

The World Humanities Report

A Contested Terrain: Education in Emergencies Research

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A Contested Terrain: Education in Emergencies Research

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Education in emergencies (EiE) refers to education for populations affected by unforeseen situations, such as armed conflict or natural disasters.¹ EiE is an umbrella term that covers the variety of formal and nonformal educational activities during an emergency, be it a natural disaster or a conflict,² and most recently in contexts of regional or global pandemics such as Ebola and COVID-19. The growing interest in EiE stems from the realization that millions of children live in crisis-affected regions, where they often lack access to education.³ EiE is a relatively young field. It emerged after the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, and was consolidated during the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal. In 2000, a group of educators and practitioners linked mainly to international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) and UN agencies formed the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) to support education in countries affected by conflict and disaster.⁴ Since then, the field of EiE has proliferated exponentially to become an industry that includes programmatic interventions, large funds, multisectoral and interdisciplinary research projects, global advocacy, policy-making, and international strategies.

The initial focus of EiE was ensuring access to education in times of crisis. However, with increased need and interest and a variety of actors involved, the EiE industry has developed to include issues such as gender, human rights, peace education, and conflict resolution. EiE research aims to create evidence that can become the basis for building quality, equitable, relevant, and inclusive

¹ Margaret Sinclair, “Education in Emergencies,” in *Learning for a Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*, ed. Jeff Crisp, Christopher Talbot, and Daiana B. Cipollone (Geneva: UNHCR, 2001), 52.

² *Education in Emergencies: Facilitators’ Guide*, NGO Consortium for the Care and Protection of Children in Emergencies, 2002, 5, https://inee.org/sites/default/files/resources/doc_1_89_IRC_EiE_Facilitator_Guide.pdf.

³ Global Education Monitoring Report Team, *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2011), <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001907/190743e.pdf>, cited in Dana Burde, Amy Kapit, Rachel L. Wahl, Ozen Guven, and Margot Ingrid Skarpeteig, “Education in Emergencies: A Review of Theory and Research,” *Review of Educational Research* 87, no. 3 (2017), 619–58.

⁴ Burde et al., “Education in Emergencies.”

education programs benefiting the most marginalized. However, EiE research often occurs because donors demand rigorous empirical data to determine “what works” and to achieve program outcomes.⁵

This essay aims to answer three questions around EiE research and link them to EiE research ethics: Do these program outcomes reflect the needs and demands of communities dealing with emergencies? Who are the researchers assigned to design and conduct the research and to analyze and use the data? Whose knowledge counts when it comes to EiE research, which is the basis for EiE programming?

In many EiE research projects, research ethics are considered a procedural issue, not a direct link to the politics and power dynamics of knowledge production. This essay examines how the ethics of EiE research are linked to researchers’ practices (particularly those who are foreign to the context they research) and research institutions. It also sheds light on EiE research and its relevance to programming in communities dealing with complex crises, including violence and mass displacement. Finally, through vignettes and personal experiences, the essay questions the research ethics allegedly in place to respect and protect individuals and communities and explains how these ethical guidelines instead allow for problematic practices.

Education in Emergencies: Whose Knowledge Counts?

EiE is a relatively young field, both operationally and especially in terms of research and evidence.⁶ Key milestones include the formation of the INEE in 2000 in response to the Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All, the development of the INEE Minimum Standards in 2003, and the adoption of the Global Education Cluster in 2006.⁷ Even though the INEE includes EiE work since 1948 in the timeline on its website, the efforts it describes are linked to the establishment of UN agencies, such as the Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East in 1949 and High Commissioner for Refugees in 1950,⁸ or UN declarations and conventions such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

⁵ Burde et al., “Education in Emergencies,” 621.

⁶ Susan Nicolai and Sébastien Hine, *Investment for Education in Emergencies: A Review of Evidence* (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2015); INEE, “Education in Emergencies Timeline,” 2020, <https://timeline.ineesite.org/#event-unrwa-established-1950-05-01>.

⁷ Nicolai and Hine, *Investment for Education*.

