recovery. The standards specify, across a range of domains, what EiE programming should aspire to. In 2004, when the standards were first developed, resilience did not feature at all in the document. By 2010, when the standards were revised by a smaller group within INEE, resilience gained much greater prominence as a concept. Specifically, resilience is mentioned 10 times in the updated 2010 document, which includes an explicit definition of the term in its glossary.

The addition of the concept of resilience into the standards was partly prompted by a need to give greater prominence to issues of climate change and DRR. By the late 2000's, according to Winthrop and Matsui (Winthrop & Matsui, 2013), the EiE

community was increasingly considering multi-hazard events, and seeing both natural and human-induced disasters as united under the language of risks, hazards and vulnerabilities within and to the education sector. Additionally, within INEE there was a strong push to "reflect developments in the field of education in emergencies and post-crisis recovery," which included amongst them the concept of resilience (INEE, 2010, p. 5). As discussed prior, concepts of risk-informed planning and local ownership had also crept into the peacebuilding agenda, affording opportunities to also embed concepts of risk, resilience, vulnerability and capacities into peacebuilding-focused efforts in the education sector.

Yet, a number of the post-2010 documents do not offer a clear definition of resilience, despite using the term frequently. Others adopt definitions from elsewhere, enabling them to join ongoing discussions. This supports the idea that resilience may serve as a 'bridging concept' to generate 'constructive ambiguity'. In their 2016 review for DFID, Sturgess and Sparrey arrive at the "take home message" that definitions of resilience across international organisations and agencies are, "…all quite similar!" (p. 9). To unpick the dominant ideas that underpin this ambiguity, we turn now to RQ2, exploring how resilience is conceptualised with EiE and the implications of this.

Resilience as resource

The most common understanding of resilience put forward within the 13 documents reviewed in the second stage of the research, is that resilience is a key resource to be drawn upon in times of adversity (i.e. shock or stress event). Much of the thinking behind this draws on early understandings of resilience which focusses on individual characteristics or dispositions of resilience, often devoid of the social contexts in which they function. Nine of the 13 documents included in the analysis build around the central idea that there are inherent individual qualities, such as the ability to adapt,

preserve, or cope which need to be drawn upon or built up to ensure that capacities are there to absorb and/or adapt to a changing set of contexts.

EiE policy and programme guidance places strong emphasis on education supporting the development of these attributes of resilience or, in other words, of education enabling individuals to develop resilience as a personal resource. For example, the INEE Minimum Standards defines resilience as a set of "coping mechanisms and life skills such as...the ability to seek support, motivation, optimism, faith, perseverance and resourcefulness" (2010, p. 122). Based on having such qualities, acquired through education, the standards then go on to see these attributes as resources which can be leveraged to promote recovery from crises. Specifically, having such traits and resources is important to overcoming individual 'vulnerabilities', and is important for promoting an individual's ability to 'cope' with crises (INEE, 2010, pp. 10, 37). Education's purpose is seen as playing a "crucial role in helping affected people cope with their situation and establish normality in their lives" (INEE, 2010, p. 54) by building and/or reinforcing the psychosocial well-being and social-emotional competencies of learners. A later INEE Guidance Note (2016, p. 9) specifies that psychosocial support helps to facilitate resilience by "respecting the independence, dignity and coping mechanisms of individuals and communities…promot[ing] the restoration of social cohesion and infrastructure" and likewise that social emotional learning can help to strengthen skills such as emotional self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills and responsible decision making. These skills are seen as critical for an individual's ability to deal with adversity. Specifically, the guidance argues that having such skills, is the "difference between [students and young people] having supportive relationships or being socially isolated, between managing stress or turning to negative coping mechanisms" (INEE, 2016, p.

14). The ways in which this has subsequently been taken up in global policy making is most apparent in the EU's recently released strategy document on *Education in Emergencies and Protracted Crises* (2018). In this document, the EU specifies that, "Education is a cornerstone of individual resilience, ensuring the well-being of new generations, providing protection and fostering the social and emotional well-being and cognitive development of people affected by emergencies and crises," and goes onto stress how, "EU assistance will promote the provision of psycho-social support, such as support for teachers and other care providers and referral and response pathways for children and young people in need of specialised services" (European Commission, 2018, p. 8).

