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The American University in Cairo

Community Engagement and Civic Participation in Education: The Role of Education in
Advancing Social Capital among Local Communities

A Case Study of USAID Funded Program to Basic Education in Egypt; The
New School Program (NSP)- 2000-2008

A Thesis Submitted by

Yasmine Ali Mohamed Ibrahim

To Department of Political Science

May, 2016

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for

The degree of Master of Arts

Has been approved by

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22/05/2016

Date



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May 23, 2016

Date

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Introduction

Democracies believe that the cultivation of a culture of civic participation is vital for political institutions to survive and for the sustainability of democracy itself, and that community involvement in education is an effective model to foster this type of culture with. Accordingly, this thesis will examine the role of civic participation in education in building the capacities of rural communities and advancing behaviors of democracy through the formation of a culture of social capital among them. Social capital is created and fostered by capitalizing on the human aspect of the community, bonding behaviors of its members with one another, and bridging the community's newly-developed organizational and associational skills with other supporting external actors and with the policy making level¹. Meanwhile, the basic premise of most theories² of modern education emphasizes the primary role of culture in knowledge construction, and that education is affected by and integrated within the surrounding context. This knowledge, shaped by children through active interactions with their teachers, parents, school principals, and community conditions, helps form their views of the world, and produces active and responsible citizens nurtured through modes of education that pay respect to their surrounding socio-cultural and economic conditions. In parallel, communities exhibit and sustain democratic behaviors by engaging in and ensuring the success of the educational process itself, which ultimately leads to their empowerment.

As in the case with this thesis, the formation of social capital could be challenged by constraints that are both existent on the micro-community level, such as poverty conditions, impeding customs and traditions, such as resistance towards the education of girls for example, and other constraints that are posed by the wider policy level. Furthermore, leveraging efforts that aim at

¹ Roger V. Patulny, Gunnar Lind Haase Svendsen, (2007) "Exploring the social capital grid: bonding, bridging, qualitative, quantitative", International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, Vol. 27 Iss: 1/2, pp.32 - 51

² Albert Bandura's The Social Cognitive Theory (SCT), Foucault's theories on modern education, Dewey's theory on Progressive Education, and others referred to later in this thesis.

changing the human behavior and making investments on the human capital is complicated and does not make the process self-evident, for community interactions may not respond well or may continue to exhibit internal barriers to the creation of such culture. In addition, community participation may advance social capital on the local community level, but its scope may not impact the wider policy making arena. Similarly, and especially under authoritarian regimes, education may in fact lead to a decrease in the creation of a culture of civic and political participation. Accordingly, a prerequisite investigation of the level of “readiness” to the creation of social capital in a given community is central to the analysis. Furthermore, poorer communities, such as in the case with the sample village of this thesis, tend to already exhibit signs of social capital; the kind of capital that helps them “get by”; by their very own nature of being poor. Whether the existence of “some” level of social capital, even if a limited one, is a prerequisite to the advancement of social capital among these communities, and whether it is also a prerequisite to the success of a development project, or not, is going to be researched in this study. Needless to say, I define limited social capital in this context as either limited in its resources, limited in its impact, or both.

Hence, the research question of this study is as follows: To what extent does community engagement and civic participation in education advance social capital and develop democratic behaviors among local communities in Egypt? From this main question, other questions that I have addressed in my field work on donor-funded community based projects to basic education in Egypt follow; how did participating in an educational project impact the community? What is the extent to which community behaviors have changed as a result of this participation? Does community participation ensure the sustainability of the project? What types of democratic practices were introduced early on in the project, and have remained sustainable past the duration of the program, if any? How do community members view the role of the state in education? How does community participation enhance the educational conditions in local communities? I am hypothesizing that community-driven education programs are successful in helping to advance social capital among local communities, and that this success eventually leads to the creation of democracy among them. This hypothesis is based on the profound relationship between social capital and democracy. This relationship is evident in theoretical literature, such

as Robert D. Putnam's work³, that links the strengthening of social networks among communities and one another with the advancement of social capital, and that this advancement leads to a culture of participation, which eventually leads to democracy.