⁸ Fumiyo Kagawa, “Emergency Education: A Critical Review of the Field,” *Comparative Education* 41, no. 4 (2005): 487–503.

in 1989. This is what Michalinos Zembylas and André Keet call a declarationist approach, which leads to the omission of theories, knowledges, and practices of communities around the world, where young people are provided with education in times of conflict and natural disasters.⁹ Similarly, the majority of available literature focuses on interventions by INGOs and UN agencies, in many cases disregarding the efforts of regional and national governments and local communities, who mitigate the effects of conflict and other crises on education. Observers of humanitarian crises often note that during and after a disaster, the affected populations take the initiative to ensure the continuation of education and reestablish their education systems.¹⁰ There is limited research on these efforts, and even less work analyzes or evaluates these initiatives¹¹ or appreciate them. An example of sidelining EiE work done by communities is a report supported by UK Aid and Oxford Policy Management titled “COVID-19 Rapid Literature Review: Education.”¹² Although the report includes localized EiE initiatives, it strongly highlights that they are supported by INGOs and UN agencies. While there are thousands of reports and blogs that include work done by teachers, communities, and in-country practitioners, this report does not include that narrative. The INEE website promotes the report as the basis for further EiE programming in response to COVID-19 and future pandemics. This is just one example how EiE as an industry is increasingly institutionalized and standardized, which exacerbates the omission of grassroots efforts and local expertise. EiE seems to be considered valid only when supported, technically or financially, by global bodies.

EiE is promoted by practitioners in terms of core humanitarian principles, which means that it is depoliticized, and hence decontextualized. This is exacerbated by EiE’s increased institutionalization, which allows for higher levels of standardization in research. This poses an issue for its relevance and the sustainability of its programming and impact. EiE research also responds to changing global priorities for humanitarian intervention and emergent funding platforms. These platforms are based on the assumption that education, and schooling in particular, “is an imperative for crisis-hit families as they are struggling to keep their children safe and rebuild their lives, and is paramount to peace and

⁹ Michalinos Zembylas and André Keet, *Critical Human Rights Education: Advancing Social-Justice-Oriented Educational Praxes* (London: Springer Nature, 2019).

¹⁰ NGO Consortium for the Care and Protection of Children in Emergencies, *Education in Emergencies*.

¹¹ Burde et al., “Education in Emergencies.”

¹² Shrochis Karki, “Rapid Literature Review: Education,” *Maintains*, April 2020, https://inee.org/sites/default/files/resources/Maintains-COVID19-Education-rapid-lit-review_final.pdf.

development.”¹³ They also assume that “disseminating evidence-based research provides crucial guidance to governments, policymakers, practitioners, and civil

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society to design programs that can have a positive impact on the lives of children and youth in crisis settings.”¹⁴ These statements are exemplars of the lack of criticality in this emerging industry, where the assumption is that education is neutral and limited to schooling and

the violent face of schooling, particularly in crisis contexts, such as bullying, corporal punishment, discrimination, and xenophobia,¹⁵ are overlooked. The need for evidence demanded by governments, policymakers, and other institutions overshadows the needs of teachers, parents, and students. Funded EiE research provides this evidence, where teachers, parents, and students are merely subjects and sources of primary data.

In addition, evidence shows that contrary to EiE industry claims, education drops as a priority in cases of complex crisis and extreme hardship. In these cases and for the most marginalized, “Maslow comes before Bloom.”¹⁶ Through their independent research in Jordan during the COVID-19 pandemic, Dina

¹³ Education Cannot Wait, “Education in Emergencies: A Neglected Priority,” accessed April 2021, <https://www.educationcannotwait.org/the-situation/>.

¹⁴ Dubai Cares, “Dubai Cares Announces Third Round Awardees for E-Cubed Research Envelope,” February 10, 2020, <https://www.dubaicarees.ae/news/dubai-cares-announces-third-round-awardees-e-cubed-research-envelope/>.

¹⁵ Maha Shuayb, Nisrine Makkouk, and Suha Tuttunji, *Widening Access to Quality Education for Syrian Refugees: The Role of Private and NGO Sectors in Lebanon* (Beirut: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 2014); Maha Shuayb, “How a Generation of Syrian Children in Lebanon Were Robbed of Their Education: Racism, Xenophobia, and Corruption Rendered Hundreds of Thousands of Syrian Children ‘A Lost Generation,’” *openDemocracy*, July 7, 2020, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/how-generation-syrian-children-lebanon-were-robbed-their-education/>.