A key message from these texts is that at the level of the individual, resilience is a disposition that can be nurtured, supported or harnessed through education, with the aim that it can then be used as a resource in times of adversity to ensure a quick recovery and support adaptation, flexibility and appropriate coping in such events. In other words, resilience becomes an outcome created by having social-emotional, psychosocial, and cognitive competencies – which education can foster or reinforce. For example, UN OCHA (n.d., p. 1) contends that:

> Resilience is therefore an end state that implies that vulnerable communities and households have: 1) the capacity to maintain basic functions and structures during stresses and shocks; 2) access to a range of skills and resources that allow them to adapt to changing circumstances; 3) the ability to anticipate, prevent, prepare for and respond to stresses and shocks without compromising their long-term prospects.

On the surface this is an appealing and positive juxtaposition to narratives of vulnerability, exclusion, and marginalisation which have become commonplace in the education and development agenda, particularly within the SDGs which recognise and

give priority to those left behind. Having resilience restores a sense of individual agency, a sense of empowerment, and a belief in the capacity of those who have been left behind to overcome adversity (Harrison, 2013). As Hanbury and Ronan (2014, pp. 80–81) describe, having resilience "…creates a politics of anticipation, which in turn links systemic and organisational resilience to ideas of personal resilience."

However, O'Malley (2010, p. 489) critically observes that "elements formerly identified as human 'attributes', such as courage, will-power, fortitude and character, have been reconfigured as 'coping strategies' or 'skills' that can be learned by anyone", and as "readily acquired, scientifically tested and mutable cognitive manoeuvres appropriate to the governance of the self in conditions of uncertainty." Largely, then, resilience becomes a set of attributes prescribed by international agencies to be acquired or not (and at their peril if not) by those vulnerable to shock. While positioned initially as an escape from a set of terms which suggests deficit in 'local' populations and societies—such as fragility and vulnerability—when texts position resilience as 'lacking' it becomes a buzzword for business as usual approaches to peacebuilding which defer responsibility and blame to localized sources (Goetze, 2019).

The reliance on individualised and psychiatric conceptualisations of resilience within EiE documents also opens them to critique from the standpoint of neoliberal governmentality. Here the idea that resilience that is fostered and nurtured through education in times of adversity with the intention to help individuals, communities and societies to be or become self-reliant, and to cope with environments in a now constant state of flux would attract critique. MacKinnon and Derikson (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013), for example, link such narratives to the project of "responsibilisation" where the power of the state or other external actors is replaced through the resources, initiative and capacities of individuals and communities to help themselves. As

observed by Evans and Reid (2016, p. 94), the rise of a resilience discourse throughout the rise of neoliberalism, and more recently the age of austerity, is not coincidence – and with it, "a new sense of social responsibility that places the burden of crises directly onto the shoulders of the globally impoverished…rendering social safety nets as part of the wider systemic problem." Drawing on Foucault's ideas of governmentality, this is further elucidated by Joseph (2018) who observes how concepts of resilience and self-reliance appeal to liberal sensibilities of free will, but within particular rules and norms of conduct or behaviour (i.e. initiative, enterprise, adaptability) without any support from the state, or the international community, to achieve this.

Responsibilising resilient subjects

Linked to the individualisation of resilience as a resource that education can help individuals to acquire, is the ways in which resilience becomes an important attribute for individuals and communities to manage their own situations, and to cope with recurrent crises, risks, and hazards through their own internal resources – reducing in the long term, the need for external support or assistance. This view is made quite explicit in eight of 13 the documents reviewed in the second stage of the research. For example, OCHA's (n.d, p. 3) position paper on resilience sees resilience, as "…ultimately about avoiding the need for humanitarian assistance", and a "…cost effective [approach], with long-term savings over humanitarian responses". This is particularly striking coming for OCHA, the UN body responsible for coordinating and delivering humanitarian assistance. Sturgess and Sparrey (2016, p. 3), similarly note "the resilience concept recognises vulnerable communities as the key actors in their own future."