Accordingly, this thesis will tackle important key words included between education, social capital, and democracy, and their relationships between communities and community participation, governments, rural development, gender roles, gender disparities in the society and in education, development aid, as well as other key areas. The research question will be answered and the hypothesis will be tested by conducting a research that examines the role of the New Schools Program (NSP), a comprehensive School Based Reform (SBR) project, in advancing social capital and evolving behaviors of democracy on the local level through the engagement of the community in this educational project. USAID, with the help of CARE being the main implementing agency, has sponsored NSP from the year 2000 to 20008 at the governorates of Minya, Bny Suwwāf, and Sūhaj in Upper Egypt. The program is commended for exhibiting exemplary signs of involving communities and parents in the educational process by providing education in areas where children lacked access to education, and where girls in specific have not been attending school, and by offering long term direct training of teachers with strong follow up. Most importantly, the program is primarily commended for changing local perceptions towards the importance of the education of girls. The program also created decentralization through school finances by collecting community contributions of land, material, and financial donations, providing teachers' trainings, creating boards of trustees (BOTs) and Parents' Associations (PAs) with women representation within them, and exceeding its first targets for students' enrollment, where it reached a cumulative enrollment figure of 44,197; a 2.87% overachievement over its performance target. The Community mobilization component in NSP was very strong, and the involvement of the community from the beginning created a strong sense of belonging and achievement among community members and one another. My study will focus on the local village of Al Berka, which falls under the Mallawi Center of the Minya governorate, and where the NSP project has established 3 out of the 4 schools in the village that are still functional and sustainable till date.

³ Explained in details in Chapters 1 and 2.

Meanwhile, a November 7, 2015, a news report has revealed that a police case was filed against a local girls' school in Minya for possessing thirty nine movies of adult content on a school computer⁴. In the rather traditional and rural Bny Mazar, this case raises endless questions on the influences of community involvement on the educational process in rural communities, but similarly, sheds light on the importance of local communities in setting not only educational frameworks, but also regulating, maintaining, and influencing local civic traditions and cultures and integrating them within the community-based teaching curriculum. On another controversial note, and in relation to the State's role in education, national news had recently broadcasted the refusal of the appointment of a Coptic school principal in Bny Mazar Secondary technical school for Girls by community members from the school⁵. The appointed principal in question was officially promoted to assume this position by The Ministry of Education (MOE), and the refusal came from the side of the students, some teachers, and other members of the school community. Needless to say, this again raises questions on the values that schools and communities instill in their students, but more importantly, on the "directions" that the State should adhere to to combat and regulate community violations in education, as well as on its role in spreading about notions of acceptance and refusal to racism based on religion, gender, or any other factor. Should the Egyptian State choose not to take affirmative actions to proceed with its decisions, dilution of the basic principles of co-existence will be the result, especially at the tender ages of younger generations whose values are still being formulated. On the other hand, and on a more positive note, a news report on March 6, 2016 had announced that the Governorate of Minya has introduced classrooms on Monumental Heritage within the schools' curriculum in order to increase awareness of monuments and ancient heritage among the governorate's school children⁶. Started by the Alatona Museum, this initiative is implemented in collaboration with

⁴ Hassan Abdel Ghaffar. "فضيحة. ضبط كمبيوتر يحوى 39 فيلما إباحيا بكنترول مدرسة ثانوى بنات فى المنيا". *Al Youm Al Sabae*. 7 November, 2015. <http://www.youm7.com/story/2015/11/7/%D9%81%D8%B6%D9%8A%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%B6%D8%A8%D8%B7-%D9%83%D9%85%D8%A8%D9%8A%D9%88%D8%AA%D8%B1-%D9%8A%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%89-39-%D9%81%D9%8A%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7-%D8%A5%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AD%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D8%A8%D9%83%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%84-%D9%85%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%A9-%D8%AB%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%89-%D8%A8/2428394#.VwJJS1IYu2k>