¹⁶ Dina Batshon and Yasmeen Shahzadeh, *Education in the Time of COVID-19 in Jordan: A Roadmap for Short, Medium, and Long-Term Responses* (Beirut: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 2020), 3, <https://lebanesestudies.com/education-in-the-time-of-covid-19-in-jordan-a-roadmap-for-short-medium-and-long-term-responses/>. They are referring to psychologists Abraham Maslow, who created a hierarchy of human needs beginning with physiological needs and ending with self-actualization, and Benjamin Bloom, who created a taxonomy of types of learning used in curriculum development.

Batshon and Yasmeeen Shahzadeh found that “at the time of crisis, access to education might be of least concern for refugees and other vulnerable communities . . . access to food, healthcare, and cash assistance are crucial in order for education interventions to be considered or adopted.”¹⁷ Similarly, Mai Abu Moghli and Maha Shuayb conducted research focusing on the experiences of teachers, students, and parents in Jordan, Lebanon, and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip during the COVID-19 lockdown and the pandemic’s effect on access to and quality of education.¹⁸ They found that students, particularly male students, who dropped out of school during complex crises (including economic collapse, colonial occupation, political upheaval, and the pandemic) did so to look for work to support their struggling families. These findings contradict the narrative of the EiE research industry that pushes for education, and schooling in particular, as a mechanism to save lives, a narrative that calls for an increased funding for EiE interventions during crisis. These interventions are quick fixes and a smoke screen to cover institutional violations, structural discrimination, and inequalities that affect the most marginalized.¹⁹

For EiE research to be representative and inclusive, partnerships between North and South institutions are increasingly encouraged.²⁰ However, whether North-South partnership initiatives are genuinely collaborative and mutually enriching needs closer scrutiny.²¹ There are two interconnected issues here: First, funding for international partnerships is provided by Northern donors or academic institutions, and project ideas are often conceptualized in Northern universities. As a result, collaborations between funding agencies and implementing partners are usually unequal and not representative of interests and educational priorities.²² Second, conducting rigorous research in

¹⁷ Batshon and Shahzadeh, *Education in the Time of COVID-19*, 3.

¹⁸ Mai Abu Moghli and Maha Shuayb, “Education under Covid-19 Lockdown: Reflections from Teachers, Students & Parents,” Centre for Lebanese Studies, 2020, <https://lebanesestudies.com/education-under-covid-19-lockdown-reflections-from-teachers-students-parents/>.

¹⁹ Bettina Love, *We Want to Do More than Survive: Abolitionist Teaching and the Pursuit of Educational Freedom* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2019).

²⁰ The North is understood to include the Western world (previously called “first world”), plus much of the “second world,” while the South is understood to include developing countries (previously called “third world”) and the Eastern world. See N. Oluwafemi Mimiko, *Globalization: The Politics of Global Economic Relations and International Business* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2012).

²¹ Tejendra Pherali and Mai Abu Moghli, “Higher Education in the Context of Mass Displacement: Towards Sustainable Solutions for Refugees,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 34, no. 2 (2021): 2159–79; Kate Cronin-Furman and Milli Lake, “Ethics Abroad: Fieldwork in Fragile and Violent Contexts,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51, no. 3 (2018), 607–14.

²² Pherali and Abu Moghli, “Higher Education.”

