

MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES, CHRONIC CRISES, AND EARLY RECONSTRUCTION

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

- 3 **Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises, and Early Reconstruction: Issues and Debates on Quality, Impact, and Accountability**
Mathangi Subramanian

ARTICLES

- 6 **Education in Emergencies: Standards for Human Rights and Development**
Marina Andina
- 20 **INEE Minimum Standards: A Tool for Education Quality Assessment in Afghan Refugee Schools in Pakistan**
Katayon Qahir with Jackie Kirk
- 33 **Negotiating Change: Participatory Curriculum Design in Emergencies**
Marian Hodgkin
- 45 **An Historical Perspective on Coordinating Education Post-Conflict: Biopolitics, Governing at a Distance, and States of Exception**
Noah W. Sobe
- 55 **About the Contributors**

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Volume 9, No. 2

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Editorial Introduction

Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises, and Early Reconstruction: Issues and Debates on Quality, Impact, and Accountability

Mathangi Subramanian ^[1]
Teachers College, Columbia University

Like many of my colleagues whose time in the classroom coincided with the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), my teaching career was haunted and defined by the specter of standardized test scores. I spent the first six months of every school year streamlining my lessons to incorporate only the material that appeared in the state standards, and was therefore likely to appear on the states tests. I spent the final three months of every school year, after testing was over, in trepidation about the future of my students and my career. By the time I left the classroom, I considered “standards” synonymous with “oppression,” an opinion shared by many researchers, educators, and policy analysts who claim that NCLB’s emphasis on mandated content and testing not only forces schools to focus on subject matter that may be irrelevant to their students’ future well-being, but also because it systematically discriminates against low-income communities of color, particularly those that are comprised of non-native English speakers (Darling-Hammond, 2007; Fine, 2003; Noddings, 2005).

Ironically, the standards movement in the United States developed in response to a series of national reports that revealed the public school system’s failure to provide its poorest students with a basic education (Wenglinsky, 2005). By specifying the content that should be taught in every grade level, the authors of the first national standards sought to both encourage educators to have high expectations for their students, and to hold them accountable for what happened in their classrooms. Furthermore, these original authors opposed standardized testing in favor of flexible, authentic assessments that could (and should) be adapted to diverse learning environments. In its purest form, then, the American standards movement seeks to enforce Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that every human being is entitled to a free education, at least through elementary school (United Nations, 1948), a right that the United States has yet to fulfill for all of its children.

The U.S. is not alone in its struggle to uphold children’s right to a basic education. Every day, across the world, committed educators in industrialized and developing nations face countless challenges in creating school systems that effectively serve all of their citizens. While obstacles abound in times of normalcy, they increase astronomically when unforeseen circumstances plunge entire nations or regions into emergency situations. The United Nations defines “complex emergencies” as “crises requiring a system-wide response” (Kagawa, 2005, p. 488). Most often, nations experience complex emergencies as a result of natural disasters or war.

In the past five years, large and diverse populations have experienced severe natural disasters. These disasters include a tsunami affecting South and East Asian nations in 2004, flooding as a result of Hurricane Katrina affecting the American Gulf Coast in 2005, a major earthquake affecting Pakistan in 2006, and flooding as a result of Cyclone Yemyin and other storms affecting the South Asian subcontinent in 2007. In each of these unfortunately events, inadequate and unreliable infrastructure and environmental degradation resulting from poorly regulated

economic development exacerbated damage and lengthened the time needed for recovery. These circumstances are typical of developing nations as well as impoverished regions of industrialized nations (Kagawa, 2005). Children in natural disasters experience emotional trauma when they lose relatives and friends to death or separation and physical trauma when they are unable to access necessities such as food, shelter, clean water, and health care. In natural disasters, schools not only serve as central locations for distributing aid and finding lost family members, but also as places where routine activities provide a much needed sense of normalcy in the face of chaos.

Most modern wars are fought between racial, ethnic, or religious groups. Of the 27 violent conflicts in the world in 1997, all but one of them was a civil war (Kagawa, 2005). Modern warfare is particularly hard on children, who are recruited as child soldiers in unprecedented numbers, targeted as possible civilian casualties, and are geographically displaced with or without their families. Although education is always a political act, it is particularly so when educators work with children who have learned to fear and hate others. Education in wartime can be a grounding influence on children who are denied feelings of safety and security often associated with childhood. Unfortunately, this is not always the case: as recent violence in Afghanistan illustrates, for many youth, the simple act of attending school can be life threatening (Biswas, 2007).

Like the first standards in the United States, the Inter-Agency Network for Emergency Education (INEE) Minimum Standards were developed to fix a failing system – only this time, the system was a region, a nation, or a government suffering through a complex emergency. The INEE Web site calls education “life-saving and life-sustaining,” crediting it with creating spaces where children can feel physically safe, establishing routines and distractions that improve children’s mental health, and instilling hope in the face of chaos and destruction (INEE, 2007). Fundamental to these reasons is the premise that education both creates and requires order.

The articles in this issue address the many ways in which the standards have been implemented, as well as the historical and social circumstances that shaped and determined their purpose and content. Taken together, they describe the variety of ways in which we think about education in both ordinary and extraordinary times.

In *Education in Emergencies: Standards for Human Rights and Development*, Marina Andina conducts a quantitative and qualitative analysis of human rights and human capital discourse in planning documents for the Minimum Standards as well as the Minimum Standards themselves. Her analysis places the standards in historical context, and explores how the documents’ language reflects not only our beliefs about education, but also humans’ fundamental need for order and control.

In *INEE Minimum Standards: A Tool for Education Quality Assessment in Afghan Refugee Schools in Pakistan*, Katayon Qahir and Jackie Kirk describe how the Minimum Standards have been used as an assessment tool in schools in Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan’s North West province. The authors describe how the standards fare in a unique physical and cultural context, and provide invaluable scholarly documentation of their use on the ground.

In *Negotiating Change: Participatory Curriculum Design in Emergencies*, Marian Hodgkin reminds us that curriculum is never politically neutral, a fact that becomes especially salient in areas of ethnic, racial, or religious conflict. Hodgkin describes how curricula created haphazardly during an emergency situation can linger in a country for years, and how this phenomenon necessitates the creation of participatory systems for efficiently developing curriculum regardless

of the state of the nation in which it is to be used. Furthermore, Hodgkin reminds us that while curriculum is often used as a tool for war, if it is created collaboratively, it can also be used as a tool for peace.

In An Historical Perspective on Coordinating Education Post-Conflict: Biopolitics, Governing at a Distance, and States of Exception, Noah Sobe contrasts an historical version of the Minimum Standards with a document that an “inter-agency network” of peace churches designed for relief workers in 1944. Through his exploration of the genesis of these documents, Sobe examines the ways in which we think of education, emergencies, and normalcy. Sobe’s work reminds us of the often overlooked but pivotal role of education on the political and social workings of every society.

In both its national and international forms, the standards movement attempts to address two questions that shape this issue of CICE: first, how can we use human resources to create order in the face of disorder; and second, what is the fundamental purpose of education in normal and non-normal times. By creating guidelines for educational content and pedagogical practices, standards attempt to bring uniformity to unwieldy educational systems across the globe. By outlining what children need to learn at what age, standards take a political stance, defining what it means to be a productive citizen of a nation or people. When we develop and enforce standards in a failing school, a conflict-ridden nation, or an area of physical devastation, we display our faith in the power of education to promote normalcy, economic and technological progress, and peace. It remains to be seen whether the Minimum Standards, like those created by NCLB, will be criticized or praised, embraced or discarded, empowering or oppressive.

Notes

[1]. Special thanks to Cambria Dodd Russell and Tiffany DeJaynes for their feedback on earlier drafts.

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Education in Emergencies: Standards for Human Rights and Development

Marina Andina
Stanford School of Education Alumnus

Abstract

This article provides an analysis of how the Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies (MSEE) were created and rationalized, drawing on the framework of world society theorists. Using content analysis, the MSEE, regional standards and website materials were analyzed to determine how the regional documents were reconciled at the international level and how the discourses of human rights and human capital were incorporated and added into the Minimum Standards. Findings suggest that the process of creating and rationalizing the MSEE fits within a predetermined script for international level agreements. In addition, the changes in discourse from the regional to the international level reflect the pervasiveness of global norms and their importance in providing legitimacy to international standards.

To a large degree, standardization has become a part of the way in which the world functions in the 21st century. Different types of organizations have accepted standardization as a means through which to gain credibility or increase efficiency. Standardization is often used as a means to rationalize [1] a disordered situation. Professionals have also played a role in the rise of standardization, as they not only set and diffuse standards, but also largely abide by and are defined by them as well (Meyer, 1997). People have always coped with crises and emergencies, events that are by definition frenetic. It is only recently that the new phenomenon of standardization has been applied to these inherently chaotic situations in an attempt to bring some order.

The Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies (MSEE) provide a case study through which to examine the process of standardization, the influence of professionals as well as the rationalizations that occur. Analysis of both regional and global level documents, and the discourses used within them, highlights the influence of global norms on the creation of the MSEE. For the MSEE to be considered legitimate, adherence to these norms is necessary.

The prevalence of the discourses of human rights and human capital within the MSEE is one reflection of global society's regard for the ideals of progress and justice. Human rights discourse refers to language within the organization's documents that implies a belief in fundamental human rights. Human capital discourse, on the other hand, is language that implies a need to plan for future development. This development is not concerned so much with physical capital, but rather with the capacities of a population or group of persons. As each is a framework through which people organize and express thoughts and ideas, both types of discourse can be viewed as a means of rationalization. Although very different from each other, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. By aligning the discourse with existing global standards, the legitimacy of the document is enhanced.

Additionally, in the larger field of international development, many practices have become standardized over the past few decades, including health care and humanitarian relief. In education in particular, which deals largely with long-term effects that are difficult to measure,

organizations may be unable to effectively demonstrate the outcomes of their programs. Therefore, to instill confidence in stakeholders and the world at large, they arrange themselves along the lines of other groups that are considered to be effective. In time, this leads to standardizations of procedures, through a process of rationalization.

Using a process of emergent coding, I conducted a quantitative study examining the documents that emerged from the four regional consultations—in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East—as well as the final Minimum Standards. Examination of these five documents allows for a comparison of discourse from the regional to the global level. After an initial review of the documents two primary codes were established: invoking global standards and invoking global principles. Invoking global standards implies reference to specific documents, treaties or agreements as a means of increasing legitimacy and placing the issues within an established framework. The idea of invoking global principles is less explicit and involves references to both the discourse of human rights and that of human capital. Key words were identified, which represented each type of discourse. For example, terms such as “diversity”, “tolerance” and “equity” were coded as part of human rights discourse. On the other hand, phrases such as “future needs of learners” and “relevant education” were coded as part of human capital discourse. Throughout this analysis the occurrences of each code were recorded to allow for analysis of the variety of ways the standards are rationalized. In addition, key words were counted to determine any changes in frequency of certain types of discourse across the documents. Finally, a qualitative review of the surrounding documentation of the events and processes was performed. This allows the results of the document analysis to be put in context. All documents were garnered from the Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) website, as well as from the INEE focal point for MSEE in early 2005.

The Right to Education

Refugees’ right to education was originally identified in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and was reaffirmed in 1989 by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and again in 2000 in the Dakar Framework for Action from the Second World Conference on Education for All. The CRC is highlighted as being particularly influential as it goes beyond expressing merely a right to education but rather a right to free and compulsory education for all children (Retamal *et al.*, 1998; Sinclair, 1998). The Dakar Framework, while setting the goal of universal primary education by 2015, clearly emphasizes that additional efforts must be made to reach particular groups, including children in areas of conflict or crisis. This reinforces the goals set out in the 1990 World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA), which included education for refugees and children affected by war with other marginalized groups. The WCEFA is identified as a significant event in calling attention to the plight of those not currently receiving education as well as providing a framework for action (Aguilar & Richmond, 1998).

However, as education has traditionally been viewed as a development initiative, there is skepticism on the part of donors as to the necessity of educational programming during humanitarian relief work, and therefore a lack of funding. Some of the primary concerns are that education requires a long-term commitment and that by providing schools, refugees will not want to return home. Past experiences show that this is not the case and that refugees will return to their country of origin at the first available opportunity, regardless of the presence of schools in the camps (Sinclair, 2002). In addition, an argument is made that lack of education in crisis situations can lead to further destabilization (Davies, 2004).

Furthermore, questions have been raised regarding international organizations' involvement in education. One of the contexts in which such involvement has been deemed appropriate is when conflicts are long term, leaving refugees exiled for years (Davies, 2004). The argument for intervention states that education is a necessity for reconstruction (Retamal et al., 1998) by providing the foundation upon which future development, both social and economic, can occur (Retamal & Aedo-Richmond, 1998).

The two justifications for education – education as a human right and education for the creation of human capital – while novel ideas at the time they were introduced, are now both fully accepted by the global community. Furthermore, these two strands of thought are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the human rights and human capital perspectives appear to bolster each other by providing supplementary arguments from entirely different perspectives.

Rationalization, Standardization and the Influence of Professionals

The belief that any event or procedure can be planned for and rationalized is pervasive in current world culture. In the case of emergency situations, such as natural disaster or war, this planning is now being extended from food and shelter to education. It is a move from basic relief to development, where the concern is to provide educational opportunities deemed necessary for the affected population's capacity after the emergency has passed (Retamal et al., 1998).

To legitimate themselves, organizations adopt "universalistic models" within which a consensus is achieved on such issues as human rights and education and it is assumed that these models have "universal world applicability" (Meyer *et al.*, 1997). The procedures used are modeled on what is deemed to be effective by the field at large and not necessarily because the methods themselves are the most effective. The neo-institutionalists[2] argue that bureaucracies spread because rationalized bureaucracy is seen as a social good, not because of efficiency, as there is often much decoupling of policy and practice (Finnemore, 1996). In addition to social merit, organizations have the desire to be seen as modern. For Meyer et al. (1997), the diffusion of ideas of modernity occurs largely due to international level organizations, and the professionals who work within them. International organizations, such as the United Nations (UN), provide not only an opportunity for "ideological discussion" (Meyer et al., 1997) on any topic, but are also a means of legitimizing such discourse.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) discuss mimesis as one of the processes through which isomorphism [3] occurs. However, following along the lines of Meyer et al (1997), their primary argument states that structures are defined by a need for legitimacy rather than efficiency. Fields that are highly structured are often so due to a level of ambiguity. This uncertainty in how to operate promotes imitation, which leads to homogeneity (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Another aspect of rationalization concerns the definition of the field in which the standardization is occurring: for a field to exist it must be defined. This process of "structuration" involves an increase in interaction of relevant organizations as well as "the development of a mutual awareness among participants in a set of organizations that they are involved in a common enterprise" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 148). By this definition, education in emergencies only emerged as an institutional field with the creation of INEE. As such, the processes of standardization that took place can be seen as a natural evolution.