⁵ Alaa Ibrahim. "البوابة" تحقق فى فتنة "مديرة مدرسة بني مزار". *Al Bawaba News*. March 1, 2016, accessed March 15, 2016. <http://www.albawabnews.com/1799652>

⁶ Kamal, Theresa. "مدارس المنيا تبدأ تفعيل «الحصص المتحفية» لتوعية الأطفال". *Al Masry Al Youm*. March 06, 2016, accessed March 08, 2016. <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/905141>.

the MOE. While the report did not mention the size or impact that the initiative had targeted and/or made, it is a positive example of State and third party collaborations that aims to impact school children's awareness and ownership of their surrounding culture, and change their behaviors by increasing their desire to want to visit museums more.

Needless to say, the pathway to a culturally-supported and culturally-sensitive educational process is both driven and influenced by the surrounding smaller culture, such as with the first example, as well as by actions and initiatives driven by the wider national level and by the role of the State, such as the case with the second and third examples.

Chapter 1

Education for Democracy and Social Capital

This chapter discusses the intricate natures of and between education and democracy, education for democracy, and democratic education, through the lens of the progression of educational theories from traditional modes into more modern ones. It also defines the natures, operational levels, and indicators of social capital in rural and/or poor communities, and how social capital can best be nurtured through the frameworks of education.

Education for Democracy?

In 1992, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America advocated “democratic education as a way to advance the region’s economic competitiveness and in line with democratic governments”⁷. The European Democratic Education Community formally recognizes “Democratic Education” as one that is anti-hierarchal, self-determined, and produces a learning community based on equality and mutual respect.”⁸ This brings up vital questions about the relationship between education and democracy; whether education is a pre requisite for democracy, democracy is a pre requisite for education, or whether the relationship is mutually exclusive. It also brings up questions on how education, as a non-singular standalone entity of

⁷ Reimers, Fernando. “Civic education when democracy is in flux: The impact of empirical research on policy and practice in Latin America”. *Citizenship and Teacher Education*. Volume 3 Number 2. December 2007. <http://www.citized.info/pdf/external/Complete%20draft%20Vs.%203%20Dec.%202008%20web%20edition.pdf#page=9>

⁸ “What Is Democratic Education?” *European Democratic Education Community*. Accessed January 2016. <http://www.eudec.org/index.html>.

mere pedagogical practices and knowledge transmission, relates to the community and the rest of the world.

Relationships between education and democracy, education for democracy, and what democratic education is, invites us to explore different educational theories and their transfer from traditional methods of learning to more modern ones to fit newer demands by societies and world global orders. This, as backed up by several theories explained below, feed into the sustainability of democracy itself. It also invites us to look, even if briefly, on the authoritarian modes of education, the role of local communities, if any, within them, and how they eventually fit into larger authoritarian modes of governance. This contrast is important in order to clearly understand how the inclusion, or lack of inclusion, of the community in the educational process helps impact the cultivation of an overall civic culture in the community. Needless to say, schools play an instrumental role in the life experiences of students and how “prepared” for democracy they are.

From an educational theory perspective, Michel Foucault's studies on sexuality, punishment, and the human sciences, have given theorists a whole new set of concepts that were made relevant to education. His work invites us to look beyond pragmatic policy making to investigate the theoretical frameworks behind the rise from authoritative to more democratic modes of education through a shift in the relationships and modes of power. Foucault provides important explanations to the rise and expansion of the schooling system⁹. Traditionally, schools were perceived as “citizens” of the community, where they acted as a center for community engagement where local plays were being performed, and community members would gather for collective decision making. The schools themselves were governed “democratically” via responsibilities given to elected school members by the community. No matter how decisions were made, students learnt about democracy through the ways that decisions were taken within