This viewpoint is also shared by USAID, which specifies that delivering projects to build resilience is to reduce "humanitarian need over time" (2012, p. 1). USAID

defines resilience as "the ability of people, households, communities, countries, and systems to mitigate, adapt to and recover from shocks and stresses in a manner that reduces chronic vulnerability and facilitates inclusive growth" (2012, p. 5). In EiE this means mobilising education not as human right or entitlement, or as a process of learning, growth and personal fulfilment, but rather, in the words of the US Government's recently released international basic education strategy, a "journey toward self-reliance" (2018, p. 9).

While the term resilience does not come up too often in the USAID policy or the accompanying basic education strategy, it is clear that for the US Government, resilient societies (and individuals) are an end goal that education can promote, and in several places education is positioned as critical for enabling or building resilient societies. Specific to conflict-affected contexts, the links between education, self-sufficiency and resilience are made clear through the claim that "individuals with education and skills can be more resilient, adaptive to new environments, and better equipped to find new livelihood opportunities" (USAID, 2018, p. 14).

For education programming in times of crisis the US Government's international basic education strategy suggests that the intention is to focus on restoring education provision. Education is crucial because it is protective, can strengthen or foster particular learning outcomes which allow individuals to 'keep calm and carry on', and can act as a buffer against extremist viewpoints. In other words, the US Government (2018) articulates a mutually reinforcing relationship develops between 'quality' education provision and resilient citizens and societies, but reduces quality provision to that which enables self-sufficiency. In doing, resilience is employed discursively by "coming into play at the micro level...but then acquiring influence, as the idea is displaced, extended and modified, and ultimately, 'invested and annexed' by powers at

the macro-level" (Foucault, 1984, p. 30-31, in Joseph, 2018). By corollary, failure of children and young people to become resilient becomes the fault of the individuals or the immediate structures/supports around them (including educational institutions). According to O'Malley (2010) resilience becomes a discursive technology and tool used to get individuals to accept uncertainty and risk, and live with and thrive in the uncertainty of their existence. This, however, "depoliticises and shifts responsibility for dealing with crisis away from those in power", and "creates an expectation that people should 'bounce back'," irrespective of the structural challenges they face" (Harrison, 2013, p. 99). As Shah (2015) argues based on his observations of education programming in the Gaza Strip, this lends itself to temporary solutions to deeply entrenched vulnerabilities which international donors and those promoting the resilience agenda may be complicit of exacerbating or creating. It allows what Joseph (2018) identifies as a mechanism for those with power to distance themselves from those who are made vulnerable through such exercises of power. From a peacebuilding perspective, it promotes approaches focused on negative rather than positive peace, as inequalities and structural injustices that might cause or maintain conflict, violence or 'shock' are not a focus for analysis, intervention or change.

Mobilising resilience in this way allows for important shifts in thinking. First, we see changes in ideas about those responsible for ensuring educational recovery from crisis – from governments and the international community towards students, teachers, schools and communities. Secondly, we see changes around the ultimate purposes of education in peacebuilding – from ensuring that all children can access their fundamental human right and thrive thanks to its fulfilment to ensuring all children have access to a vehicle through which to build the attributes (resilience) necessary to recover from (and endure the next) crisis. The predominance of psychological mobilisations of

resilience and the ways in which resilience enables governance from a distance within the documents, means that there is an overall sense within the majority of documents reviewed that the concept of resilience has distanced EiE work from attending to geopolitics and structural causes of conflict (cf. Novelli, 2010). Resilience has consequently narrowed the meanings and purposes of education from rich, fulfilling enactments of self and knowledge to instrumental, cognitive capacities for self-sufficiency. This limits the possibilities then, for education to function as part of a transformative remedy to conflicts of the past (Novelli, Lopes Cardozo and Smith, 2017).

The very language of resilience has shifted EiE's attention from violent conflict and natural and human-made disasters towards crisis, risk and vulnerability. Again, the INEE's Minimum Standards provide an excellent example. The 2004 Standards were entitled *Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises and Early Reconstruction*, identifying the contexts and problems they attempted to address. The 2010 revised version is called *Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, Response, Recovery*. In this later version, no specific problems are identified, implying a pervasiveness of risk against which to be prepared, and to respond and recover. This shift is away from efforts to understand and change the underlying causes of conflict or disaster is detrimental for commitments to sustainable or positive peace (Galtung, 1969), which requires attention and remedy to structural inequalities, and to holistic, quality education that aspires to nurture fulfilled and ethical individuals capable of much more than withstanding shocks (Novelli, Lopes Cardozo, Smith, 2017).