In reviewing the work of neo-institutionalists, Finnemore (1996) highlights rationality as an inherent factor in modern bureaucracies, as well as a cultural value, structured in terms of means and ends. In western society, those ends are progress and justice (Finnemore, 1996). Although

progress and justice may be the ends of rational thought, they can also provide the means for rationalization by highlighting the two types of discourse prevalent in much educational work. Progress is most often thought of in economic terms and can be seen to fit with ideas of education for the development of human capital, while notions of justice are synonymous with equality, and conjured in discussions of education as a human right (Finnemore, 1996). These norms are reflected both in the process used to create the MSEE and within the organization's discourse, which follows two main threads: human rights discourse and human capital discourse.

Standardization can occur in one of three ways: through influence and authority gained by a large market share; through government regulation; or, as the MSEE were created, through voluntary consensus. Consensus standards value the multiple interests that created them and therefore attempt to avoid any undue influence by certain parties (Mendel, 2001). They can be specific rules defining the proper tool for a job or may define a broader "socially constructed product" (Meyer, 1997, p. 1). In either case attempts are being made to create a formula to define and regulate activities (Mendel, 2001). In addition, Meyer (1997) proposes the idea of "content-free standardization" (p. 10), which looks at processes and procedures rather than outcomes and goals. In essence "they tell organizations, regardless of substantive mission, how to manage, account, evaluate and regulate" (Meyer, 1997, p. 10).

Neo-institutionalists believe standardization arises from two main causes: homogenization and rationalization (Meyer, 1997). Accordingly, standardization occurs when there is perceived to be a "right way" to do things. Diverse situations have underlying commonalities and have arisen due to similar reasons. As such there is presumably one correct way of analyzing those situations. Meyer argues that standardization happens at a gentler pace in the human and social domains because of people's resistance to non-universalistic ideas. In the aftermath of World War II, scientific rationalization provided a framework through which to see similarities across all people. As an organization, the UN embodied these ideas and principles within a "common rationalized frame" (Meyer, 1997, p. 8), which in turn created an epidemic of standardization, which can be viewed as "a cultural phenomenon" (Meyer, 1997, p. 9). In the field of education, practices have become standardized under the influence of the West/North and the formal model of education has been copied and spread throughout the world. Much of this is due to not only the rationalization of education but also the increasing professionalization of practitioners (Meyer & Ramirez, 2003).

With this increasing professionalization, as well as the increasing importance of professionals, an argument has been put forward that standardization is not due to world models of influence alone, but rather to "organizational variables" (Chabbott, 1998, p.207). It is the processes within the field of international development organizations that drive worldwide educational change, and the key carriers of that information are the professionals. Professionals, whether in the field of international development as discussed by Chabbott, or in humanitarian work, live within their own society, defined by the norms and values they deem important, rather than being tied exclusively to their state. These norms and values essentially stem from a global or world culture that exists above the state level. As the participants in conferences such as the WCEFA or the creation of the MSEE, a varied group is able to develop professional consensus and generate political commitment, two aspects crucial to the success of the MSEE.

Established global norms, stemming largely from Western ideas of justice and progress influence and are, in turn, influenced by prevalent discourses in the fields of international development and education (Chabbott, 2003; Meyer, 1997). The presence of both a human rights and a human

capital based discourse has effected the creation of the MSEE, both directly and indirectly. The direct influence occurs in the actual presence of the two types of language in the documents themselves. However, it is through the processes of rationalization, standardization and professionalization that the MSEE have emerged as a coherent and accepted set of guidelines, abiding by the discourses mentioned as well as the larger norms of world society.

Creation of the MSEE

The creation of the Minimum Standards occurred quite rapidly. Only 18 months passed between the first meeting of the Working Group on MSEE (WGMSEE) and the launch of the MSEE in December 2004. The process used, and the speed at which it took place, shows a strong connection to global norms in the fields of education and humanitarian relief. In addition, it is apparent that there existed a large degree of consensus at the beginning of the project for it to have occurred so rapidly.

The process of developing the MSEE began with the creation of a working group, followed by regional consultations, then input from the INEE electronic mailing list and was concluded with a peer-review. The final document was launched in December 2004 at the Second Global Inter-Agency Consultation on Education in Emergencies and Early Recovery in Cape Town, South Africa, a conference organized by INEE.

Within the following two years, the working group was constituted, developed a framework for the standards, following guidelines of the Sphere Project, held four regional consultations, completed a peer-review and launched the MSEE. Within the space of five months, from January to May 2004, the WGMSEE was organized and held all four regional consultations. In addition, by the end of 2004 the group was ready to launch the standards, showing both a large amount of organization and coordination among all the parties involved as well as a clear vision of the final standards from the beginning.

Once the working group was established, the following step was to involve as broad a base as possible in the creation of the minimum standards. According to the INEE website, over 2,200 people were involved in some capacity over the course of the entire project. A large portion of these participants came through prior meetings that the delegates to the regional consultations conducted. At the regional consultations, a total of 137 delegates from 51 countries convened to develop minimum standards based on their own expertise and the information gathered at the local meetings. While not representative of every country, there was a fairly large base present at the consultations.

With the regional consultations complete, the documents were passed on, as planned, for final writing and a peer-review. The peer-review group was made up of representatives with expertise in the areas of education, child protection, health and humanitarian issues (INEE, 2005) and the review was conducted via email under the coordination of a hired consultant (INEE WGMSEE, 2004) [4]. Of particular concern to the members of the WGMSEE was that the thoughts that emerged during the regional consultations not be omitted in the drafting of the final document. As such, there was an awareness of the need for the reviewers to “represent a diverse group, not just experts from the West/North” (INEE WGMSEE, 2004, p. 7).

The process of creating the MSEE, as described above, fits well with globally accepted practices and norms regarding education and humanitarian assistance. Chabbott (2003), in her analysis of the WCEFA, describes how conferences follow a script developed over 50 years of various

international gatherings. This script entails problematizing an issue, having professionals develop a report, statement or declaration, gathering a diverse and representative group of people to discuss, and releasing the final document. By following this script, conferences gain support and legitimacy rapidly as they invoke “ideals that [are] ... taken for granted in international discourse.” While the WCEFA and the creation of the MSEE are different enterprises, they are comparable as they both have as their final outcome a document that is to be used both for practice and advocacy. Although not a conference, the creation of the MSEE followed a path similar to that of preparation for the WCEFA, where the regional consultations and professionals essentially created the draft of the final EFA declaration.

Following the type of script set out by international education conferences could happen for one of two reasons. The first is that the script is so internalized that it isn't even questioned and all those involved believed that this was how the process should happen. The other possibility is that the script is known and consciously followed so as to avoid future reprimand or decreases in the legitimacy of the final product. It was most likely a combination of these two factors at work, with participants believing that this method was correct and knowing that the project could suffer from a lack of legitimacy in the future if it were not done this way.

The similarities extend also to the ways in which participants were invited to attend as efforts were made to include a diverse group, both in geographic and professional terms. This idea of inclusiveness is one way in which INEE attempts to legitimate the standards that were created. Having a broad based consultative process is certainly considered the appropriate thing to do according to world culture. This is due to the debate in global society having shifted from one of exclusion to one of inclusion (Ramirez, 2001). For example, in many countries today all persons are considered citizens regardless of race or gender, rather than being excluded based on these characteristics.

Not only did the process of creating the MSEE follow the same script as conferences such as the WCEFA, the process of voluntary consensus used in standardization suggests the dominant role of global norms. According to Mendel (2001) there are three ways in which standardization occurs: large market share; government regulation; or voluntary consensus, as was used in the creation of the MSEE. This fits within the framework of current world culture, where authoritarian, top-down rule is frowned upon by global culture and participatory group processes are seen as the best way to do things. The consensus model must include a broad base of stakeholders and is, by nature, a highly rationalized process.

In the case of the MSEE, the two-year time frame provides further support for the premise that consensus existed before the process began, as there would have been little room or time for fundamental disagreements. Certainly, the existing standards within the fields of humanitarian relief and education, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the Education for All (EFA) declaration, helped create a base off of which to develop the standards. It is possible that the rapid timeframe only shows that there was an effective leader in place who kept the process on track, or that potentially disruptive political forces were uninterested or unwilling to get involved. However, a closer analysis of the regional documents and the MSEE reveals that existing standards and principles were relied on heavily and are likely to have created the consensus around which the MSEE were formed. In essence, the members of the working group knew beforehand what the final product would look like since to be accepted by the field and to have any effect, it would need to use language and espouse ideas acceptable to global society.

The analysis of the process above shows that the creation of the Minimum Standards followed a script accepted within the international community and answers the question of how the MSEE came about. To examine how the document is rationalized, the following sections present and discuss findings based on two ideas: invoking global standards and invoking global principles. These sections also allow for an analysis of how the discourses of human rights and human capital are incorporated into the documents. Furthermore, by analyzing both the regional documents and the MSEE, I am able to evaluate how the regional and international influences were reconciled. While the process of creating the Minimum Standards supports the notion that global principles are influential, further evidence can be found in an analysis of the content of the MSEE.

Global Standards in the MSEE

One of the ways in which the creation of MSEE is rationalized is through invoking pre-existing standards. This ranges from simply referencing “international standards” in general to specifically citing articles of conventions. For example, the MSEE refer to article 13 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which addresses children’s right to have a say in matters that affect them. In addition, the sub-heading to the first section of the document is entitled “Links to International Legal Instruments” and standard 2 in the Education Policy and Coordination section states that “Emergency education activities take into account national and international educational policies and standards and the learning needs of affected populations” (INEE, 2004, p. 73). Invoking existing global standards both places the MSEE within an existing framework, which in turn provides legitimacy for the standards.

Other than the CRC, some of the standards mentioned include international human rights and humanitarian law, the Sphere Project, EFA and the UDHR. The frequency with which these instruments are mentioned varies across the documents, with more occurrences in the MSEE. However, it is hard to know if this is due to an increased desire to have references to the instruments included or merely because the MSEE are much longer than the regional documents. Table 1 (next page), shows that any standard mentioned in the regional document appears in the MSEE. In addition, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights appears in the MSEE, but none of the regional documents, showing that the MSEE was not simply a compilation of the regional documents.

One possible explanation for the increases in references to existing global standards is that those writing the final MSEE, as opposed to the regional documents, were very aware of the need to have the standards accepted by the field and the larger international community. In an effort to make sure that the MSEE were marketable, the links to other international instruments were made clear. The first sentence of the introduction to the MSEE begins by stating that the right to education is “articulated in many international conventions and documents...” The text then goes on to mention six different documents. This establishes the MSEE as working within the frame of the established right to education, a right that is not forfeited in situations of crisis or emergency.

The regional documents, on the other hand, are far less explicit. As can be seen in Table 1, the Africa document mentions only EFA and the Geneva Convention as specific references. The reference to the Geneva Convention appears in a discussion of the distance of schools from borders and is mentioned as a source of a possible pre-existing standard. The exception to the regional documents is the Latin America one, as it begins with a legal framework section that clearly states that the minimum standards are based on the Sphere Project, UDHR and the CRC.

Beyond that, however, as with the other regions, the majority of references are to international standards or international human rights law in general.

Table 1: Invoking Global Standards: Key Word Count by Document

Key Word	Document				
	Africa	Asia	Latin America	Middle East, North Africa & Europe	MSEE
International standards	2	5	2	1	4
International human rights law	0	1	0	1	4
International humanitarian law / Geneva Convention	1	0	3	4	4
UDHR	0	1	2	0	3
CRC	0	3	4	4	8
EFA / Dakar Framework for Action	5	5	0	4	14
CEDAW	0	1	1	0	1
Sphere Project	3	1	1	2	18
Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees	0	1	0	0	2
MDG	0	2	0	0	3
International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	0	0	0	0	1
World Food Program	0	0	0	1	1

Table 1 also highlights that EFA or the Dakar Framework for Action is mentioned more frequently than any other convention across all five documents, a total of 14 times in the MSEE alone. However, there is no mention of this framework, or the movement as a whole, in the Latin America document. This is a striking omission as the sense from the other documents is that the MSEE are built off of the Dakar Framework. It does, however, reinforce the idea that the writers of the MSEE were more influenced by the need to place the MSEE within the existing global culture than were those at the regional level. Mentions of the Sphere Project show a similar trend. At the regional level it is hardly referenced, however it appears 18 times in the MSEE, showing a clear effort by the writers to make the MSEE relevant to the field of humanitarian relief.

This multitude of references to other standards shows a desire to be in line with global norms. In conjunction with this desire, such references provide a means of increasing the legitimacy of the MSEE. Another means of both increasing the legitimacy of the document and embracing global norms is through the type of discourse employed.

Invoking Global Principles: Human Rights Discourse

Human rights discourse is present throughout the five documents, yet is more pervasive in the MSEE than the regional documents. An initial key word count, presented in Table 2 below, reveals

that the word “rights” appears only 6 times in the Africa document compared to 74 times in the MSEE. In other words, it appears approximately once every three pages in the Africa document compared to once a page in the MSEE. This implies a greater influence of norms at the global level, norms that dictate what language is considered appropriate as a means of presenting ideas. In contrast, words such as charity and religious obligation are not present.

Table 2: Invoking Global Principles: Human Rights - Key Word Count by Document

Key Word	Document				
	Africa	Asia	Latin America	Middle East, North Africa & Europe	MSEE
Rights	6	7	11	24	74
Dignity	3	1	1	0	10
Equity / equitable	10	6	8	7	3
Tolerance	1	0	1	2	3
Equal / equally / equality	2	3	0	2	7
Diversity	1	2	5	8	10
Peace	3	2	1	5	9

In contemporary culture, one way of presenting ideas at the global level is to frame them in terms of human rights. According to Suarez and Ramirez (2005), human rights discourse has become increasingly influential as the expansion of education has advanced the empowerment of individuals and allowed persons to see themselves as members of a world society as opposed to citizens of nation-states. This stems from predominantly Western ideals, where the individual is paramount, yet represents another shift from language of exclusion to inclusion. In this case, although each person is still a citizen of a particular nation, the understanding exists that all persons are human beings and members of a larger global society that is increasingly interconnected.

If the MSEE were simply a combination of the regional documents, one would expect the references to specific words to be somewhat proportional. However, this does not happen because of the greater prevalence of norms at the global level. Those writing the final Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies were clearly aware of the environment into which the document would be released. For the MSEE to be accepted and adopted, they would need to be consistent with the language used to market such ideas within the fields of education, development and humanitarian relief. In today’s culture, it is not sufficient to have a brilliant idea; it must be packaged and presented in a manner that will make it acceptable and understandable to as many people as possible. Using the language of human rights, to which everyone can relate, creates a broad appeal for the ideas and practices proposed in the Minimum Standards.