⁹ Dreyfuss, Hubert and Rabinow, Paul. *Michael Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Second Edition With an Afterword by and an Interview with Michel Foucault. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago. 1982. Second edition 1983. PDF E-book
http://monoskop.org/images/d/d4/Dreyfus_Hubert_L_Rabinow_Paul_Michel_Foucault_Beyond_Structuralism_and_Hermeneutics_2nd_ed.pdf

in their schools¹⁰. Nevertheless, schools were instruments where hierarchy was stressed; for example, the closed-classroom method had failed to teach students about democracy at all. Paulo Freire's book "The Pedagogy of the Oppressed", discusses the "banking" concept of education as a tool for oppression. Freire points out that traditional modes of education isolate learners from their surrounding communities, and turn them into "containers," to be "filled" by their teachers. This is where education becomes an act of "depositing", where students are the "depositories", and teachers are the "depositors". It thus leaves no room for individual thinking, and accordingly, no room for individual or collective decision making. Similarly, L.H. Ehman¹¹ and J.S. Leming's¹² extensive review of the political socialization literature found out that closed climates promoted authoritarian values and had a negative impact on efficacy and participation, while open classroom climates promoted democratic values, enhanced learning effectiveness, and encouraged participation. According to J.S. Leming¹³, the demands to face modern difficulties had required the shifts in power between traditional modes of knowledge-absorption, such as from the church, to more progressive modes of instruction; a dilution of the "blocks-of-power". In fact, Foucault expected a more linear future student-teacher relationship on university campuses, as well as has expected campuses to play an important political role in producing students that are fit to meet newer world demands.

Similar to Freire, John Dewey has critiqued anti-democratic modes of education. Dewey's concept of Progressive Education was a direct "counterpoint to the 'traditional' or didactic education of the schools of the early 20th century"¹⁴. Progressive Education's main purpose is to turn schools into active agencies for the advancement of a more democratic society, where

¹⁰ Koliba, Christopher. "Democracy and Education Schools and Communities Initiative Conceptual Framework and Preliminary Findings". May 8, 2000, accessed January 02, 2016. <http://www.uvm.edu/~dewey/articles/Democonc.html>

¹¹ Ehman, L.H., "The American School in the Political Socialization Process". *Review of Educational Research*. Vol. 50 no. 1 99-119. Published by: American Educational Research Association. Spring 1980, accessed January, 2016. <http://rer.sagepub.com/content/50/1/99.short>

¹² Leming, J.S., "The Influence of Contemporary Issues Curricula on School-age Youth". *Review of Research in Education*. Vol. 18, pp. 111-161. Published by: American Educational Research Association. 1992, accessed January, 2016. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1167298>

¹³ Leming, J.S., "The Influence of Contemporary Issues Curricula on School-age Youth". <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1167298>

¹⁴ John Dewey. *Experience and Education*. (New York: Free Press; Reprint edition July 1, 1997).

schools are tools that provide learners with the necessities of their community life. It also comprises respect for diversity and the development of critically and socially engaged citizens with the aim of engaging all members of the community for the attainment of common goals. Along with other educational reformers, Dewey stressed on the importance of progressive education in filling the gaps between traditional versus modern modes of education in order to learn the “arts” of democratic participation.