Ecological metaphors in EiE and possibilities for resilience as transformative?

As demonstrated above, the dominant conceptualisation of resilience within our EiE sample is an individualised and psychologised one, enabling a strong post-structuralist

governance critique of the current strategic directions within EiE work. However, ecological conceptualisations of resilience are also present within four of the documents reviewed. Here, some documents move away from the understanding of resilience as an outcome or end point, towards conceptualisations of resilience as process, continuum or flux, taking a broader ecological view of the nature and purpose of resilience. In some cases conceptualisations also move away from the individual as the sole or main focus of resilience, towards an attention to resilient (educational) systems.

For example, USAID (2012) develops a framework that places resilience and vulnerability on a continuum, with resilience demonstrated when the adaptive, absorptive, and transformative capacities[1] of individuals and communities can moderate or buffer the impacts of shocks and stresses to allow them to return to normalcy or transform their situation of adversity. Conversely, vulnerability occurs when there is a "spiral of divestment leading to destitution and characterised by a failure to recover from shock episodes" (USAID, 2017, p. 2). USAID sees that the role of donors is to strengthen the resilience capacities described above so that the vulnerability spiral does not occur. The juxtaposition of resilience against narratives of fragility or vulnerability is a key theme to such accounts. A 2011 document jointly produced by UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), the Global Education Coalition (GEC), and UNICEF on education sector planning for conflict and disaster risk reduction demonstrates this clearly. It includes an explicit definition of resilience which it sets out as "the opposite of vulnerability" (UNESCO-IIEP, Global Education Cluster, & UNICEF, 2011, p. 12), and as the capacity at a systemic and individual level to

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[1] Adaptive capacities are seen as the ability to learn from experience and adapt and adjust responses in the short, medium and long term to changing external conditions, absorptive capacities are the coping strategies used to mitigate the impacts of shocks and stresses, and transformative capacities is the ability to create a new system when current conditions make the old ones untenable.

minimise risk, maintain function during crises, and recover quickly from shock. At both systemic and individual levels, resilience is identified as an inherent virtue, with vulnerability as a threat to this natural equilibrium. For example, resilient education systems maintain education delivery during crises by building in planning that anticipates and analyses risks (UNESCO-IIEP et al., 2011).

Drawing on the ecological metaphor, a few documents in our sample intend to disrupt the pattern of distancing from structural causes of conflict discussed above and argue for a closer and critical examination of the geopolitics and structural causes of conflict. There are instances where resilience is perceived in EiE programming as explicitly linked to longer-term projects towards sustainable peace, which aim to identify the effects and underlying causes of conflict at an individual, community and systemic level (Shah et al., 2016). By positioning the notion of resilience within an ecological frame, three of our main documents conceptualise resilience relative to its potential to transform contexts into more socially just environments (Reyes et al., 2013; UNICEF, 2014; World Bank, 2013). In each of these cases, transformative resilience is coupled to education's function along the same lines. Citing Mertens (2009), Reyes and colleagues argue that in order to "engage with the complexity of transformative resilience, education systems must bring forward a critical lens to uncover social and institutional inequities" (2013, p. 21). For the World Bank (2013), and Reyes et al (2013), a transformative conceptualisation of resilience is constructed through the idea of resilience-as-process. These World Bank publications view resilience as a *guiding approach* to interventions. This approach places a strong emphasis on identifying and relying upon local assets, aspires to interventions that are locally led, and to outcomes of interest which are locally derived. A central feature of resilience-as-process states that "resilience provides a framework to deal with the protection needs of children and

youth at risk, in conjunction with the processes and assets that can support their education outcomes" (Reyes et al., 2013).