It is interesting to note that the number of times “rights” is used in the Middle East, Europe and North Africa document is proportional to its use in the MSEE. As this was the final consultation before the writing of the MSEE there may have been a greater sense on the part of the consultation delegates that the document they were creating needed to be globally acceptable, as opposed to just

being concerned with the region. On the other hand, perhaps the participants at this consultation were simply more in-touch with world culture and global norms. Given that much of human rights language and discourse stems from the West, the European participants in particular would have been in a position to inject such language into the consultation deliberations.

Other terms related to human rights, such as dignity and diversity, also appear frequently. The use of such language makes a clear statement that those who created the MSEE are embedded within the global society of the 21st century, as human rights language has become a part of world culture. As Suarez and Ramirez (2005) have shown, human rights discourse is part of today's world culture. Therefore the use of such discourse helps to legitimate the document. Had the MSEE been created 100 years ago, the language would have been remarkably different with little to no reference to rights and much discussion of god and religion, language that is strikingly absent from these sources.

Invoking Global Principles: Human Capital Discourse

Another type of global discourse that is present is that of human capital. As described above, human capital discourse is not necessarily explicitly economic in nature. What it does imply is a concern for future development of the capacities and capabilities of the learners. This implies an understanding by those creating the MSEE that education in emergencies is not being done simply because there is a global right to education but because education has a real purpose in creating a society that has potential and capacity. This type of discourse appears in the form of more practical concerns, whereas the human rights discourse can be viewed as the overarching framework through which to legitimate the standards.

The following excerpt from the MSEE shows the concern of the writers that any education provided be useful not only during the emergency, but afterwards as well.

Communities want to know that governments will recognize their children's education, and that their children will be able to use their education to gain access to higher education and employment. The main concern is whether governments, educational institutions and employers recognize the curricula and resulting certificates. Aside from legitimating student test performance, graduation certificates recognize student achievements and motivate them to attend school. In refugee situations, certification typically involves substantial negotiations with both the asylum and home countries. Ideally, in longer-term refugee situations, the curricula need to 'face both ways' and be acceptable in both the country of origin and the host country. This requires significant regional and inter-agency coordination to harmonize educational activities and refugee caseloads in different countries. (INEE, 2004, p. 54)

There is a sense from this excerpt that a great deal of concern is placed on the future of those participating in emergency education activities. The standards dictate that an effort is to be made to provide an education that can serve the learners, regardless of where they end up in the future.

Another aspect of the human capital discourse is that the education to be provided during emergencies be a "relevant education". The terms of reference for the MSEE define relevant education as taking local customs, practices and beliefs into consideration while also integrating "the long-term needs children will have in society in the future, possibly beyond the immediate community" (INEE, 2004, p. 82). Throughout the documents, there are references to education being relevant to the future needs of the learners. This is apt because one of the main concerns in

education in emergencies is that it be education that is valuable both to the learners and to their community and society.

One argument for providing education in emergencies revolves around the need to preserve human capital, as children who are living in an emergency or crisis situation today will, hopefully, in the future be citizens of a country where they are needed as active contributors. This is especially important when reconstruction must take place as it relies greatly on a population that is willing and educated to do so. For example, the MSEE state that “the curricula adopted should be relevant to the present and anticipated future needs of the learners” (p. 53), a view that incorporates the changing climate of emergency situations.

Table 3: Invoking Global Principles: Human Capital - Key Word Count by Document

Key Word	Document				
	Africa	Asia	Latin America	Middle East, North Africa & Europe	MSEE
Relevant education / learning opportunities	1	2	0	3	5
Relevant curricula	0	0	1	1	2
Future	2	5	0	3	12
Hope for the future	0	0	0	0	2
Future need	0	1	0	2	1
Life skills	11	5	0	4	6
Capacity building	1	1	0	2	12

While the discourse of human capital is prevalent in the MSEE, it is not as strong in the regional documents. Table 3, above, shows that while each regional document does contain various terms implying a thought to the future, it is only in the final standards that all these terms are included and some language is added. In particular, the phrase “hope for the future” appears on the first page of the MSEE and again in the introduction to the section on teaching and learning. However, this phrase is not present in any of the regional documents. The use of “hope for the future”, right from the start of the document shows that the writers are rationalizing the standards by showing that education in emergencies can have long-term implications. In addition, they are using discourse accepted by the larger education community to argue that education is not simply a right, but also has economic and political implications.

Conclusion

The research presented provides a case study of how global level forces influence and shape processes and discourse. The fact that the MSEE were created at all shows that standardization has spread to new areas. The standards analyzed provide an orderly framework from which to approach an inherently chaotic situation. Examination of the process reveals that a script was followed in keeping with global norms associated with the international development

community, and the discourse used follows along the lines of two primary justifications for providing educational services: human rights and human capital.

From an academic standpoint, this research reveals that disparate situations, even ones that are highly disorganized, can be rationalized under similar terms. A script that works in the creation of a global declaration or conference can also be used to create a set of standards. The consensus model, as described by Mendel (2001), provides legitimacy to the process.

In addition, a global level document will lose some regional and local relevance. For practitioners, understanding the influence of global norms on the creation of such standards and the language used within them allows those practitioners to contextualize the standards and be aware of adaptations that may be necessary given their own local context. This is not to say that having a global document serves no purpose. On the contrary, the existence of the INEE and the creation of the MSEE provide both international organizations and individual professionals a network and tool through which to lobby for increased attention to the educational needs of displaced populations. Regional documents could never hold the same sway in a world that values universalism.

Conflict and natural disasters can, and do, occur in all countries. When they take place in the industrialized world there are typically sufficient internal resources, infrastructure and mechanisms in place to cope with them. In developing countries, resources and infrastructure are often unavailable or nonexistent, while the need for and right to education remain. Global level influences have helped shape the discourses of the field, and education, once considered the domain of development, has now become a part of humanitarian assistance.

Notes

- [1]. In this context, to rationalize a situation is to make it understandable in terms of similar situations (Meyer, 1997)
- [2]. Neo-institutionalist refers to scholars who “proposed that formal organizational structure reflected not only technical demands and resource dependencies, but was also shaped by institutional forces, including rational myths, knowledge legitimated through the educational system and the professions, public opinion, and the law.” (Powell, 2007)
- [3]. “... isomorphism is a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 149).
- [4]. Further details on the peer-reviewers were not available in the documents I obtained as they date from before the group was put in place

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INEE Minimum Standards: A Tool for Education Quality Assessment in Afghan Refugee Schools in Pakistan

*Katayon Qahir,
Female Education Program, the International Rescue Committee (IRC), Pakistan
with Jackie Kirk ^[1],
Child & Youth Protection and Development Unit, IRC, New York*

Abstract

This article details a pilot Minimum Standards assessment in Afghan refugee schools supported by the International Rescue Committee's Female Education Program in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan. A set of specifically selected, contextualized indicators, based on the global INEE Minimum Standards, served as a tool for teachers and school administrators to look holistically at the quality of education in their schools and as a stimulus for developing actions to further improve the quality of learning for Afghan refugee children in Pakistan.

1. Introduction

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) has a long history of supporting Afghan refugees in Pakistan. IRC's Female Education Program (FEP) improves the quality of life for conflict-affected Afghan populations living in Pakistan, especially girls and women, by providing access to effective and relevant educational services. In line with the recognized good practices of education in emergency contexts and refugee education (International Institute for Educational Planning-UNESCO, 2006; INEE, 2004; Sinclair, 2002; Sommers, 2001; for example), FEP seeks to maintain access to basic education, particularly for girls, while at the same time supporting students' and teachers' repatriation and subsequent reintegration into schools inside Afghanistan, thereby harmonizing refugee education in Pakistan with the reconstruction of education inside Afghanistan. Furthermore, IRC/FEP seeks to leverage key tools, methodologies, and strategies developed in the refugee setting in Pakistan as the refugees begin to repatriate to Afghanistan (IRC-FEP, 2007).

IRC's Female Education Program, which has been running since 1992, currently supports 22 schools, for a total of 13000 refugee students and 500 teachers in Pakistan's North West Frontier Province (NWFP): 65% of students and 72% of teachers are girls and women (IRC-FEP, 2007a). These primary and secondary schools vary in size and structure. They are in camp settings and urban locations in and around Peshawar city. Some are simple, purpose-built structures in the camps, while others are converted residential premises. In a context of ongoing insecurities, political uncertainty for Afghan refugees, dwindling donor attention and resources for refugee education, and a history of tribalism, patriarchy and repression of girls and women, FEP faces multiple challenges in providing quality education and training for women and girls. Comprehensive teacher training, together with the full accreditation of students' learning by the Ministry of Education in Afghanistan, are key successes of the program. Training and professional development for teachers is designed to address the strategic needs of girl students (for quality teaching in the classroom) and women teachers (for professional experience, income and community status).

In 2004, FEP school and office staff and community members participated in consultations to develop the global Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises and Early Reconstruction. Since their launch, FEP staff members have received additional training on the Minimum Standards and have been planning ways of using them at the school level to engage school community members in self-assessment and quality development. In a recent exercise, FEP used the Standards as a tool to collaboratively review and assess the quality of education provision from the perspectives of the school community in FEP-supported schools, to identify gaps and make suggestions for further improvements. This process complements the ongoing project monitoring and evaluation activities, which are more specifically tied to donor project indicators and activities. Furthermore, they do not necessarily engage the teachers, school administrators, and FEP staff in holistic reflection on the entire education program, or on the progress made over time. In the context of Afghanistan's history of oppression of women, gender is a critical element of all FEP programming, which has a strong focus on providing quality education for girls and on capacity building for women teachers, trainers and administrators. Although there are some explicitly gender-focused indicators, gender is a crosscutting theme through the Minimum Standards: as the examples below illustrate, gender issues were at the forefront throughout the FEP Minimum Standards assessment process.

This article first describes the self-assessment process undertaken in FEP-supported schools and then documents some of the findings from the pilot initiative. It is written from the perspective of FEP office-based staff who facilitated a self-assessment process for the teachers and school administrators in FEP-supported schools and who will support the schools in their follow up. The examples and opinions presented in the text come from the assessment discussions that took place in the schools, with a focus on the indicators which stimulated the most interesting responses at the school level. The article ends with reflections on lessons learned from the process and provides recommendations for other agencies and organizations conducting a similar review.

2. The Assessment Process

FEP began by contextualizing the INEE global standards to the FEP realities, identifying the most relevant Standards and tailoring these to develop FEP-specific indicators. FEP's Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E) team led this contextualization and indicator selection process, which involved all the resource trainers. In order to engage fully with the Dari-speaking Afghan teachers and administrators, who speak little or no English, the standards and indicators first had to be translated into Dari language, a challenging process. The M&E team doing the translation made efforts to include some FEP-schools-related examples to clarify some unfamiliar terms (for example 'Education Committee'), but even for them, there were very technical and new terms and concepts that required further external clarification. A total of 25 indicators across the different Categories and Standards were selected as being the most relevant to the FEP school-level setting: the emergency phase indicators were not included in the field assessment, nor were those related to sector coordination. Rather, the most pertinent indicators were those in the categories of Access and Learning Environment, Teaching and Learning, and Teachers and other Education Personnel. Some of the indicators were relevant as written, while others were adapted slightly (see Appendix 1 for list of Selected Indicators).

After selection and contextualization of indicators, a set of guiding questions was developed to facilitate a self-assessment process in each of the four pilot schools. The M&E team developed questions as a means to elicit input from teachers, principals and headmasters on the content of each of the selected indicators, and to facilitate a self-assessment process for the teachers and

administrators in each school. The guiding questions maintained consistency of approach by the FEP team and enabled the staff to draw out different factors relevant to each indicator. Along with the guiding questions, each of the FEP facilitators had as reference a set of Minimum Standards definitions. The FEP staff facilitated the assessment process for teachers and administrators. Each assessment took approximately five hours in each school during which teachers and administrators in the FEP schools engaged in a comprehensive, rigorous discussion involving both critical reflection and taking pride in progress made. After the assessments were completed, the FEP M&E team met to reflect on the process, to share what they learned, and to discuss plans for future school support.

Below are the key findings of the assessment, organized according to the Minimum Standards categories, with the FEP-contextualized indicators that seemed to resonate most at the school level and to stimulate the most interesting discussions. This article discusses information shared, examples given, and suggestions made by participants in the assessment sessions in the four pilot schools.

3. Self-Assessment Outcomes

3.1 Minimum Standards Category: Community Participation

Indicator: Children and youth are involved in the development and implementation of education activities.

The active participation of students in activities and decisions affecting their lives is a key commitment of the FEP program and one which is challenging to implement in a context in which authority and decision-making power usually lies with elders, and especially male elders. Assessing achievements using this indicator was therefore considered a priority.

Participants in the assessment process in each school asserted that students' participation in educational activities has included: students undertaking different activities as active members of School Management Committees (SMCs), for example, male students raising community awareness about the importance of education and encouraging parents to send their girls to school; male students being involved in security patrols around the school to make sure that the younger students are safe when going to school and back home; all students participating in class competitions in health and hygiene-related activities and in sports competitions, including - although to a lesser extent due to cultural barriers - girls; and all students participating in making class rules in the beginning of each academic year.

Whilst an opportunity to celebrate some of the achievements of the teachers and the progress made in creating student-centred schools, and to promote student-centered teaching and learning, the assessment also pushed stakeholders to acknowledge that students are not really involved in school administration and management and have no opportunities to make suggestions outside of the classroom. This is because the school principals feel that while the school administration members are trained specifically for the roles and responsibilities of school administration and management, students are not, and this lack of knowledge and experience in administrative tasks precludes student involvement in school improvement.

Child rights have not been integrated into the curriculum so far, and were only explicitly addressed through peace education training for teachers from 1999-2001 provided by a local NGO. After discussion of the full meaning and implications of the Standards and the importance of giving

learners rights to make suggestions for improvement of their own education and learning, the teachers in the four schools resolved to take steps to increase student participation: they asserted their belief that peace and child rights education is particularly important now that Afghanistan is in a reconstruction phase.

Indicator: The community education committee holds public meetings to conduct social audits of education activities and their budgets.

Indicator: All stakeholders, including marginalized groups, community education committees, national and local education officials, teachers and learners, are included in evaluation activities

These indicators, regarding the engagement of the community in education, are especially important for the FEP in the current context of repatriation to Afghanistan and the need to ensure sustainability of education in locations where the formal system may be very weak.

None of the FEP-supported schools currently have a formal education committee. Small committees of teachers, students, and a few other community members in each school include Cultural, Financial, Environment, Discipline, Health, Competitions groups and the Parent Teacher Association (PTA). However, after assessing the indicators and their importance, the school administrators are now planning to form formal education committees involving more community members and parents to promote relationships with influential religious leaders and elders and to ensure school sustainability. The challenges of women's participation in such committees were also discussed. For example, in one camp in which FEP supports a school, the community has a Shora e Aali (community high council) where the school principal discusses school-related issues; the council consists of religious leaders and other influential elders but does not include women.