conflict-affected or crisis environments is difficult and often complicated by the fact that most of the lead researchers are foreign to the contexts in which they are working.²³ Mario Novelli claims that such initiatives are neocolonial because donor countries select, define, and prioritize educational problems based on their own objectives and interests.²⁴ This is a reality, particularly in what has been dubbed the Syrian refugee crisis. Maysoun Sukarieh and Stuart Tannock stated that the rise of the UK overseas Syrian refugee research industry is firmly tied to UK foreign policy agenda.²⁵ In 2015, the UK government created a five-year, £1.5 billion Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) to support research that contributes to realizing UK aid strategy through “high-quality,” “equitable” partnerships with academics in the global South to create a global community of researchers who can tackle development challenges.²⁶ Several major research projects funded by the GCRF focus on education for Syrian refugees and their host communities. GCRF funding is legally required to support the government’s aid agenda, which was revised in 2015 to require that all foreign aid must directly serve UK national security and foreign policy interests. Controlling migration flows triggered by the Syrian conflict was explicitly highlighted as a priority concern.²⁷ Shuayb contends that donors’ support of education programming for Syrian refugees is tied to political agendas and not based on the best interests of the refugees or the most marginalized. She highlights the dynamics between donors and the corrupt government in Lebanon, stating that “the humanitarian response to the refugee crisis is still greatly influenced by geopolitics, racism and xenophobia which were exploited by many politicians in Lebanon for financial gain.” When Shuayb questioned the conduct of the government to an international partner, the answer was that “donors would not do anything that would upset the Lebanese government even if this could [negatively] affect Syrian refugees.”²⁸

EiE research projects are increasingly criticized for silencing the voices of

²³ Burde et al., “Education in Emergencies.”

²⁴ Mario Novelli, “Education and Countering Violent Extremism: Western Logics from South to North?,” *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 47, no. 6 (2017): 835–51.

²⁵ Maysoun Sukarieh and Stuart Tannock, “Subcontracting Academia: Alienation, Exploitation and Disillusionment in the UK Overseas Syrian Refugee Research Industry,” *Antipode* 51, no. 2 (2019): 664–80.

²⁶ BEIS, *UK Strategy for the Global Challenges Research Fund* (London: Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, 2017).

²⁷ *UK Aid: Tackling Global Challenges in the National Interest* (London: HM Treasury, 2015), as cited in Sukarieh and Tannock, “Subcontracting Academia.”

²⁸ Shuayb, “How a Generation.”

researchers and scholars on the ground. Some literature argues that these projects are serving neocolonial agendas, supporting Western academics to improve their expertise and prestige by getting a foothold in less developed higher education and research systems²⁹ and embodying epistemic violence.³⁰ GCRF-funded projects, for example, are criticized for their lack of engagement, relevance, and impact. Following the disastrous explosion that took place in the port of Beirut on August 4, 2020, scholars, researchers, and activists questioned the role of the international community, particularly donor agencies and their implementing partners. On August 10, a UK-based academic tweeted, “I don’t think I’ve seen one response about Beirut from any of the AHRC-GCRF projects that concentrate on Lebanon.” Another academic who serves on the advisory board of Partnership for Conflict, Crime and Security Research (funded by AHRC-GCRF), responded, “It’s interesting, I have not seen much activity recently on the handles of other major data-extracting projects.” It is striking that this Western academic sees these EiE projects as nothing but major data extracting endeavors. The tweet further shatters the facade of the conscientious, global North-based academics who direct the research work from afar, separated by a gulf of language, culture, and geography, as well as a political economy of research production in the marketized twenty-first-century university sector.³¹

Standardizing Researchers’ Ethics

There are various ethics procedures and committees at universities that aim to protect research participants, researchers, and the data generated. These procedures and committees are largely operating from a “do no harm” ethical baseline.³² To conduct research, researchers go through an application process to obtain an ethics committee’s approvals. The process entails filling out lengthy and rigid forms that require information about the researcher, location of the research, themes covered, number of research participants, age groups, and

²⁹ Simon Baker, “Are Research Links with the Developing World Still a One-Way Street?,” *Times Higher Education*, January 13, 2020, <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/features/are-research-links-developing-world-still-one-way-street>.

³⁰ Emanuela Girei, “Thinking about the GCRF—Some Reflections on Decolonising Research Practice and Knowledge,” Sheffield Institute for International Development blog, May 31, 2017, <http://siid.group.shef.ac.uk/blog/thinking-about-and-knowledge/>; Sukarieh and Tannock, “Subcontracting Academia.”

³¹ Sukarieh and Tannock, “Subcontracting Academia.”

³² Helen Kara, *Research Ethics in the Real World: Euro-Western and Indigenous Perspectives* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2018).

expected outputs. The researcher needs to provide a research schedule, justification of sampling, and sample consent forms and explain how the safety and anonymity of the research participants is guaranteed. The researcher is sometimes required to attend an ethics training workshop prior to conducting the research. Once the researcher obtains the approval, they are allowed to start research.