Authors explicitly argue that a resilience approach does not transfer responsibility for overcoming adversity onto an individual (Reyes et al., 2013; World Bank, 2013). Rather, a resilience approach:

> …considers individual resilience in light of institutional supports— those systems, policies, programs and resources that can help at-risk individuals. It is also concerned with the supportive opportunities to address the risks and social injustices that individuals face, while fostering strengths, opportunities and available services. (World Bank, 2013, p. 3)

In this way, resilience-as-process within the education system presents a way of "addressing and improving education policy and institutions even in times of crisis" (World Bank, 2013, p. 3). Importantly, individuals affected by crises are agentic within this conceptualisation of resilience - "most children and youth seek agency and some level of control in the face of adversity...the state and society must act upon their responsibility to provide alternative, socially desirable, and life-sustaining strategies to protect and promote agency" (Reyes et al, 2013, p. 46).

Perhaps the most comprehensive view of resilience as transformative is presented by UNICEF (UNICEF, 2014). Here, the emphasis on education for peacebuilding explicitly defines the notion of resilience within a transformative and ecological frame. For UNICEF (2014, p. 1), resilience is "the ability of children, communities and systems to anticipate, prevent, withstand, adapt to and recover from stresses and shocks advancing the rights of every child, especially the most disadvantaged". The emphasis on 'advancing the rights of every child' marks a significant break from the usual 'recover from shocks and stresses' discourse found in many other definitions of resilience, both outlined above and those collated by Sturgess

and Sparrey (2016). Rather than an emphasis on a speedy return to 'normalcy' following crises, UNICEF positions education, and resilience, as fundamentally concerned with transforming societies through directly addressing social injustices. For UNICEF, peacebuilding through education enables a full meaning of resilience, for when "people, communities, and societies are able to anticipate and manage conflicts without violence, and are engaging in inclusive social change processes that improve the quality of life then they have truly become resilient" (UNICEF, 2014, p. 2).

In one particular case, UNESCO-IIEP (2015) take an interesting approach to the conceptualisation of resilience as transformative. During 2015, UNESCO-IIEP published a series of guides on establishing a resilient education system entitled *Safety, Resilience, and Social Cohesion: A guide for Education Sector Planners*. Within their glossary for this series, UNESCO- IIEP acknowledge the discourse around resilience as transformation. They write, "the concept of *resilience for transformation* draws attention to the fact that a system can be strong and resilient, but nonetheless lead to violations of children's rights and negative learning outcomes" (2015, p. 11). Despite this clear acknowledgement of the flaws of the dominant definitions of resilience, the series then dismisses its implications in the standard definition of resilience that they adopt: the ability of education systems and learners to "withstand, adapt to, and recover from shocks and stresses" (UNESCO-IIEP, 2015, p. 11). This is the only document that we reviewed which acknowledged one form of resilience, before explicitly dismissing it and ensuring that the conceptualisation of resilience across a series of guides for education planners was consistent with an apolitical ability to 'bounce back' from crises. Importantly, it may be indicative of the challenges faced by many institutions attempting to deliver education within the increasingly complex political contexts of contemporary emergencies. Often, a transformative resilience agenda becomes seen as

too political, with interventions reverting back to the 'safe' position of focussing on strengthening individual and community level resilience (Simpson et. al, 2016).

'Resilience thinking' in EiE?

Similar to the World Bank documents examined above, the European Commission (2017, p. 23) sees resilience as a process rather than an outcome contending that, "Strengthening resilience is a means not an end" and is about "…addressing vulnerabilities and underlying structural risks." It also recognises "that development, and progress towards democracy, peace and security, is not a linear process, and that sectoral approaches, on their own, are not always enough to ensure sustainable results." In staking such a position, there is clear positioning in opposition to earlier liberal peacebuilding approaches. In adopting these positions to greater and lesser degrees, actors like the World Bank, UNICEF, and the European Commission appear to be taking some heed of what Chandler (2014) calls 'resilience thinking' drawing on understandings of complexity to contend that policy failure is not a failure of policy itself, but rather a systemic process of unintended consequences and side-effects in a complex world from which organisations and institutions can learn. As the European Commission's (2017) general approach to resilience demonstrates, the implications of 'resilience thinking' – the fourth strand of literature on resilience we reviewed before beginning our analysis – is evident in the policymaking, decision taking and funding of agencies working in peacebuilding. However, this discourse is almost entirely absent from the EiE documents that we reviewed. We do not see the opportunities that resilience thinking opens for self-reflexivity and learning taken up within these documents. In other words, we do not see the authors of these reports – donor agencies and their representatives – reflecting upon their own institutional resilience (or lack thereof). Critically reflection on their positions and roles in crises and on their previous

responses and the outcomes of those is absent from these documents, meaning that the authors are not finding opportunities (or at least are not writing about finding them) to reflect and learn from policy failure. This is ironic, given that the focus on education might suggest more rather than less propensity for agency learning.