Nevertheless, Progressive Education has been accused of focusing on the nature of subjects being taught as opposed to “how” they are being taught, which is what ultimately affects learners’ political attitudes¹⁵. In addition, George Counts¹⁶ argues that the rise of progressive education is classist and emerges from the influences of the upper middle class on educational theorists¹⁷. Similarly, the work of left educational theorist Henry Giroux criticized earlier leftist theorists; Dewey and others, who were only concerned with the hierarchical system within the schools to benefit the society’s growing capitalist drives, while making class a central part of the analysis. Needless to say, Giroux’s work on class, race, and gender, is cited in many educational postmodern discourses. In contrast to his predecessors, his work has highlighted the importance of the society’s socio-economic conditions on the educational process and how they impact learners’ attitudes. Giroux calls for a new and alternative public sphere, where educators must acquire¹⁸ “a critical understanding of the language, modes of experience, and cultural forms of the students with whom they work which must be historically situated and politically analyzed in connection with wider economic and social determinants”¹⁹. In addition, Giroux attributes the deskilling of teachers' work to be a result of technocratic approaches between teacher preparations, classroom pedagogy, and teacher training programs that offer teachers instructional methods that do not provide room for critical thinking. In a separate study, it will be interesting to explore how Giroux had shifted his work in the 1990s towards a more popular culture rhetoric; from Disney’s “The Mouse that Roared; Disney and the Politics of Innocence,” and the

¹⁵ Ehman, L.H., "The American School in the Political Socialization Process".
<http://rer.sagepub.com/content/50/1/99.short>

¹⁶ George S. Counts. *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* (New York: John Day Company, 1932)- p. 7

¹⁷ Mark Hudson. "Education for Change: Henry Giroux and Transformative Critical Pedagogy." *Solidarity Organization*. Accessed December 2015. <https://www.solidarity-us.org/node/1734>.

¹⁸ He bases his later two books on *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life* (1988) and *Teachers as Intellectuals* (also 1988)

¹⁹ Mark Hudson, <https://www.solidarity-us.org/node/1734>.

distortion of children's culture, to portrayal of white versus colored criminals in contemporary Hollywood movies, which has all been examined broader U.S cultural politics.

On Social Capital and Education

To begin with, there are several definitions of what social capital is, but that all share common features. Robert D. Putnam defines it as “those features of social organizations, such as networks of individuals or households, and the associated norms and values that create externalities for the community as whole”²⁰. Coleman defines it as “a variety of different entities which all consist of some aspect of social structure, and which facilitate certain actions of actors- whether personal or corporate actors, within the structure”²¹. A third definition by P. Bourdieu states that it is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”²². Despite the variations, the 3 definitions inhere the value of having shared “networks” of trust, values, and beliefs, among citizens and one another, to define the essence of what social capital is²³.

²⁰ Hoy, Wayne K., and Cecil G. Miskel. *Educational Administration, Policy, and Reform: Research and Measurement*. IAP, January 1 2004. p. 254.

https://books.google.com.eg/books?id=mB1owBKce8QC&pg=PA247&lpg=PA247&dq=Hoy,+Wayne+K.,+and+Cecil+G.+Miskel.+Educational+Administration,+Policy,+and+Reform:+Research+and+Measurement+online&source=bl&ots=8R1Jh3LYy6&sig=N6sUjgrj_H25xPeCA66Rn5skYRc&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwix7JC7iffLAhUCbhQKHZmdA28Q6AEIJAC#v=onepage&q=Hoy%2C%20Wayne%20K.%2C%20and%20Cecil%20G.%20Miskel.%20Educational%20Administration%2C%20Policy%2C%20and%20Reform%3A%20Research%20and%20Measurement%20online&f=false

²¹ Hoy, Wayne K., and Cecil G. Miskel. *Educational Administration, Policy, and Reform: Research and Measurement*.

https://books.google.com.eg/books?id=mB1owBKce8QC&pg=PA247&lpg=PA247&dq=Hoy,+Wayne+K.,+and+Cecil+G.+Miskel.+Educational+Administration,+Policy,+and+Reform:+Research+and+Measurement+online&source=bl&ots=8R1Jh3LYy6&sig=N6sUjgrj_H25xPeCA66Rn5skYRc&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwix7JC7iffLAhUCbhQKHZmdA28Q6AEIJAC#v=onepage&q=Hoy%2C%20Wayne%20K.%2C%20and%20Cecil%20G.%20Miskel.%20Educational%20Administration%2C%20Policy%2C%20and%20Reform%3A%20Research%20and%20Measurement%20online&f=false

²² Bourdieu, P. *The forms of capital*. In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York, Greenwood). 241-258.