Teachers and administrators at well-established FEP-supported schools are used to a certain routine and find it difficult to move away from traditional teaching practices and from school management and governance practices that have become established over time. In their prior experience of education, such concepts have not been prioritized, and until now community participation has been considered mostly in terms of financial support. Although some participants found it difficult to accept greater involvement of community members in educational activities and school related matters, others were impressed by the Minimum Standards' idea of an Education Committee, and identified various activities for such committees beyond just fund-raising. More challenging, however, was the idea of involving community members in the management of school finances, because to date, according to FEP monitoring reports from the schools, there are no community members on any school financial committees, which are usually comprised of only a small number of teachers and headteachers.

Indicator: Training and capacity-building opportunities exist for community members, including children and youth, to manage education activities.

According to the Minimum Standards, communities may require training to meaningfully participate in educational activities . FEP-supported schools have conducted training on social organization, community mobilization, and communication to a few of their school community members involved with different committees. However, participants in the assessment processes acknowledged that they had not conducted any other trainings or sessions to enhance community participation in educational processes. They started to discuss the possibility of providing more

training in, for example, community participation, administrative & management, human rights, and children's rights. Although teachers and administrators first look to FEP to conduct this training for them, they also committed to looking for other sources like local training centers to provide initial training for trainers. At the same time, though, schools were uncertain if they could manage to train larger and different community groups or invite them to regular meetings on school-related issues because of work schedules, especially the work schedules of those seeking income outside the home. For example, one of the school principals said "We have not worked with a lot of community members so far, so we are not sure if a large number of community members would agree to come to a community participation training if we plan one for them.... A large number of our students come from poor families, so even when we invite parents to attend PTA meetings, some of them do not come saying that they have jobs to do to for income. So mostly this is why community members have little or no involvement in school activities."

As highlighted in the INEE Minimum Standards, community ownership of and participation in their children's education is a key factor in ensuring sustainability. To encourage this type of engagement, community members need to be involved in different activities and decision-making at the school. It has to be acknowledged, however, that working in such ways, and reaching out to communities, may require a considerable shift in the mindsets of teachers and school administrators, who are used to operating without such community involvement. This is particularly true with staff in FEP-supported schools that are used to a far less inclusive model of school governance and management.

At the design stage of the FEP program in 1991, community members and school administrators were involved in an initial needs assessment. In further discussion of community participation, however, teachers highlighted how, although parents are informally involved in assessment of schools through their personal evaluation of their children's education and by attending some meetings, parents or other community members do not visit schools during class time, nor do they share ideas about any changes they want to see in teachers' performance. Through the assessment process, participants in the pilot schools decided that they should include such activities in the terms of reference for the future Education Committee.

FEP staff members pay regular supervision and monitoring visits to support teacher development. School headteachers also observe teachers' performance, however, not in a regular or systematic manner. Moreover, students are not directly given a chance to evaluate the educational activities in their schools. FEP staff members understand that in Pakistani and Afghan contexts, parents' involvement in their children's education through, for example, paying visits to school, can help increase parental trust in schools and therefore help to ensure children stay in school. Parental involvement in and understanding of educational activities can also contribute to improvements in students' performance. As highlighted in the Minimum Standards, as direct beneficiaries of educational activities, students' active involvement in monitoring and evaluation can be very positive in terms of bringing their perspectives to bear on decisions being made as well as ensuring that they feel their views on how they can learn better and on what positive changes can be made are respected. The assessment discussions around these issues highlighted the need for FEP school administrators to conduct regular monitoring and evaluation activities, and also to include parents and students in such activities.

Additionally, during discussions of wider involvement in education evaluation and decision-making, teachers requested increased opportunities to give their ideas to their schools' administration for the development and improvement of education. The headteachers and

principals seemed happy to consider ways to implement this suggestion; however, there might be some challenges in creating this change in the administrative system, and FEP has to be prepared to support the process. Headteachers and principals are trained in school management and administrative tasks, and teachers trained in pedagogy and subject content may not be considered as capable of being involved in overall educational and management activities. FEP therefore plans to conduct sessions for principals encouraging them to involve teachers in all aspects of school development and improvement and may also develop training for teachers on leadership and school-level advocacy and engagement.

3.2 Minimum Standards Category: Access and Learning Environment

3.2.1 Protection and Wellbeing

Indicator: Teachers and other education personnel are provided with the skills to give psychosocial support to promote learners' emotional well-being.

Indicator: Curricula address the psychosocial well-being needs of teachers and learners in order for them to be better able to cope with life during and after the emergency.

To date, many FEP teachers have benefited from the IRC's psychosocial training, which is especially designed to train teachers to teach war-affected children and to help them cope with their psychosocial issues. They are supported in the classroom level by the FEP trainers. In 2003, FEP developed a training manual specifically on psychosocial well-being that has subsequently been shared widely with and used by different programs in Pakistan, Afghanistan and IRC Kenya. Rather than following a specific psychosocial curriculum, teachers are encouraged to be constantly attentive to the well-being of their students and to integrate activities which provide psychosocial support into different subject areas. All teachers have also been explicitly trained on 'Avoiding Corporal Punishment', and the teachers' and headteachers' perspectives on the impacts of this recent training were discussed at length during the Minimum Standards assessments. Although there is no concrete, comparable pre- and post-training data available, it was acknowledged by the participants that although corporal punishment and other types of demeaning punishments have been reduced, it remains an issue that requires more attention in the future from the FEP technical support staff as well as from the school administration. Teachers described how, despite the trainings, sometimes even the best trained teachers find it difficult to handle students' mistakes and bad behavior. FEP is planning to revise and re-conduct the corporal punishment training for all school personnel and will be working with the school administrators to ensure school-level follow up.

3.3 Minimum Standards Category: Teaching and Learning

Indicator: *Sufficient teaching and learning materials are provided, as needed, in a timely manner to support relevant education activities. Preference is given to locally available materials for sustainability*

Indicator: *Training, including follow-up monitoring, encourages the teacher to be a facilitator in the learning environment, promotes participatory methods of teaching, and demonstrates the use of teaching aids.*

Because of FEP's focus on teacher training and professional development and the FEP team's experience in teacher education curriculum development and delivery, indicators related to teacher training were also prioritized for school level discussion.

For many years, FEP has been purchasing and providing schools with teaching aids such as world maps, alphabet letters, charts, stationary, and flip-charts each academic year. In pedagogy trainings, teachers learn how to use locally available materials as teaching aids. Consequently, now such teaching aides, both commercial and homemade, are widely used in all FEP-supported Afghan refugee schools. Teachers asserted that students, community members and parents also participate in the provision of local materials. For example, in science lessons, students make models of machines such as fans and atoms using local materials, and geography teachers work with students to make models of islands and volcanoes. Such examples, highlighted by the teachers and principals in the assessment discussions, are validated by evidence from regular monthly monitoring visits by FEP trainers and M&E persons and during the celebrations of science day that they attend annually in the schools. The assessment discussions highlighted the importance of the appropriateness of the teaching aids to the communities' culture and norms. For example, teachers prefer to use pictures of girls with head covers (*chadar*), and of familiar places like mosques, schools, or simple houses. When performing puppet shows for primary grades, teachers present puppets in local clothing styles.

FEP conducts teacher trainings using participatory methods which teachers can more easily apply in class once they have experienced these methods themselves. On a monthly basis, FEP trainers pay supervisory visits to schools to help teachers properly utilize the skills they learn in the seminars and to ensure that active learning is taking place in all classes. During the Minimum Standards assessment, it was discussed that during the supervisory visits, it is observed that the teachers do not respond uniformly to training. For example, some teachers still do not apply some teaching methods effectively: some still do not have well written lesson plans or do not utilize teaching aids effectively. Such teachers receive constructive feedback from FEP trainers, have the opportunity to share their concerns or ideas, and are then observed the following month. Teachers usually appreciate the training and supervision, but for a few, there is limited classroom-level change. Trainers sometimes face participants who have much experience and knowledge in their specific field of teaching and are unwilling to accept updates regarding the subject or teaching skills and methods.

FEP trainers recognize that changes in beliefs and actions happen gradually. Hence, they try to show patience and respect to teachers and always prepare for questions or disagreements. They have developed ways to work with resistance by, for example, sharing the rationale behind any new discoveries/information with the training participants, and discussing the positive and negative sides of old teaching methods or familiar activities with concrete and clear examples. As highlighted in the Minimum Standards, and as is particularly important in the Afghan communities with which FEP works, methods and activities used in schools must respect communities' traditions and sensitivities. An example provided by an FEP resource trainer in the assessment discussions was that in the more conservative camps, puppet shows were at first not accepted because teachers believed that puppets are not allowed in Islam, so the session on puppets was initially excluded from the pedagogy seminar. Experiences in the FEP schools have shown that subjects such as health education for primary grades are more effectively taught through the use of puppets and similar teaching aids which make the sometimes abstract concepts easier for students to grasp. Because the FEP trainers felt committed to the value of teachers working with puppets, they conducted meetings and discussions with headteachers and teachers and, after

much discussion, teachers finally understood the positive aspects of the session and accepted that puppets are allowed in Islam outside of worship.

Indicator: Parents and community leaders understand and accept the learning content and teaching methods used.

Discussion of this indicator – linked to discussions described earlier on parents’ role in the schools – was very thought-provoking, engaging the assessment participants in considering roles and responsibilities of parents in the school that had never been discussed previously. It was agreed that so far, parents have accepted the educational content and teaching methods in the FEP-supported schools, as the students take their textbooks home and – for some students at least – parents (especially in the city schools where the education levels of fathers is relatively good) are directly involved in their children’s learning, assisting them at home. Indeed the FEP-supported schools are well-known and respected amongst the refugee community. The curriculum used in schools is approved and used by the Ministry of Education inside Afghanistan, a fact that is important to families. Students’ parents also attend PTA meetings where they share concerns regarding their children’s education. However, parents and community members do not visit schools or monitor classes during class time. Teachers and school administrators welcomed the idea of receiving monitoring visits from students’ parents and are now planning to follow up on this, especially through the formation of Education Committees.

Indicator: Assessment and evaluation methods are considered fair, reliable and non-threatening to the Learner.

Apart from the ongoing, informal assessment of students’ learning conducted by the teachers in their own classes, more formal examinations are administered in all FEP-supported schools according to the guidelines received from the Ministry of Education in Afghanistan, through the Afghan Consulate education sector in Peshawar. In pedagogy seminars teachers are trained on the provision of a safe and protective atmosphere during examinations. Opinions shared during the assessment process were that, for the most part, teachers establish appropriate examination conditions: students are not preferred or discriminated against, as with nepotism for example. All are treated equally. Again, these sentiments were corroborated by evidence from the monthly monitoring visits of schools by FEP trainers.

In-depth discussion of this indicator, however, revealed that in the two urban schools teachers sometimes react harshly to weak students during examinations. For example, they get angry when students request extra time or if they ask a lot of questions. Once, one of the teachers in a city school asked a student for a gift in return for good marks. Hence, principals and headteachers closely monitor the examination process in each class to ensure that students are not subjected to any threats or pressure. They also check the examination questions a week before the examination to make sure questions are relevant and appropriate for each particular class. There are clearly challenges and inconsistencies, however, and frank discussion between teachers and headteachers of the challenges of examination and the difficulties in maintaining consistency in positive teacher behavior may not have taken place without the stimulus of the Minimum Standards self-assessment activity.

3.4 Minimum Standards Category: Teachers and Other Education Personnel

Indicator: A selection committee, including community representatives, selects teachers based on a transparent assessment of candidates' competencies and considerations of gender, diversity and acceptance by the community.

As the FEP-supported schools become more autonomous and self-governing, teacher selection is an important task that has to be conducted by the school community, especially given the imperative to work within certain cultural, community norms. This indicator was therefore selected as a critical one.

There is no formal job announcement procedure at the FEP-supported schools. Job vacancies are disseminated verbally through school staff and students to the communities. Currently, teachers apply directly to the schools and then the schools provide a letter from the principal for the applicants to go to the IRC-FEP for a screening test and interview. The selection criteria are a passing score in the screening test and acceptance of the teacher by the school community. Any teacher not in good standing in the community would not be hired by the school, although in some cases, when no other teacher is available, schools may convince community members to accept the applicant under verbal agreement to certain conditions of conduct.

The selection of teachers is a particularly critical issue in the FEP-supported schools because the Afghan refugee community is very protective of their daughters and keen that they be taught by female teachers. As 65% of FEP-supported students are girls, (IRC-FEP, 2007b), hiring female teachers is prioritized, although, as the school principals highlighted, in some locations there is flexibility, especially when there are no female teachers available. At one city-based school, where parents are considered to be better educated and less conservative, there is one male science teacher due to the unavailability of a female science teacher. An older man has been hired because parents will not accept young male teachers. Moreover, many of the girls in the community attend English Language centers where there are male teachers. In one of the camp-based schools some secondary classes are taught by male teachers because there are no qualified female teachers in that camp. Participants in the assessment of this school agreed that it is the parents' very strong trust in the principal that makes it possible for the girls to study up to grade 12. In other camp and city schools, however, communities are unwilling to let their daughters be taught by male teachers. Therefore, there was further concurrence between assessment participants on the need for enhanced community participation in aspects of school governance and management, such as teacher selection, which had not previously been considered.

Indicator: The code of conduct is signed and followed by education personnel, and appropriate measures are documented and applied in cases of misconduct and/or violation of the code of conduct

This indicator is another one that is fundamental to the FEP commitment to providing safe, quality learning opportunities for vulnerable girls, and one on which there have been numerous activities. In line with the IRC's global Mandatory Reporting Policies (MRP), a general code of conduct is signed between IRC-FEP and the teachers. This code of conduct highlights IRC policies on sexual abuse and exploitation and also insists on the responsibility of all individuals to report misconduct.

However, no local, school-based code of conduct has yet been developed. Rather, when hiring any new teacher, principals verbally communicate the school's expectations in terms of professional

conduct and informally monitor teacher conduct. Discussing this indicator, especially with progress towards increasing autonomy of the FEP-supported schools, principals reflected on the importance of a school-level code of conduct, and decided to establish a consultative process to develop one. Participants envisaged a code of conduct to be signed between teachers and school principals and the future formation of Education Committees. FEP staff will further discuss how teacher accountability could be more related to the community than to the individual headteachers.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

Our text provides an example of the sort of discussion topics and outcomes that may be stimulated by the selection and contextualization of Minimum Standards indicators for school-based application. The self-assessment exercise that was stimulated by the Minimum Standards in these four schools will need to be followed up by technical support to the teachers and school administrators to help them implement some of the new commitments that were made. For example, enhanced community participation in new areas such as teacher selection and in school accounts requires careful planning and perhaps additional training and coaching for school administrators. The self-assessment process as facilitated by the FEP staff was clearly only one step in an ongoing process of school development and improvement. The Minimum Standards served as a means to introduce some new ideas into the school communities and as a stimulus for new reflections, critical thinking and planning for future initiatives.