In reality, ethical research requires an ongoing and active engagement with people and context. Researchers need to be aware of the intricacies, particularly when working in complex crisis contexts. According to Helen Kara, “Research cannot be rendered ethical by completing a one-off administrative task.”³³ Researchers in the field of EiE should be aware of the reality that education is inherently political.³⁴ This political nature is linked to programing, policymaking, funding, content of curricula, pedagogies, the hiring and firing of teachers, and the purpose of education itself. As an industry, EiE claims to be linked to social justice, social change, and peacebuilding.³⁵ However, in many cases, researchers and research participants who are indigenous to the place where EiE research is happening are treated unjustly and discriminated against.

Below are two vignettes that exemplify conduct of scholars working on EiE research projects funded by a major donor body and implemented by a UK-based university. These vignettes highlight issues of exploitation, power dynamics, researcher positionality, and epistemic violence. Researchers and research participants experience these issues daily, yet no ethics committee requires them to be addressed in any form.

“They” Are Not Doing “Us” Any Favors

With the pandemic lockdown and the subsequent school closures, there was a surge of work focusing on online education. Teachers, parents, and students looked for any support in an environment of confusion and fear surrounding a lost academic year. In this environment, a team of online education experts in the United Kingdom received a request from colleagues at a Lebanese university to work with them on building an online course to support educators in

³³ Kara, *Research Ethics*, 9.

³⁴ Michael W. Apple, ed., *State and Politics of Education* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Henry A. Giroux, “Public Pedagogy and the Politics of Neo-Liberalism: Making the Political More Pedagogical,” *Policy Futures in Education* 2, nos. 3–4 (2004): 494–503.

³⁵ Ritesh Shah and Mieke Lopes Cardozo, “Achieving Educational Rights and Justice in Conflict-Affected Contexts,” *Education and Conflict Review* 2 (2019): 59–64; Mario Novelli, Mieke Lopes Cardozo, and Alan Smith, “The 4Rs Framework: Analyzing Education’s Contribution to Sustainable Peacebuilding with Social Justice in Conflict-Affected Contexts,” *Journal on Education in Emergencies* 3, no. 1 (2017), 14–43.

Lebanon and other Arabic-speaking countries. Both teams had been working together for more than two years and had collaborated on various projects, including research. The Lebanese team carried out the majority of the work: they recruited students to record videos, translated texts from English to Arabic, and designed lesson plans, among other tasks. When I asked my colleagues on the UK team if our colleagues in Lebanon were being paid for their work, the answer was negative. When I insisted that this is exploitation, I was told, “they asked for our help; they are not doing us any favors!” This answer is a clear example of the power dynamics within so-called North-South partnerships. These power dynamics are not immediately obvious, but failing to consider them can lead scholars to inadvertently engage in harmful or exploitative practices.³⁶ This statement reveals not a partnership but a toxic relationship in which the North owns and spreads the superior knowledge and the South is at the receiving end and should be thankful.

The industry has a division of labor with two classes of academics: a “research proletariat” that is forced to sell their ability to carry out research to projects owned and run by “research capitalists.”

The EiE research industry has a division of labor with two classes of academics: a “research proletariat” that is forced to sell (in this case provide for free) their ability to carry out research to projects owned and run by “research capitalists.”³⁷

Do You Think They Liked My Answer?

In November 2018, I was with a team of colleagues from the United Kingdom in the Beqaa Valley in Lebanon. We conducted interviews as part of research on teachers’ pedagogies and the use of limited resources in informal refugee schools. All interviews were in English and Arabic. English was used for the benefit of non-Arabic-speaking colleagues. One of our Lebanese colleagues was translating to Arabic for the teachers we interviewed who needed translation. After one interview, the teacher asked me in Arabic, “How did you find my answers? Do you think they will like them?” These questions were loaded with meanings and implications. The teacher knew he had to answer in a particular way to appease the Western researchers. When I told him, “You don’t have to answer a certain way,” he said that he was tired of complaining, he just wanted to sound

³⁶ Cronin-Furman and Lake, “Ethics Abroad.”