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm>

²³ Hoy, Wayne K., and Cecil G. Miskel.

https://books.google.com.eg/books?id=mB1owBKce8QC&pg=PA247&lpg=PA247&dq=Hoy,+Wayne+K.,+and+Cecil+G.+Miskel.+Educational+Administration,+Policy,+and+Reform:+Research+and+Measurement+online&source=bl&ots=8R1Jh3LYy6&sig=N6sUjgrj_H25xPeCA66Rn5skYRc&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwix7JC7iffLAhUCbhQKHZmdA28Q6AEIJAC#v=onepage&q=Hoy%2C%20Wayne%20K.%2C%20and%20Cecil%20G.%20Miskel.%20Educational%20Administration%2C%20Policy%2C%20and%20Reform%3A%20Research%20and%20Measurement%20online&f=false

But why is social capital, or connecting those networks of values and beliefs, important? While Putnam refers to social capital as an attribute of the social structure in which a person is embedded within and is part of, and while stressing that social capital is "not the private property of any of the persons who benefit from it"²⁴, its importance lies not only in the changes it collectively creates, but also in ensuring the personal welfare of each singular individual; such as ensuring security from crime, improving health conditions, effects on personal happiness, and other²⁵. This is mainly by virtue of social capital being a common and shared good.

In "Bowling Alone"²⁶, Putnam has broken down social capital into 5 main practical dimensions that comprise the structural and cognitive elements of social capital, as follows²⁷: 1) Groups and Networks 2) Trust and Solidarity 3) Collective Action and Cooperation 4) Social Cohesion and Inclusion 5) Information and Communication. In his attempt to find out why American civic culture has been disengaged, he then laid out 14 indicators for social capital that he examined state-by-state as follows. Needless to say, while research does not show exact transformational indicators except for the below, Putnam's social capital once more bases its essence in the important concept of "trust".

hQKHZmdA28Q6AEIJjAC#v=onepage&q=Hoy%20Wayne%20K.%20and%20Cecil%20G.%20Miskel.%20Educational%20Administration%20Policy%20and%20Reform%3A%20Research%20and%20Measurement%20online&f=false

²⁴ Putnam, R. D. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital", *The Journal of Democracy*. 1995 6:1
<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/detoc/assoc/bowling.html>

²⁵ Saegert, Susan, Thompson, J. Philip and Warren, R. Mark. "Social Capital and Poor Communities". *A volume in the Ford Foundation Series on Asset Building*. November 2005. <https://www.russellsage.org/publications/social-capital-and-poor-communities>

²⁶ RD. Putnam Bowling Alone. *The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. (New York: Simon & Schuster; 2000)

²⁷ Rowland, Stan. *Bowling Alone by Robert Putnam, Simon and Schuster, and multiple articles on Social Capital Measurement*. November 08. Accessed May, 2016.
https://www.google.com.eg/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwjOlsLi2eDMAhUC1hQKHwz_DzoQFggaMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.neighborhoodtransformation.net%2Farticles%2Fworkinggroup_files%2FTrust%2520%26%2520Social%2520Capital%2FBowling%2520Alone%2520by%2520Robert%2520Putnam.doc&usq=AFQjCNGLmJowXjSelj12IDMZ-fLcj7Qwfg&sig2=H2Cj9ieg3xT7jxl3ayhVzA&cad=rja

| Measure ²⁸ Of: | State Range |
|--|-------------|
| Community Organization | |
| Served on committee of local organization in the last 10 years. (%) | |
| Served as an officer on some club or organization in the last year (%) | |
| Civic and social organizations per 1,000 population | |
| Mean number of club meetings attended in last year | |
| Mean number of group memberships per capita | |
| Engagement in Public Affairs | |
| Turnout in last two presidential elections | |
| Attended public meetings on town or school affairs in last year (%) | |
| Community Volunteerism | |
| Number of non-profits(501c3) organizations per 1,000 population | |
| Mean number of times worked on community projects last year. | |
| Community of Informal Sociability | |
| Agree that I spend a lot of time visiting friends | |
| Mean number of times entertained at home in last year | |
| Social Trust | |
| Agree that most people can be trusted | |
| Agree that most people are honest | |