Overall, the assessment process in the four FEP-supported schools was evaluated as useful and effective for FEP office staff, school administrators and teachers. For the first time, teachers and school administrators were engaged in self-assessment and in critical, holistic reflection on the achievements of the FEP-supported schools and on areas to further develop the quality and relevance of education. Through discussion of relevant, contextualized Standards from the categories Community Participation, Access and Learning Environment, Teaching and Learning, and Teachers and Other Education Personnel, teachers and school administrators identified gaps and areas for improvement. Some of the solutions were discussed and concrete decisions taken both by FEP and the schools. Through follow up visits, FEP staff will support the application of the different undertakings of the schools. Moreover, the same assessment is planned for all the remaining FEP-supported schools.

This year, as a move towards the FEP program's goal of educational sustainability, FEP handed over two camp-based schools to communities. The results of this pilot will enable the FEP to determine how best to hand over the remaining 20 schools. The Minimum Standards assessment process, as undertaken in the four schools, aligns with this process of gradually building capacity at the school level to ensure quality education and shifting responsibilities to inclusive, community-based management. Adapted to the local context, a sub-set of particularly relevant Standards and indicators serve as a tool for school-level assessment and prioritization of future directions. All school staff members involved were in agreement that application of the Minimum Standards at the school level can help them to work towards quality educational provision.

That is not to say the process was without its challenges: FEP has also learned much about how to use the global indicators meaningfully in the context of Afghan refugee educators. With future assessments, the FEP will certainly allocate more time for the assessment process at each school, and will also ensure that community members are involved; possibilities will be explored for students to also participate in the process. In terms of the process, other recommendations for organizations considering a similar exercise include:

Internal assessment and contextualization of indicators before application of the assessment at field site

This is a critical step in the application of the Minimum Standards that requires a relatively high level of technical expertise and input

Translation of the Standards, Indicators and Guidance Notes in local languages

This is also a critical step and one for which time is required as well as technical support. The language of the Standards is dense and complex and should preferably be handled by a translator who is knowledgeable about education.

Allocation of enough time for the whole process including preparation

The process was time-consuming during both the preparation and the school level assessments. At the school too, each indicator selected can stimulate a rich discussion, for which time should be available, especially as some of the indicators are challenging and it may take time to identify ways for the school community to work towards its achievement.

Initial training on the INEE Minimum Standards

The assessment process made sense to the participants because there was a relatively high level of awareness and understanding of the basis and principles of the Minimum Standards.

Inclusive process both internally and at school level

In the spirit of the Standards, involvement of as many stakeholders as possible in the assessment is important. The discussions will be richer with the inclusion of the different voices and any decisions made will be grounded in consensus. This is clearly challenging, especially where, as in some of the FEP-supported schools, there are doubts as to the communities' and students' capacity to contribute to educational discussions. Nonetheless, the importance of inclusiveness and participatory process should be stressed.

Documentation to facilitate the follow-up

In order to be able to follow up from the assessment, a comprehensive record of the discussions as well as any decisions taken is important. Reflection on points raised in discussions will help to ensure that technical follow up can address challenges and resistance.

Notes

- [1]. Also acknowledged is the important contribution of FEP M&E team members, Fahima Rahimpur, Fariha Popal, Humaira Jalali, Khadija Raufi, Gulghutai Waizi, Hosay Zadran, Shazia Nayebkhil, Ramzia, Noorulhaya, Fatima Wardak, Nooria Wardak as well as other FEP staff, teachers and school personnel who contributed to the assessment process and this article
- [2]. Community Participation Standard 1: Participation
Emergency-affected community members actively participate in assessing, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the education programme.
Key indicator: Training and capacity-building opportunities exists for community members, including children and youth, to manage education activities.

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Appendix 1: Selected Indicators for FEP School-Level Assessments

1. Children and youth are involved in the development and implementation of education activities.
2. The community education committee holds public meetings to conduct social audits of education activities and their budgets
3. Training and capacity-building opportunities exist for community members, including children and youth, to manage education activities.
4. Communities, education personnel and learners identify education resources in the community.
5. An initial rapid education assessment is undertaken as soon as possible, taking into account security and safety.
6. All stakeholders, including marginalized groups, community education committees, national and local education officials, teachers and learners, are included in evaluation activities
7. No individual is denied access to education and learning opportunities because of discrimination.
8. Through training and sensitization, communities become increasingly involved in ensuring the rights of all members to a quality and relevant education.
9. The learning environment is free from dangers that may cause harm to learners.
10. Teachers and other education personnel are provided with the skills to give psychosocial support to promote learners' emotional well-being.
11. Curricula address the psychosocial well-being needs of teachers and learners in order for them to be better able to cope with life during and after the emergency.

12. The physical structure used for the learning site is appropriate for the situation and includes adequate space for classes and administration, recreation and sanitation facilities
13. Communities participate in the construction and maintenance of the learning environment.
14. Basic health and hygiene are promoted in the learning environment.
15. Adequate sanitation facilities are provided, taking account of age, gender and special education needs and considerations, including access for persons with disabilities.
16. Adequate quantities of safe drinking water and water for personal hygiene are available at the learning site.
17. Sufficient teaching and learning materials are provided, as needed, in a timely manner to support relevant education activities. Preference is given to locally available materials for sustainability
18. Training, including follow-up monitoring, encourages the teacher to be a facilitator in the learning environment, promotes participatory methods of teaching, and demonstrates the use of teaching aids.
19. Learners are provided with opportunities to be actively engaged in their own learning.
20. Participatory methods are used to facilitate learner involvement in their own learning and to improve the learning environment.
21. Parents and community leaders understand and accept the learning content and teaching methods used.
22. Assessment and evaluation methods are considered fair, reliable and non-threatening to the Learner.
23. A selection committee, including community representatives, selects teachers based on a transparent assessment of candidates' competencies and considerations of gender, diversity and acceptance by the community.
24. The code of conduct is signed and followed by education personnel, and appropriate measures are documented and applied in cases of misconduct and/or violation of the code of conduct
25. Staff performance appraisals are conducted, written up and discussed with the individual(s) concerned on a regular basis.

Negotiating Change: Participatory Curriculum Design in Emergencies

Marian Hodgkin ^[1]
Teachers College, Columbia University

Abstract

This paper examines an important component of the developing field of education in emergencies: curriculum decision-making processes. The paper argues that in order to fully meet the commitment articulated by the INEE Minimum Standards to provide quality education for all, curricula decisions cannot be ignored or postponed until after a crisis has occurred. Practitioners, advocates, and policy makers in the field of education in emergencies must recognize that in order for quality education to be provided equitably, curricular decisions must not only be fully part of the remit for those organisations, agencies, or governments providing education in emergencies, but the decision-making processes must be transparent, inclusive, and participatory. The INEE Minimum Standards as they continue to be promoted, contextualised, and institutionalised, could play a crucial role in this process.

An increasing amount of attention has been paid to education in emergencies during the last decade. The principal mandates of humanitarian relief organisations typically involve provisions of food, shelter, water, sanitation, and healthcare. Education is often seen as part of longer-term development work rather than a necessary intervention in emergency responses. Today, attitudes and assumptions are changing as education is increasingly included in the planning and provision of humanitarian relief.[2]

However, when education is included as part of a humanitarian response, there is a tendency to focus on the provision of school supplies. One example of this is the UNICEF 'School in a Box' kits, which comprise basic materials such as pencils and chalk, but on their own do not provide quality intervention (Anderson, Martone, Perlman Robinson, Rognerud & Sullivan-Owomoyel, 2006). The Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) is a body working to ensure that education in emergencies is not only part of a humanitarian response, but also that the education meets minimum standards of quality, access, and accountability. INEE has conducted broad-based advocacy efforts to ensure that the importance of education in emergencies is globally recognized. It has also facilitated a global consultation to develop a set of minimum standards for education in emergencies, chronic crises, and early reconstruction.

The resulting document contains six categories of standards, including: Community Participation, Analysis, Access and Learning Environment, Teaching and Learning, Teachers and Other Education Personnel, and Education Policy and Coordination (Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies [INEE], 2004a). The Minimum Standards also include Key Indicators and Guidance Notes to help in their implementation. The Minimum Standards Handbook has been adopted and used in over 80 countries and 25,000 copies have been distributed to humanitarian agency staff, educators, government ministries, donors, and multilateral agencies (INEE, 2006). Workers across six continents have been trained in their use, and increasing efforts are being made by the network to further contextualise the global standards so they may be a useful tool in any situation, from post-crisis to reconstruction and development.

This paper examines an important component of education in emergencies: curriculum decision-making processes. It argues that in order to fully meet the commitment articulated by the INEE Minimum Standards to provide quality education for all, curricula decisions cannot be ignored or postponed until an indeterminate 'post crisis' phase of development. Practitioners, advocates and policy makers in the field of education in emergencies must recognize that in order for high quality education to be provided with accountability and equity, curricular decisions must not only be fully part of the remit for those organisations, agencies or governments providing education in emergencies, but the decision-making processes must be transparent, inclusive, and participatory.

This is not an easy task. Curriculum development or revision in times of stability and peace can be fraught with sensitivities: issues of power, knowledge, and collective identity emerge in debates over what should be taught and how. In emergencies, particularly in those involving violent conflict where education itself can exacerbate or cause tensions, these issues become even more difficult to surmount. However, this paper will argue that participation is itself one way of responding to exactly these challenges. It can occur at different stages of the decision-making process, and could begin in small ways in individual classrooms and schools, without necessarily entailing wholesale national educational reform. This paper draws upon the experience, literature, and practice of educationalists working on negotiated curriculum theory. Negotiated curricula are learning plans that are collaboratively developed by teachers, students, and occasionally parents. Proponents of negotiated curriculum techniques highlight the advantages of encouraging students to be active agents in their own learning as they contribute to the choices and directions of their learning. Teachers are not presented as experts of knowledge, rather teachers and students engage in joint problem solving, the sharing of responsibility and mutual learning. These theories of negotiation in education provide a starting point in exploring how participatory curriculum design might be attempted in emergency situations.

Through examining literature from a number of sub-fields from the education and development disciplines, this paper aims to provide insights into how the ultimate goal of quality education for all expressed in the INEE Minimum Standards might be realised. The argument is grounded in an in-depth study of the INEE Minimum Standards and their development as well as other tools that have been developed to aid practitioners in the field. It also draws upon the author's observations and analysis after participating in several professional trainings on the INEE Minimum Standards and having informal conversations with members of the Network who use the Minimum Standards in their work. The pedagogical approach and practical techniques from contemporary progressive curriculum scholarship provide a theoretical framework and a useful model for adoption and adaptation. This problematisation of the current discourse is designed to incite discussion of the critical issue of curricula design in emergencies and to prompt much needed empirical research into current practices in order that we might more fully understand the opportunities for change that emergency contexts present.

The term "emergency" encompasses a wide range of situations. These include natural disasters such as earthquakes, hurricanes, droughts and floods as well as complex emergencies that are 'man-made,' often caused by conflict or civil unrest (INEE, 2004a). Education is increasingly recognized for providing life-saving and life-sustaining relief in acute emergency phases and is a necessary component of early recovery and ongoing development (INEE, 2006). In this way education can provide continuity across all stages of the relief development continuum. There is growing recognition that "all individuals - children, youth and adults - have a right to education during emergencies" (INEE, 2004a, p. 5), in part because of education's normative status as a

fundamental human right enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Covenant on the Rights of the Child, the Geneva and Refugee Conventions, and other international protocols and principles (Women's Commission, 2004). Furthermore, there is increasing evidence that education can enhance psychosocial wellbeing, ensure protection, facilitate the provision of other key services (such as health or nutrition) and disseminate life-saving knowledge (such as landmine awareness or HIV/AIDS education) (INEE, 2004a).

Not only is education in emergencies increasingly recognised as a central part of the humanitarian remit, but studies are now being carried out to investigate the potential for educational innovation in crisis and early recovery contexts. The crisis situation is, by definition, one of dramatic and often swift social change, usually having substantial impact upon education systems. A situation of wide and substantial social and educational change reveals structural power relationships in the curriculum design processes, prompting further questions with implications for the INEE Minimum Standards as they develop and humanitarian policy more widely.

The work of the International Rescue Committee (IRC), an international NGO that does substantial emergency education programming, provides one example of educational innovation in crisis.[3] During the years of Taliban rule in Afghanistan, when schooling for girls and women was not permitted, local communities had to improvise. Many established clandestine home-based schools run from the homes of community members and supported with training and materials by the IRC (Winthrop, 2006). These schools have continued to operate since the fall of the Taliban in 2001, educating both boys and girls with no access to government schools. Not only do these home-based schools improve access to education, particularly for rural children, they have fostered success in completion rates and exam results compared to government schools (Kirk and Winthrop, 2006). The current Afghani government is exploring the potential of mainstreaming these home and community-based schools into the government education system. The chronic crisis experienced in girls' education during the Taliban years led to innovations and understandings about the value of small class sizes and close teacher/student/parent relationships which may well not have developed in other circumstances. The fall of the Taliban regime and the establishment of a more moderate government has incited widespread national change within the education system. Crisis situations can provide an opportunity for educational transformation as existing power structures breakdown or change.

Yet in some such situations educational changes do not necessarily result in productive innovations. Therefore it is important to understand the process of educational development in order to positively influence this potential for change. Changes may ensure increased empowerment for those with less power, but not necessarily. They may conversely create new hierarchies or rebuild former power structures within educational decision-making. The question then for curriculum design is who directs this change, and how substantial is it? The following sections of this paper discuss current approaches to curricula development during and after emergencies and make the case for participatory practice in curricula design processes. Arguing that negotiated curriculum techniques can provide a useful model for genuine participation by all stakeholders, including students, the paper concludes by calling for practical steps to be taken to incorporate elements of genuine participation into institutional structures and practices of individual educators. As they continue to be promoted, contextualised, and institutionalised, the INEE minimum standards could play a crucial role in this process.

Curricula Development During and After Emergencies

This paper takes a broad view of the concept of curriculum design, seeing curricula as living documents that involve a design process that goes beyond narrow content and skill-based decisions, engaging a number of actors at different levels in the process and within complex socioeconomic, political, and cultural frameworks. Unpacking curricula decision-making processes provides insight into the relationship between people within those structures and sheds light on the relationship between knowledge and power. The knowledge-power relationship operates in two directions: on the one hand educational professionals at every level (with specialist knowledge) who contribute to the development of a curriculum have clear power over priorities and outcomes. On the other hand, those in positions of power may influence and define “knowledge” and give it value. “Knowledge...far from being constructed in isolation from power relations, is embedded in them (or against them)” (Kothari, 2001, p. 141). This paper will explore the ways in which participation and negotiated curriculum processes can help to address the iniquities within these knowledge-power structures.