³⁷ David Harvie, “Alienation, Class and Enclosure in UK Universities,” *Capital & Class* 24, no. 2 (2000): 103–32, cited in Sukarieh and Tannock, “Subcontracting Academia.”

professional and reflect a positive image of the school. The data provided by the teacher in this case is skewed for the benefit of the Western gaze. Although I was able to dig a bit deeper and understand the situation better by having a longer conversation, my colleagues who are not familiar with the context and do not speak the language took the data as is. This has implications on data validity, analytical integrity, and research outputs. In addition, colleagues in the United Kingdom work with their students to analyze these data. In many cases, these students were not involved in the primary data collection processes, do not speak Arabic, and have limited knowledge of the context. Is it the responsibility of the local researchers and academics to flag these issues? If they do not, will they be complicit?

The power dynamic and the fear of losing their job or getting a reputation as a troublemaker hinder their ability to express their “dismay” whenever they notice or observe a problem. Unveiling the colonial conduct in EiE research and the gaps in research ethics requires decolonial awareness and bravery to be epistemically disobedient.³⁸ Generating data without considering all of the above makes EiE research a participant in epistemic violence.

A Holistic Approach to EiE Research Ethics

Much education research is being conducted in and on emergency and crisis contexts. Although the issues stated above persist and create fundamental challenges to meaningful and ethical work, academics and practitioners in these contexts have worked to force more equitable and ethical research agendas in a field that the forces of the global North increasingly dominate. For EiE research to become equitable and adopt a more humanized and humanizing ethical framework, the following precepts are suggested.

Understanding Researcher Positionality

Positionality enables us to problematize claims of objective, singular, universal, and natural descriptions of the world and to question issues related to hierarchy and power.³⁹ Being aware of our positionality as researchers working on EiE is vital for interrogating how knowledge and power structures affect the field of education, including structure, content, and policies, and how research practices

³⁸ Walter D. Mignolo, “Geopolitics of Sensing and Knowing: On (De)Coloniality, Border Thinking and Epistemic Disobedience,” *Postcolonial Studies* 14, no. 3 (2011): 273–83.

³⁹ Mai Abu Moghli and Laila Kadiwal, “Decolonising the Curriculum beyond the Surge: Concepts, Positionality and Conduct,” *London Review of Education* 19, no. 1 (2021).

could undermine and harm the communities we work with. EiE researchers, particularly those foreign to the context they study, who do not have the relevant knowledge, experience, or language, should unlearn the conditionality of depoliticization. They need to have better historical awareness of the contexts about which knowledge is to be produced. It is imperative for researchers to ask why they are conducting this research in this particular context, what gives them the right to do it, and for what purposes. Researchers who are aware of their positionality can unlearn the assumptions about the contexts on which they are working and remain open to relearning and acknowledging their biases. The process of acknowledging and problematizing positionality requires commitment and strong ethical standards that enable us to avoid working in particular contexts in which we might cause harm. It requires courage to recognize that knowledge does not flow in one direction.

Building EiE Research on Communities' Expertise and Embedding It in Social Justice

For EiE research to be relevant and ethical, it needs to build on the knowledge and expertise of the communities we work with. Unlearning the researchers' position as the expert is imperative for ending the hierarchies among researchers, such as the local-international divide. Researchers need to use literature written in the language of the context and avoid assumptions of a vacuum in knowledge production. EiE research needs to be built on an ongoing and active engagement with people and the context we work on,⁴⁰ and so do the ethics of the research. The ethics of the research need to be founded on a social justice approach that requires researchers to go beyond the “do no harm” principle and address the inequalities that create vulnerabilities. That is, researchers should go beyond the symptoms and address root causes of the problems. This will not happen unless researchers are able to go beyond pursuing only “empirically verifiable data” and acknowledge the importance of people’s experiences and stories, not just as mere perceptions or general anecdotes but as representation of a deep understanding of their everyday context.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Kara, *Research Ethics*.

⁴¹ Kara, *Research Ethics*; Mai Abu Moghli, “The Struggle to Reclaim Human Rights Education in Palestinian Authority Schools in the Occupied West Bank” (PhD diss., University College London, 2016).

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