The irony is not entirely unexpected as others (cf. Komatsu & Rappleye, 2018) note the overall failure within the education and development donor community more generally to engage in self-reflection, consider power relationships and to learn from policy failures. As EiE has developed as a discrete field of practice it does not seem to have been able to become better at enabling spaces and opportunities for self-reflection and learning of international agencies within its strategies. The absence of this particular resilience discourse in our findings suggests that there is room for more 'resilience thinking' within the EiE donor community.

Conclusion

In this paper we have shown that resilience has risen to a position of prominence in EiE discourse. From a position in the 1990s, where it was hardly mentioned by key publications, it rose to a position in the last 2010s where its use outpaces the production of EiE publications. This upwards trajectory is facilitated first by the consolidation of EiE as an international community and area of practice and then by its outwards, inter-sectoral engagement to elevate the prominence of EiE on international agendas (Lerch, 2017; Winthrop & Matsui, 2013). It also mirrors a wider trend in peacebuilding, whereby attention has shifted from responding to conflict towards the prevention of risk. As this has occurred, resilience as a concept has been readily employed as a 'least common denominator,' which while seemingly benign, masks significant discursive and conceptual shifts about the reasons for support to education in the aftermath of emergency and about the purposes and desired outcomes of that education. In a

majority of the documents that we reviewed, the EiE community's embracing of resilience put limits on the discursive space for it to engage in more transformative solutions to endemic emergencies. The use of resilience has coincided with and facilitated a move away from conflict and natural or human-created disaster as the foci for EiE intervention towards risk mitigation. This reduces or even makes irrelevant the need to understand and seek to change the causes of the emergencies that EiE seeks to intervene in, and reduces or makes irrelevant the goal and possibility of a positive peace, which would require transformation of these root causes.

On top of this, resilience enables further shifts about subjectivities and responsibilities in EiE. As our analysis of key EiE documents has shown, students, teachers and families are most often the subjects of resilience and documents often transfer responsibility on to these individuals to sustain themselves in the face of shocks and crisis. This enables a distancing of the subjects of resilience (teachers, students, etc.) from those governing them (governments, the international community). The post-structuralist critique of resilience more generally (Joseph, 2018) appears to apply to resilience within EiE as well. Governing through resilience in EiE has implications beyond those for power and governance since the creation of a resilient subject has consequences for the very purposes of education which EiE seeks to promote. In fostering resilience, the vision of education moves away from the fulfilment of a fundamental human right and the flourishing of individuals and becomes limited to psychological and cognitive interventions and their outcomes in terms of the skills to 'bounce back better'. A more holistic and human range of capabilities that quality education might seek to develop (cf. Tikly & Barrett, 2011) is narrowed under the vision that resilience offers. Importantly, the potential opened by resilience to enact the 'local turn' in peacebuilding is unfilled by the documents we reviewed. Learners and

communities are not empowered to define what resilience might mean to them or to construct meaningful learning outcomes – instead the skills and capabilities of the resilient subject are prescribed by these documents, which set up a new form of deficit for those individuals and communities who fail to possess them.

The rise of resilience in key EiE documents in not entirely homogenous, however, and we do find passages whereby resilience opens rather than closes possibilities for transformative change. We do find examples of ecological conceptions of resilience that expand understandings beyond the resilient individual to the resilience school, community or education system and that envision resilience not as an end state but as a continuum, equilibrium or ecosystem. Though somewhat underdeveloped, these conceptualisations do connect resilience to the possibility of transformation through education as they maintain space for the analysis of the causes of conflict and inequality, and appeal to education to play a role in changing these. However, we argue that for such spaces to expand, it would be fruitful for the international organisations authoring the documents that we reviewed to position themselves within the resilience ecology, opening space for critical reflection and learning. Following Chandler's (2014) 'resilience thinking' this would include acknowledging and anticipating policy failure, interrogating the resilience of their own organisations and their own roles (and complicity) in shaping and defining risks, shocks and their educational responses. Perhaps only then are the transformative remedies offered through and within peacebuilding approaches to education policy possible.