The INEE Minimum Standards (2004a) give guidelines on the possible need to revise curricula, stating that existing curricula should be:

reviewed for appropriateness to the age or developmental level, language, culture, capacities and needs of the learners affected by the emergency. Curricula are used, adapted or enriched as necessary.... Where curriculum development or adaptation is required, it is conducted with the meaningful participation of stakeholders and considers the best interests and needs of the learners. (p. 56)

However, the Guidance Note relating to this standard states that “curriculum development can be a long and difficult process...[as] in emergencies curricula are often adapted from either the host country, the country of origin or other emergency settings” (INEE, 2004a, p. 57). The substantial UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning’s [IIEP] (2006) Guidebook for Planning Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction similarly establishes the potential for curricula development: “an emergency or post-conflict situation...often provides a critical opportunity for educational authorities to examine the curriculum and revise it” (p. 6). However, the strategies and Guidance Notes actually recommend that during an emergency, little more than the removal of “elements that may fuel conflict” from the curriculum are necessary (INEE, 2004a, p. 2-6). This therefore makes it easier “to insert important non-traditional topics into the learning process, such as health and hygiene education...environmental and landmine awareness,” with the suggestion that more substantial “curriculum review and renewal” typically take place “in the post-conflict situation” (IIEP, 2006, p. 2-6).

Given the extreme emergency circumstances, it is clear why local educational professionals and humanitarian providers often use curricula from other contexts or slightly modify existing documents rather than attempt wholesale redesign of curricula in a crisis. However, a danger of this approach is that a supposedly temporary expedient may in fact last for years. A prime example of this is the case of the Rwandan history curriculum. After the genocide in 1994, all national history curricula from primary to tertiary levels were suspended due to the highly contested nature of the historiography and the fear that ethnic tensions might be exacerbated. Twelve years later, although absence of the curriculum is a matter for debate, there is still no national history being taught in Rwandan schools, a failure that is itself detrimental to the reconciliation process (Hodgkin, 2006).

The deferral of meaningful curriculum review and reform is also disadvantageous in that it fails to engage affected populations in the decision-making process. In fact, although it might appear to be neutral, such a decision never is. The rationale seems to be that because major curricula change is not considered in the height of emergencies, participation is not viewed as essential. This rationale stems from the premise that decisions about the nature and extent of change come before decisions about process, in particular who is involved in these decisions. The primary focus should instead be on the process rather than on the content or outcome of curricula changes. In other words, our starting point should be the process, and the extent to which these processes involve inclusive and participatory decision-making.

Participating in Change

The development paradigm has swung from being often dictatorial, patriarchal, and patronising to one that is more concerned with participatory programming (Henkel and Stirrat, 2001). There is much written about the need for 'ownership,' community 'buy-in,' and 'bottom up planning' that is not reliant on one-size-fits-all approaches, all-knowing foreign experts or regular monetary hand-outs. Humanitarian actors within the last decade have also recognised the rights of affected populations to participate in making decisions that affect them and the duty of the humanitarian community to be accountable not only to their donors, but also to the populations they serve.

The Sphere (2004) Humanitarian Charter and accompanying Minimum Standards in Disaster Response were developed in the years after the Rwandan genocide, a time of serious reflection that represented a sea change in humanitarian strategy and practice. The cornerstone of this project is the recognition and expression of commitment to the rights of people affected by disasters, in particular the obligation to provide "quality and accountability" in the process of service delivery (p. 5). The first standard in the Sphere Handbook refers to participation: "The disaster-affected population actively participates in the assessment, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation" (p. 28). However, the key indicators which purport to measure the achievement of this standard display a limited conception of participation, requiring that local populations "receive information...and are given the opportunity to comment" (p. 28). The INEE Minimum Standards also include a Minimum Standard on participation - a category which is a cross-cutting standard that focuses on community participation in educational planning and response. However, the indicators in the INEE Minimum Standards are far stronger than those in the Sphere Handbook, with specific suggestions such as "the community education committee holds public meetings to conduct social audits of education activities and their budgets" (INEE, 2004, p. 14). The accompanying Guidance Notes are also highly detailed.

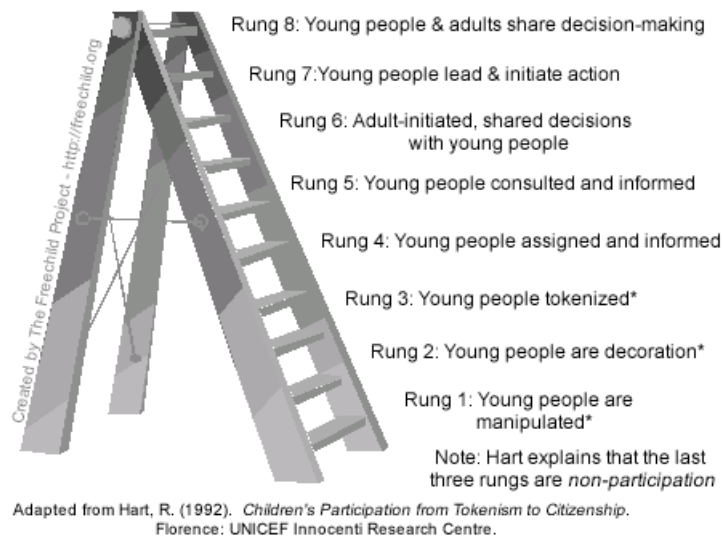
Here it is interesting to refer to the documentation of the development process of the Minimum Standards. In 2004, four field-based regional consultations (involving 137 delegates from over 51 countries) each produced their own set of regional standards. The regional documents, in particular the Asia Collective Consultation Report (2004), contain substantial recognition of opportunities for participation:

All agencies (government, international, NGOs) must coordinate to provide the necessary technical support and material resources to enable the stakeholders to engage in the local curriculum development process.... Educational reform...can be activated by participatory local curriculum development processes. (INEE, 2004b, p. 8)

The final comprehensive version of the Minimum Standards, while emphasizing participation in curriculum design more than the version created by Sphere, is more cautious than some of these regional documents. Perhaps this reflects a perception among expert technical advisors who drafted the final INEE Minimum Standards Handbook that anything more extensive would be unrealistic. Indeed, although a criticism often levelled at the INEE Minimum Standards is to claim that the standards are too high, [4] in the case of curriculum reform and design, the INEE Standards are perhaps more “realistic” and “minimal” rather than “Minimum.”

While both the Sphere Handbook (2004) and INEE Minimum Standards advocate community participation, what that ought to entail in a particular context will vary enormously. We should therefore regard participation not as an absolute standard but rather as a continuum ranging from tokenistic presence through genuine consultation to full joint decision-making. A useful metaphorical expression of the varying degrees of participation is Roger Hart’s (1992) Ladder of Young People’s Participation:

Roger Hart's Ladder of Young People's Participation



When considering participation in the context of an emergency, there are factors that both facilitate and constrain participation, especially at the top end of the continuum. Crisis situations often involve the disruption of the status quo-- traditional power relationships are altered and there may be an opportunity for more people to participate in decisions that affect their own lives. As we have already seen, this can trigger innovation in education and other societal constructs. Therefore, crisis situations can be fertile ground for educational development. In emergency contexts, those working to facilitate or provide education programmes will be humanitarian or development agencies that often consider their missions, and mandates, to be apolitical and neutral. However, their position of power and influence as a result of their financial and human resources inevitably causes new power structures to evolve around their operations.

Often, while development and humanitarian relief agencies pay lip-service to the ideal of participatory programming, the reality is that participation is limited to a very particular normative framework, based on international and humanitarian law or human rights principles, for example. Agencies are also limited in what they can offer by their own mandates and donor-driven criteria.

Participation may occur, but only on the terms of the development agencies themselves, an approach which fails to give adequate weight to the more evidence-based approaches comprised of ground-up needs, expectations, capacities, and the aspirations of the affected populations themselves. Although the aspirations and expectations of a population may correspond with an agency's policies, many do not. For example, a needs assessment might reveal a strong local demand for education that cannot be fulfilled by an agency where education is outside its mandate. Or a local population's views on education for girls may not be compatible with an agency's gender equality-based policies. Such competing expectations present real challenges regarding the achievement of genuine participation. Further, curriculum development initiatives will often rely on the involvement of external actors – including humanitarian aid and educational development professionals – managed and funded by westerners. Therefore, participation itself may be imposed from the outside, a Western concept that is alien within the given context.

While certain aspects of education in emergency programming may be open to participatory processes, the construction of school buildings or the recruitment and retention of teachers, for example, the realm of curriculum reform may be seen as something that should be reserved for “the experts,” without considering the decision-making stages that are part of any curricula design process. Allison Anderson (personal communication, February 26, 2007), an INEE Focal Point on Minimum Standards, commented, “the regional consultation process in 2004 was filled with debates over who had the right to develop curricula, with government officials voicing their feeling that this is the domain of governments.” Whereas decisions about school buildings and teacher compensation may be seen as having marginal importance, decisions about what is learnt and how (i.e., knowledge) are connected to power not only in the educational process but within social structures more generally. Thus, often the processes that may have wide social impact are not open to participatory decision-making.

The issues raised above concern some of the potential problems with participatory decision-making. In considering how true participation can be extended to include children and youth, there are further barriers to surmount. Youth participation should be a crucial dimension of any humanitarian or development programming; however given the particular educational context, curriculum design in crisis is even more in need of youth input. Of those civilians affected by armed conflict, a disproportionate number are youth, who are most likely to be recruited as soldiers, are primary targets of sexual violence, and are most likely to miss out on education (United Nations Department for Social and Economic Affairs [UN-DSEA], 2005). Youth are subject to several cumulative barriers when it comes to true participation during emergencies. Not only are they part of a disadvantaged community in crisis, often with a limited voice within local or external power structures, in emergency situations they are labelled as ‘victims’ and/or ‘survivors’ who often do not possess recognized expertise. Often in emergency situations children and youth are characterised as being vulnerable victims in need of protection rather than active participants.

Attention to the experiences, roles, needs and aspirations of young people in specific conflict zones is rendered impossible by an approach that assumes ‘trauma,’ ‘vulnerability,’ and ‘victimhood’ as defining and universal characteristics of children who have lived through war. (Hart, 2006, p. 9)

Most fundamentally, they are not adults and therefore not viewed as capable of being able to make decisions that affect them and their communities. Participation guidelines frequently focus on formal community organisations such as Parent Teacher Associations, which will often exclude youth input.

The Negotiated Curriculum

Contemporary progressive education debates have prompted the development of new theories of curriculum design. The suggestion that curricula should be developed using negotiation techniques is one such school of thought; this paper considers the potential value of applying these theories within emergency education contexts. The concept of negotiated curricula entails inviting students to contribute to and modify the curriculum. All parties – students, teachers, even parents – are given an opportunity to express their points of view, needs and wants and to work together to reach an outcome that is satisfactory for all concerned (Boomer, 1992). A central part of negotiation is the ownership principle: people tend to work hard for things they wish to own or to keep and enhance that which they already own. Theorists argue that negotiation brings with it a sense of ownership, and it is this active, intentional and participatory involvement in the decision making processes that “results in more effective learning than does the passivity that attends the performance of a teacher’s imposed pedagogical pattern” (Boomer, 1992, p. 16). A key component of negotiated curriculum theory is the recognition that curricula and their enactment are always “embedded in a rich socio-political context which must be acknowledged, interpreted and dealt with since it strongly influences and constrains classroom and institutional possibilities” (Boomer, 1992, p. vii). Negotiated curriculum techniques aim to recognise and make explicit existing power relationships inside classrooms, schools, education systems, and within society itself. In doing so, they work to offset the harmful effects of the ever-present inequalities of power present in schools and society more generally (Boomer, 1992).

An approach based on negotiated curriculum techniques may be a good point to start to address some of these genuinely difficult problems associated with ensuring true participation. A central part of any negotiated process is communication and openness. Certain constraints and imperatives need not damage the participatory relationship if they are made explicit. There will always be power relationships in schools and society generally.

...[the] harmful effects of power will be offset only if those in power make quite explicit the values, assumptions and criteria on which they base their actions. In this way others will have a better chance to defend themselves, more opportunity to question and more chance of negotiation. (Boomer, 1992, p. 8)

As I have identified the ways in which youth are disempowered in emergency contexts, this principle of recognizing the barriers to their participation and the potential of youth to contribute is all the more important.

As we have explored, one difficulty with true participation is the non-negotiable nature of certain norms and values, such as basic human rights for the development and humanitarian aid communities. What negotiated curriculum methodologies teach us is that those in power (relief workers, development practitioners, classroom teachers) must make these values and assumptions fully explicit; only then will the disempowered be able to question, negotiate and participate on a truly level playing field. A negotiated curriculum does not imply that every facet of the curriculum is necessarily open to negotiation. It does, however, require a full explanation about what is and is not negotiable and, additionally, a commitment to negotiate those aspects that are open to negotiation. Explanatory openness should also apply to externally imposed constraints such as an agency’s mandate, financial, and material resources.

In recognizing the real difficulties with participation that have been identified above, this paper suggests that a constructive approach emphasizing the process is at least as important as any outcome. Adopting a negotiated design approach allows expertise to be valued in a creative way and does not disempower others in the process. Those leading curriculum development processes should adopt the role of facilitator rather than directing choice:

The new role is one of process helper, facilitator, resource linker, and public documenter. These concepts of role provide the context within which the teacher is still a source of ideas, an expert, a provider of information, a guide and leader. (Boomer, 1992, p. 28)

This involves taking risks. If power is shared with others, the result will be a compromise and may not align with the facilitator's objectives. If the facilitator has been open about any non-negotiable elements, this degree of power sharing and unpredictability of outcome is acceptable. This compromise should not be seen as a giving up of ideals by the facilitator, but rather as an opportunity for mutual learning. The implication of this is that learners (i.e., youth) are essential to the participatory process even in emergencies. Borrowing from the work of Paolo Freire (1970), curriculum developers should be learners and learners should be curriculum developers, and as Boomer (1992) argues: "all negotiators...are learners" (p. 48).

In the context of education in emergencies, how extensive should participation be? Is it realistic in a crisis to expect full participation at every point of the decision-making process? Participation is only genuine if it gives those involved real input into the decision making process, but the level of this input can range from the broadest national strategies to smaller-scale immediate decisions in classrooms. As Kothari (2001) argues, power must be analysed as something which circulates, and we should not rely on "the dichotomies of macro/micro, central/local, powerful/powerless, where the former are sites and holders of power and the latter the subjects of power. Instead, all individuals are vehicles of power" (p. 142). If we recognize that "power relations run through a particular social body and are not confined to particular central sites or located solely among the elite" then we can also identify ways in which participation can be used in decision-making at different levels (p. 150). At some of these levels negotiation can encompass all relevant decisions, whereas at others there will be many more constraints, but they should be explicit, justified and subject to constant review.