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Table 1. Sample and search strategy.

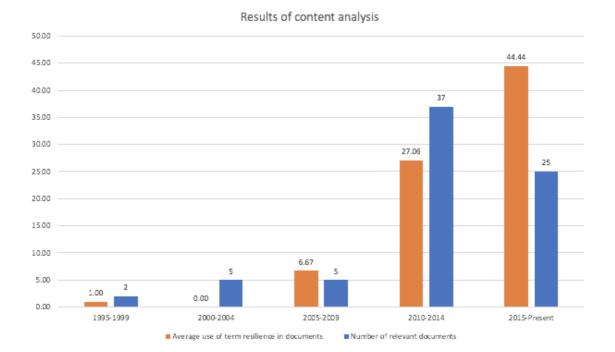| Repository	Search terms/Filters used	Total yield	# of docs reviewed	# added to main list
INEE	"resilience education"	51	51	10
INEE Toolkit	No search function: folders opened and documents scanned for relevance.	n/a	n/a	1
UNESDOC	Filters: Language set to English; Publication year set from 1990-2018 Search terms: education resilience	599	599	4
World Bank Open Knowledge Repository	"education" AND "resilience" AND "conflict"	297	120	4
	"education" AND "resilience" AND "peace"	111	111	
	"education" AND "resilience" AND "peacebuilding"	10	10	
	"education" AND "resilience" AND "disaster"	182	120	
	"education" AND "resilience" AND "security"	441	120	

	"education" AND "resilience" AND "humanitarian"	41	41	
USAID/ECCN	"resilience" AND "education" AND "conflict" OR "peace" OR "peacebuilding" OR "disaster" OR "security" OR "humanitarian"	402	50	6
UNICEF	"education resilience"	3	3	1
UNHCR	"education resilience"	6	6	1
UNISDR	Filter: Education & School Safety	117	117	1
ECHO	Site containing policies. Policy guideline regarding DRR included.	n/a	n/a	1
DfID	Filter: Department – Department for International Development; Topic – Education, training and skills	0	-	0
Snowballing		n/a	n/a	31
Initial set of documents from Phase 1		n/a	n/a	17
Total number of documents included in main list				77

Table 2. 13 documents comprising the data for this study, listed chronologically.

	Author (Year)	**Title**
1	INEE (INEE, 2010)	Minimum standards for education: Preparedness, response, recovery
2	UNESCO (UNESCO, 2011)	The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education [EfA Global Monitoring Report]
3	UNESCO IIEP, GEC, & UNICEF (UNESCO-IIEP et al., 2011)	Guidance notes for educational planners: Integrating conflict and disaster risk reduction into education sector planning
4	USAID (USAID, 2012)	The resilience agenda: Helping vulnerable communities emerge from cycles of crisis onto a pathway toward development
5	World Bank (World Bank, 2013)	Education Resilience Approaches: Field Notes. Issue No. 2, April
6	OECD (2013)	What does 'resilience' mean for donors? An OECD factsheet
7	Reyes, Kelcey, & Diaz Varela (Reyes et al., 2013) [World Bank]	Transformative resilience guide: Gender, violence, and education
8	ECHO (2013)	Disaster risk reduction: Increasing resilience by reducing disaster risk in humanitarian action

9	UNICEF (UNICEF, 2014)	PBEA: Key peacebuilding concepts and terminology
10	UNESCO-IIEP (UNESCO-IIEP, 2015)	Glossary of terms
11	Sturgess & Sparrey (Sturgess & Sparrey, 2016) [DfID]	What is resilience?
12	US Government (US Government, 2018)	US Government strategy on international basic education: Fiscal years 2019-2023
13	OCHA (OCHA, n.d.)	Position paper on resilience

Figure 1. Average use of the term 'resilience' and its derivatives per document by five year period.

Results of content analysis

Period	Average use of term resilience in documents	Number of relevant documents
1995-1999	1.00	2
2000-2004	0.00	5
2005-2009	6.67	5
2010-2014	27.06	37
2015-Present	44.44	25

■ Average use of term resilience in documents ■ Number of relevant documents