Conclusion: Participatory Curriculum Design in Emergencies

In this paper I have examined curriculum decision-making processes in the context of education in emergencies. I have explored the ways in which negotiated curriculum techniques can contribute to genuine participation by all stakeholders, including youth, in these processes. Quite rightly, education is now seen as an important part of humanitarian response to emergencies. The INEE Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies promote the assurance of educational access and quality for those affected by crisis. They recognise that education is not something that should wait until an emergency situation has stabilised, but needs to be part of the first phase of humanitarian action.

This paper contends that curriculum development should be a part of the educational planning process from the beginning and should not be, as is sometimes the case, treated as something that cannot properly be considered in a crisis and therefore should wait until after a return to stability. The transitional period during which curriculum development is not implemented can sometimes last for years. The postponement of curricula decisions is never neutral and the maintenance of

an existing curriculum will always have implications for both students and society. This paper argues that the societal change and disruptions to the balance of power structures that are a feature of crisis situations provide an opportunity for curriculum development that should be capitalised upon.

Any curriculum development process should involve a careful analysis of power relationships at both macro and micro levels. This is particularly pertinent in emergency contexts, where power dynamics shift and groups of particularly disempowered and vulnerable people are often those most affected. Participation is increasingly recognised as important in humanitarian contexts, and within the field of education in emergencies. This paper argues that not only should curriculum design be integrated into the first phase of education programmes in emergencies, but also that the curriculum design process should encompass effective and genuine models of participatory decision making. It is recognised that true participation is difficult to facilitate, and is a risky process in that outcomes are not always predictable. Negotiated curriculum theories provide useful conceptual frameworks for thinking about participation, as well as practical techniques for planning, design, and implementing new or revised curricula. At the heart of this approach is an insistence on open communication, concerning not just the goals or objectives of the curriculum but also the decision-making process itself and the inevitable internal and external constraints.

If a negotiated and fully participatory approach were to be wholly integrated into humanitarian programmes it would necessitate significant reassessment of the structures and mode of work of the humanitarian community. Because of the need for openness and explicit communication that participatory aid programmes require, humanitarian relief organisations would have to develop substantial and at least medium-term relationships with the host community. Yet we can learn from negotiated curricula techniques that negotiation and participation may operate on many levels. Efforts should be made to incorporate elements of genuine participation even within existing organisational structures and operational practices. Organisations involved in planning education in emergencies should actively consider and incorporate participatory and negotiated curricula reform as part of their remit. Although the INEE Minimum Standards make a significant contribution to the inclusion of participation in education in emergencies, they downplay the possibilities for participation in curriculum design. However, like the best curricula, the INEE Minimum Standards are not static. Rather, they are a dynamic entity - developing and continually being monitored and evaluated. Considering how the INEE Minimum Standards should evolve as they are revised in the coming years, attention must be paid to the lessons that can be learned from negotiated curriculum theories and practice.

Notes

- [1]. The author would like to thank Marise Cremona, Allison Anderson and Celia Oyler for their helpful feedback on drafts of this paper.
- [2]. It was recently decided that education will be included within the UN Inter-Agency Standing Committee's (IASC) cluster initiative. The IASC endorsement of education as part of the cluster process is a significant achievement as it indicates not only the recognition by the international community of the critical role that education plays in humanitarian response but also their willingness to support its provision. (Communication from the INEE Secretariat, February 2007).
- [3]. The International Rescue Committee is working with the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning and the University of Amsterdam to develop a number of casestudies investigating opportunities for positive change within or in the aftermath of conflict-related emergencies.

- [4]. One Save the Children Manager and member of INEE has commented: "it is a problem that the Minimum Standards ended up more like maximum standards. This means that the standards will usually not be fulfilled in most of the emergencies in which we work" (Save the Children, confidential informant). A UNESCO employee in Nepal, also part of the INEE network, similarly stated: "The standards are too high. In Nepal, even in normal times, such standards are not met and therefore, in times of emergency, it is not relevant for the country to have such high standards" (UNESCO, confidential informant).

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An Historical Perspective on Coordinating Education Post-Conflict: Biopolitics, Governing at a Distance, and States of Exception

Noah W. Sobe ^[1]
Loyola University Chicago

Abstract

This article analyzes a 1944 publication entitled International Relief in Action 1914-1943: Selected Records with Notes alongside the 2004 standards for education in emergencies that were developed by INEE (the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies). In doing so, the author aims to reveal how biological life, expectations of individual, and social collectivities are conceptualized in relation to one another. The author argues that the contrast between the 1944 and the 2004 realities demonstrates a shift from a "eugenic" model to a greater focus on individual well-being, and that this shift has significant implications for how communities and society are organized and valued.

“There can hardly be any question that contemporary knowledge and the best of professional practice in public and private community service must be mobilized in order to meet the peculiar challenge of international aid to social reconstruction.” As an introductory comment on the topic of “education in emergencies”, the theme of the present issue of *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, we may laud and welcome on many levels the vision and call to action expressed in this quote. While these words may be appropriate to our present moment, they come in fact from a 1944 text intended to help prepare relief workers for meeting the refugee crises of that time and the post-conflict reconstruction projects then on the horizon. I propose that bringing a comparative historical frame to bear on the standards for education in emergencies developed by the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) in 2004 can help to reveal the political and cultural logics embedded in the roles and social purposes that education is being envisioned to play in emergencies, chronic crises and early reconstruction.

Harnessing education to post-conflict reconstruction can be viewed in terms proposed by Giorgio Agamben (2005) as a “state of exception” that normalizes an existing order within which the “exception” becomes increasingly less exceptional. This essay examines the ways that educational emergencies can be turned into opportunities for the extension of authority over others (particularly around the *control of life*) as well as occasions for the translation of global discourses within specific localities.

Despite the tendency to view education in emergency as an aberration to the ordinary business of schooling, there is much to suggest that there are fundamental ways in which modern educational practices grow out of and are linked to such settings. The specter of violence and civil unrest has haunted the provision of mass education from its earliest incarnations. Ian Hunter (1994) argues that the religious wars of seventeenth century Europe produced a host of educational imperatives linked to liberal notions of tolerance and freedom. From Hunter’s perspective, however, stabilizing individuals’ private dispositions through notions of liberty and self-governance was less an expansion and materialization of democratic political philosophy than a pragmatic, administrative mechanism designed to regulate societies in a way that tempered fratricidal violence (see also Popkewitz, forthcoming, 2007). This is consonant with one of the key arguments of Michel Foucault’s (1979) *Discipline and Punish*, which maintains that schools

pioneered disciplinary techniques of self-reflection and self-control that were then taken up by other social institutions. Schools have historically served as a site where the efforts of state and non-state actors align in the project of producing modern, governable subjects who are both docile and productive. Clearly there are many ways to analyze education reform projects in post-conflict and emergency settings. The analytic strategy taken here is to look at these initiatives as embodying a politics of managing biological life, regulating individual conduct, and fostering desirable, “proper” social assemblages. When we look comparatively at instances of educational reconstruction from 1944 and 2004, it becomes clear that there are critical shifts in how biological life, individual conduct and social collectivities have been put into relation with one another. The central argument made below is that in the 1944/2004 contrast we witness a shift away from a “eugenic” model to a focus on individual well-being that has profound implications for how communities and “the social” are organized and valued.

An Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, 1944

The quote that opens this essay comes from an instance of an inter-agency collaboration that was put together as World War II seemed to be drawing to a close. A partnership between three different relief-active US-based religious organizations, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the Brethren Service Committee, and the Mennonite Central Committee resulted, in 1944, in the publication of a volume titled *International Relief in Action 1914-1943: Selected Records with Notes*. The book was expressly designed as a teaching aid along the lines of a textbook for relief workers; it featured 57 two to three page profiles of various relief efforts undertaken over the previous thirty years. Each relief effort profile also included six to ten discussion questions for readers to consider. The project was overseen by Hertha Kraus, at the time a professor of social work at Bryn Mawr College. Kraus, who was of German-Jewish origin, had been involved in Quaker relief services in Berlin after World War I, and was forced from her position as head of the Cologne department of public welfare with the Nazi takeover in 1933 (Bussiek, 2003). Eldon Burke, a 1936 University of Chicago PhD in history and member of the Church of the Brethren, also collaborated in the project.[2] When the volume was prepared, allied victory seemed within grasp and each of the three sponsoring organizations was already enough involved in relief efforts to know that the cessation of hostilities would reveal an extensive need for reconstruction projects in conflict-affected countries around the globe.

For comparative purposes, and admittedly somewhat fancifully, I am proposing we treat the collaborative project of these three US-based protestant denominations long known as “peace churches” as an inter-agency network. My objective is not to point out that “we have done this before”; it is to discern ways that what is occurring now is both similar to and different from what has historically occurred in this arena. To be sure, using the 1944 instance as a reference point is problematic in that the 57 project records collected in Quaker-Brethren-Mennonite collaboration are not restricted to child welfare and education-related projects. In contrast, though the INEE *Minimum Standards* do touch on many more aspects of chronic crises and emergencies than schooling (for example, in the “Assessment Framework” and “Situation Analysis Checklist”, *Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies*, 2004), they are chiefly concerned with educational provision and policy. Alongside this, one cannot fail to note that a much broader coalition of agencies has been assembled in the present day INEE effort, including international NGOs, UN agencies, and the World Bank, in addition to religiously affiliated organizations. It also bears mentioning that the two cases are ill-matched in terms of significance or consequence, given the much greater scale of INEE efforts and uncertainty on the extent to which Hertha Kraus’s project did in fact influence reconstruction after World War II, and the analysis that follows should certainly not be taken as an exhaustive characterization of all relief efforts undertaken in

the mid/late 1940s. Nevertheless, the 1944/2004 comparison is useful for revealing changes in philosophy and social/cultural assumptions about education in emergencies. Despite the above caveats, a certain comparability is established by virtue of the fact that both instances are projects of creating standards, establishing best-practices, and building professional expertise through training initiatives. In 1944, the training was to take place through the formation of study groups whose discussions about the book would result in “exploratory trips along the highways and byways of foreign service planning” (Kraus, 1944); since 2004, training has been taking place through INEE’s aggressive Training of Trainers (TOT) initiative. This article focuses on what were and are held as appropriate standards and best-practices in each instance.

Biopolitics and Distancing “Life” from Eugenics

At an inescapable level, loss of life, its increasing precariousness, and threats to its healthy perseverance or flourishing, consistently form the background problem which education in emergencies and chronic crises attempts to address. Yet, how “life” is conceptualized in relation to both human bodies and social bodies is anything but fixed and constant. In this section I will argue for there being a fundamental difference with respect to bio-power and the politics of life between the following two notions:

- “The central goal [of international relief] will spring from faith in the supremacy of personal values applied to the concrete challenge of our day: rehabilitation of Man himself, so that all men in all countries may have a greater chance and freedom to function on their highest level.” (Kraus, 1944, p. 215)
- “Education is not only a right, but in situations of emergencies, chronic crises and early reconstruction, is a necessity that can be *life-saving* and *life-sustaining*, providing physical, psychosocial and cognitive protection.” [emphasis in original] (Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, 2007)[3]

Michel Foucault (1978) identified two poles around which power over life has evolved since the seventeenth century. He argued that one can speak of an “anatomo-politics of the human body” that took the form of regulations that optimized the capabilities and machine-like efficiencies of individual bodies, as well as of a “biopolitics of the population” that set its sights on the “species body” and concerned itself with birth rates, life expectancy, aggregate levels of health, and the like (p. 139). In the nineteenth century these two poles were brought together in the form of concrete arrangements, such as in the deployment of sexuality and, I would add, post-conflict reconstruction efforts. When discussing the notion of “bio-power”, to name the joining of individual health with populational health, Foucault offered the following:

For millennia, man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capacity for a political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics places his existence as a living being into question. (p. 143)

The injustices that human politics bring upon human life come into high relief in post-conflict emergencies; the effects of “natural” disasters should also be seen in connection with human politics, a point well illustrated by Hurricane Katrina as well as a host of less well-renowned disasters in other parts of the world. Yet, in Foucault’s argument, the point is not that the most formidable power human societies face is simply the power over death. He notes that “it is as managers of life and survival, of bodies and the race” (p. 137) that modern governments have been able to wage war. The fruitful management of life and survival are the preeminent concerns

of education in emergencies. In the 1944 instance at hand, one finds the management of life discussed in “eugenic” terms, which I broadly define as a political rationality that establishes fundamental linkages between the individual and the “social body”.

In her introduction to the 1944 volume, Hertha Kraus underscored the importance of integrating foreign aid with national planning. This of course would be difficult in situations that called for “speedy, spontaneous improvised service” (p. 1), but it was held up as the ideal standard towards which aid workers should strive. Returning people to proper collective living was set as the chief goal of social reconstruction and the restoration of “organized services to the millions so that each individual may find the right response to bitter needs which he cannot meet alone” (p. 216). The 1944 excerpt bulleted above speaks to a human flourishing underpinned by opportunity and freedom, yet the text goes on to specify the three domains in which it was apparently most critical to function at the “highest level”:

- In the family area – as provider, as the educator of the young, and as the anchor of emotional security and stability.
- In the economic area – as manager, producer, and consumer.
- In the political area – *as the vital cell of an ordered community*, as leader or willing follower in national and international co-operation. [emphasis added] (p. 216)

One sees in this an anatomo-politics of the human body, concerned with people’s capacities for economic productivity (as “provider” and “producer”) and proper pro social dispositions (“emotional security and stability”), melded with the biopolitics of population, most notably captured in the notion that human political existence needed to be reworked so that each individual formed one “vital cell of an ordered community”.

Eugenics as a twentieth-century social movement encompassed a variety of projects ranging from being concerned with fashioning “fitter families” and “better babies” to advocating forced sterilization and racial “purification” policies (Selden, 1999; Kline, 2001). I am applying the term “eugenic” to speak broadly about an interest in rationally planning the quality of a population. This is a theme that is common on an operational level to both racial betterment advocates and public health educators (Rose, 2007). Given the repugnant Nazi policies of racial purity in the background of the 1944 efforts to prepare people for post-conflict reconstruction work, it is ironic to find eugenic themes in the standards for social reconstruction that were presented as antidote and solution to the problems created during the second World War. Nonetheless, if we concern ourselves with the larger cultural formations and discursive regimes that simultaneously enable and limit what it is possible to think and do at any given moment, this should not necessarily be a surprise.[4] Even though the guiding principles for post-conflict reconstruction in this 1944 instance were seemingly humanistic and centered on enhancing human potential, they demonstrate an unsettling compatibility with a eugenic perspective on bio-power that takes population, nation and the productive quality of bodies as foremost concerns.

My purpose in engaging in such an extensive analysis of this one historical document is, as stated previously, to see what it might illuminate about the INEE efforts of the present. To aid this illumination, we can turn to a comment Rose offers on the distance between our present political and biomedical circumstances and the eugenic body that occupied center stage from the nineteenth century through the late twentieth century:

the political rationalities of our present are no longer inspired by the dream of taking charge of the lives of each in the name of the destiny of all ... The ideal of an omniscient social state that would shape, coordinate, and manage the affairs of all sectors of society has fallen into disrepute. The idea of "society" as a single, if heterogenous, domain with a national culture, a national population, a national destiny, coextensive with a national territory and the powers of a national political government has entered a crisis. (2007, p. 62)

If states (and international agencies) are no longer chiefly preoccupied with managing populations en masse, this does not mean that they have abandoned the politics of subjecting life to judgments of value. Rose proposes that "quality is no longer evolutionary fitness but quality of life, the political territory of society gives way to the domesticated spaces of family and community" (p. 64). These shifts seem very much captured in the contrast between the 1944 and 2004 instances of inter-agency collaboration on post-conflict reconstruction. In framing education as "not only a right" but "a necessity that can be *life-saving* and *life-sustaining*" the INEE standards bring to the table a perspective on bio-power that takes life as it is lived in its everyday respects as the object of management, furtherance, and improvement.

INEE documents place great emphasis on community partnership, something that I will be returning to in the following section. However, in reference to the bio-politics of human life that is connected with educational reconstruction post-conflict, it is important to note that with the INEE, *national* community membership and the furtherance of the national social body are no longer the ultimate goals of reconstruction. Quite tellingly, the online overview to the INEE minimum standards notes that they are intended to "give guidance and flexibility in responding to needs at the most important level – the community" (Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, 2007). Harmonization with national education programs is a concern within the minimum standards, though more as a matter of technical optimization of programs than good social governance (in the sense, for example, of facilitating an inclusive, democratic politics). It is worthwhile to note that the mandate to strengthen national education programs appears as merely one of the indicators within the "analysis strategies" to be used in developing "response strategies" (p. 24). In place of the national "corporate" entity, political authority is seen to reside in the local community. "Community participation" is set as one of two standards common to all categories and is defined as "allow[ing] members of an affected population to be heard, empowering them to be part of decision-making processes and enabling them to take direct action on education issues" (Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, 2004, p. 12). With this view of "community" as something to be animated, enabled, and facilitated, we have traveled some distance from Kraus's "ordered community" within which the optimal individual functioning is as a *vital*, constitutive cell. No longer does vitality serve the community; for INEE, community serves vitality.

If, as just proposed, we have identified a fundamental reconfiguration of eugenic body and body politic, the question still stands as to what form of biopolitics is embedded in the notion that post-conflict education needs be "life-saving and life-sustaining". Based on an examination of contemporary biomedicine Nikolas Rose (2007) notes that we are increasingly seeing a "molecularization" of life that blurs the boundaries between treatment and prevention as well as between natural and prosthetic. Rose also points to the restructuring (at least in certain cultural settings), of "health" as no longer simply the avoidance of sickness and premature death, but as corporeal optimization that encompasses a wide range of factors and leads to an overall "well-being". It is in this milieu that notions such as "lifestyle" become imbued with an ethical dimension.

Rose refers to “somatic individuality” as the new model of this kind of subjectivity and proposes that we are increasingly seeing claims for “biological citizenship” and “a universal human right to the protection ... of each human person’s bare life and the dignity of their living vital body” (2001, p. 21). A central aspect of this human rights discourse is that human beings appear not to need to ground their claims for protection on the basis of political and social collectivities, rather merely in the name of their *biological* existence.[5] INEE documents clearly exhibit this new biopolitics in the notion that the life-saving and life-sustaining post-conflict education should provide “physical, psychosocial and cognitive protection” (Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, 2007) – sentiments that also pervade the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. There is a politics of risk management in these protections that could be subject of an article in itself,[6] and for present purposes we can focus on the prevalence in INEE documents of the concept of “psycho-social well-being” as a key indicator of a shift away from an anatomo-politics of the human body centered on docility and productivity. The new politics of life embedded in contemporary post-conflict educational reconstruction can certainly be welcomed for ethically prioritizing the individual, though – cribbing Foucault’s dictum that “everything is dangerous” – we would do well to remain cognizant of the forms of social responsibility that can be lost when the relationship between individual and social bodies is reconfigured to focus nearly exclusively on molecular and corporeal vitality.

Community, Stakeholding, and Governing at a Distance

Community involvement in post-conflict reconstruction and appreciation of local cultural contexts were central concerns of the 1944 inter-agency network. The importance of “different attitudes, different values, and different community resources” (1944, p. 2) is a common theme across Kraus’s volume and the following two discussion questions are representative of the approach taken. These particular questions followed a case study of 1919 Quaker relief work in provisioning rural Serbian villages with agricultural tools, building material, and food and medical supplies. Relief workers in training were asked, among other considerations, to ponder:

4. Is it desirable to co-operate with an established civic committee which has previously had responsibility for some related function, or would you rather develop a new committee to co-operate with your service? ...
5. How does the status of women in a given culture affect their potential contribution to a community service? How can we discover and understand their status within the culture in which our service operates? (1944, p. 47)

The first question usefully directs our attention to the ways that international post-conflict aid has great potential for restructuring local communities. The second can be read as a deep appreciation of the necessity for flexibility and adaptation to local circumstances in reconstruction projects. One might choose to see these two gestures as at odds with one another; however, I think the larger point is that any policy action calibrated on “local context” invariably reconfigures that “context”. [7] In the previous section, I argued that coordination with national-level planning and the national polity had moved from being a matter of good, democratic governance (1944) to a matter of technical optimization (2004). Here, conversely, as I will demonstrate, we have a reverse parallel: cultural context and community involvement move from being mere matters of technical effectiveness (1944) to issues closely linked with social and political governance (2004).

The INEE minimum standards deploy notions of community and participation that help us better understand a set of regulative social mechanisms that are becoming increasingly standardized across the globe. The standards suggest that contemporary reconstruction projects in post-conflict

and chronic crisis situations are efficiently promoting a certain type of state and certain kinds of political rationalities. INEE documents note that community participation in emergency education programs can take symbolic/token or “full” forms, observing that the former is considerably less effective for ensuring lasting, quality programs than the latter. Moreover, alongside measures of program adequacy, INEE carefully specifies a number of key indicators (and provides additional “guidance notes”) to ensure that “emergency-affected community members actively participate in assessing, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the education programme”. Among the procedures that the minimum standards recommend are the formation of “community education committees” that draw their membership from youth and women’s groups, parents and parent organizations, local agencies, and civil society organizations. INEE documents explicitly state that the responsibilities and activities that characterize this community-based approach are to leave an imprint on the affected areas, as such an approach “will help to create structures (if they are not already in place) and strengthen existing structures” (2004, p. 15). The community education committee is set as one of the key stakeholders in emergency education projects, and – in language that seems to be stubbornly determined to bring about its own reality – is charged with working with “the community ... through a participatory grass-roots planning process” that aims to result in a “community-based education action plan” (p. 16).

The “will to community” that pervades the INEE minimum standards is by no means unique in our present day and age. One could quite reasonably point to the volumes of social capital research (e.g. Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003) or even communitarian political philosophy (e.g. Sandel, 1996; Walzer, 1983) to explain the practical and salvational promise that “community” now holds across multiple social domains. It is important, however, to remember that community-based audits and community-based action plans are regulative social mechanisms which embody political rationalities that specify what is proper for both the state and the individual. These mechanisms presume a state that seeks to decentralize decision-making and devolve its authority. In place of intimate involvement in the day-to-day lives of its citizens, this is to be the kind of state that governs at a distance (see, Franklin, Bloch, & Popkewitz, 2003).[8] Community-based politics are clearly predicated on an appreciation of the associational lives of citizens. Nonetheless, the concept of membership, inasmuch as it operates as a human right, also establishes responsibilities and normalizes enthusiasm, initiative, dedication, and perhaps volunteerism as the proper dispositions and behaviors of community “members”. It is ironic that, given the commitment to diversity and pluralism embedded in much of the contemporary rhetoric of community, this mode of social regulation in effect propagates a moral code anchored in principles that are held to be natural, obvious, uncontestable, and appropriately universal (Rose, 2000). We see a politics around membership at play in the INEE minimum standards’ requirement that community education committees be largely formed from existing associational matrices. A broad base of membership becomes the grounds that legitimate actions taken by such entities and, as a result, qualify them as social actions.

The individuals who are to participate in “community involvement” clearly must possess some of the characteristics that Meyer and Jepperson identify as central to the increasingly prevalent modern notion of “agentic actorhood”, notably an “extreme readiness” (2000, p. 107) to act as the authorized agents for broader interests and for other individuals. In this regard, we can cite the INEE mandate that communities willfully – and, in fact, as one of their organizing principles – attend to vulnerable groups that fall within their catchment areas. Through membership, the engaged individual is to be *of* the community, *for* the community, and ought to have the sensibilities and dispositions to match. INEE strategies of coalition-forming and techniques of reconstituting the bases for collective action may turn out to be entirely sound responses to post-

conflict and chronic crisis situations. Nonetheless, it would seem prudent to proceed with an awareness that the virtuous community and the civility that is supposed to accompany it are contestable, idealized creations, as well as forms of governance specific to particular times and places.

Conclusion: States of Exception

Emergencies readily become excuses for intervention. At the outset of this piece, I referred to Giorgio Agamben's concept of the "state of exception" as a way of aligning the post-conflict situation with his argument that through the disruption of "normal" social operations sovereignty establishes itself and its objects. Agamben (1998) argues that control over and transformation of bare life are the fundamental operations of sovereignty, which accordingly positions the concentration camp as a paradigmatic case of modern biopower (c.f., Foucault, 1978). Following Rose (2001; 2007), I have argued that contemporary politics of life represent a different, non-eugenic form of bio-politics, which we see embedded in the INEE minimum standards. Post-conflict and chronic crisis settings afford opportunities for the propagation of a view of life that no longer needs a social body to be transformed into a good life (*eu zēn*) and can instead pivot on notions such as "well-being" for its optimal realization and fulfillment. Nonetheless, engagement with collective social forms clearly remains central, as I have argued above with respect to INEE's community-based features. I have maintained that political technologies and technologies of the self elide one another as education is deployed in emergency situations. The contrast between the 1944 instance of an inter-agency network dedicated to training and developing professional practices and the contemporary instance of a similar phenomenon sheds light on what of consequence is occurring when education is viewed as a life-saving and life-sustaining necessity and when community participation standard number one is simply "participation". We also gain insight into the role that education plays in governing societies, which is not solely through the exercise of the school's mandate to raise children in the proper sorts of ways. Instead, the projects of education, establishing schools, analyzing needs, and evaluating outcomes, etcetera, advance political rationalities and regulative ideals that supervise the textures and meanings of ethical practice.

Notes

- [1]. I am indebted to Amy Shuffelton, Emily Warren, and Carrie Rackers for reading drafts of this article and for discussions on the issues raised here.
- [2]. Both Kraus and Burke later played active roles in reconstruction and relief efforts after World War II - Kraus advised the American military government, was an AFSC delegate to Germany, and was involved with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA); Burke served as the American representative to the Council of Relief Agencies Licensed to Operate in Germany (CRALOG).
- [3]. There are minor textual differences between (Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, 2004) and excerpts from the document that are posted on the INEE website <http://www.ineesite.org/>. The present analysis makes use of both sources.
- [4]. Wendy Kline (2001) offers the provocative argument that the "golden age" of the Eugenics movement in the United States occurred much later than historians typically acknowledge. She maintains that the cultural significance that "good parenting" took on in the 1950s had its roots in the fitter families campaigns of the 1930s, thus positioning eugenics as a much more significant twentieth-century cultural and social movement than is sometimes acknowledged.

- [5]. This is not to say that seventeenth century natural right philosophers (e.g. Locke) didn't appreciate human life, rather that their claims about the entitlements of existence were grounded in concepts other than the "biological".
- [6]. There is extensive literature on the management of risk as a key element of social governance in our present day and age. See, e.g., the journal *Risk & Society* as well as (Beck, 1992, 1999; Ericson, 2005; Lindqvist & Nordänger, 2007; Rose, 1999).
- [7]. One might point to the Heisenberg uncertainty principle as the theoretical warrant for this assertion, though I think it would be equally effective to argue that the contemporary enthrallment with "context" is guided by assumptions about what constitute legitimate "contextual" categories that end up being remarkably continuous with the much critiqued, traditional anthropological notion of "culture" as a reified causal explanatory matrix.
- [8]. See (Callon & Latour, 1981) for the classic exposition of the concept of "governing-at-a-distance".

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About the Contributors

Marian Hodgkin is completing the requirements for a master's degree in International Educational Development at Teachers College, Columbia University. Marian has also been interning with the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies for the past year, supporting the Focal Point for Minimum Standards in activities ranging from trainings to advocacy, strategic planning and website development. Apart from the ever-expanding field of education in emergencies, her research interests include post conflict educational reform, history education and youth-driven peacebuilding initiatives.

Jackie Kirk, PhD is an advisor to the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and a Research Associate/ Consultant at McGill University, Montreal. Her IRC role includes providing technical support to the education and child protection programs of IRC Pakistan, including FEP. Jackie's PhD thesis focused on women teachers in Pakistan, and she continues to focus her research on gender and teachers in education in emergencies, chronic crisis, and early reconstruction. She is an experienced trainer on the Minimum Standards and convenes education activities

Katayon Qahir is working as Monitoring & Evaluation team supervisor in the International Rescue Committee (IRC)'s Female Education Program in Pakistan and a freelance translator K-International (UK based translation agency) and Language Services Unlimited (USA based Translation Company). She was also an English monthly publication Editor in Chief for a year. Her responsibilities at the IRC include writing donor reports, funding proposals, capacity building of the team and monitoring and evaluating the progress and effectiveness of FEP activities.

Noah W. Sobe is an assistant professor in the Cultural and Educational Policy Studies program at Loyola University Chicago where he also serves as the Associate Director of Loyola's Center for Comparative Education. His research focuses on globalization and the historical circulation of educational ideas and practices connected with teaching and learning. Professor Sobe's work has appeared in journals such as *Educational Theory*, *Paedagogica Historica*, *European Education* and at present he is preparing an edited volume that looks at U.S. involvement in post-conflict educational reconstruction projects from 1898 to the present. [E-mail: nsobe@luc.edu.]