Most importantly, social capital is significant in the rural development context and in poorer communities; both Putnam and the World Bank (WB) have emphasized that it is essential to build trust with among poor people and one another in order to achieve transformation. In general, rural development rates remain unsatisfactory in the face of globalization and neoliberal universal tendencies, and where public infrastructures, services, and government spending on public welfare are being cut down; leaving the rural suffering and more marginalized. This fear was mentioned earlier in the 2000; if one looks at Egypt's Human Development Report-2000-, there was a mention of social capital being "weakened" in face of increased globalization and exposure to mass media, which was feared to pose a threat to bonding of community members

²⁸ Rowland, Stan. *Bowling Alone by Robert Putnam, Simon and Schuster, and multiple articles on Social Capital Measurement.*

https://www.google.com.eg/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwjOlsLi2eDMAhUC1hQKHWz_DzoQFggaMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.neighborhoodtransformation.net%2Farticles%2Fworkinggroup_files%2FTrust%2520%2520%26%2520Social%2520Capital%2FBowling%2520Alone%2520by%2520Robert%2520Putnam.doc&usq=AFQjCNGLMJowXjSelj12IDMZ-fLcj7Qwfg&sig2=H2Cj9icg3xT7jxl3ayhVzA&cad=rja

with one another²⁹. Accordingly, there is a need for citizens of rural areas to organize; “civic engagement and self-reliance is considered unanimously as positive in the debate”³⁰. In this context, social capital refers to the growing space between citizens and the State, thus, inducing the restructuring of the governance system for rural and marginalized areas to be autonomous³¹. Similarly, Bourdieu (in 1979 and 1986), Putnam (in 1993 and 2000), and Coleman (in 1988) emphasized the importance of tying social bonds to achieve the wellbeing and economic efficacy of societies in face of social inequalities, and linked the importance of social capital with the importance of civic and voluntary local organizations within a community. In this context, William J. Wilson's work³² warns of “social isolation”, which basically means that poorer communities may fall into the pitfall of working on their own with no aid from or association with the external world. This state of isolation paves the way to Kornhauser's³³ theory of cultural disorganization, which has had a long-term impact on criminological theory and research. This disorganization in the community is characterized by conditions of distrust, political instability, and poverty, among others features. In fact, there is evidence that culturally disorganized poor communities provide a good basis for crime, deviance, and violence among them. Accordingly, the formation of associational bonds within the community as well as its interaction with the outside world is both safe and beneficial. In the rural context, this term is referred to as “rural marginalization”, where by it comprises agricultural marginalization, unemployment, the

²⁹ Institute of National Planning. *Egypt Human Development Report-2000/2001*- Printed in the Arab Republic of Egypt- 2001 http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/egypt_2001_en.pdf

³⁰ Wiesinger, Georg. “The importance of social capital in rural development, networking and decision-making in rural areas”. 2015, accessed February, 2016. p. 43-56. <https://rga.revues.org/354>

³¹ M. Foucault.– ““Governmentality”, trans. Rosi Braidotti and revised by Colin Gordon, in *Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds), The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 87-104.

³² William Julius Wilson and J. Rubert Sampson, *Toward a Theory of Race, Crime, and Urban Inequality*. Edited by Shaun L. Gabbidon, Helen Taylor Greene. (Routledge, Great Britain, 2005).

³³ R. R. Kornhauser. *Social Sources of Delinquency - an Appraisal of Analytic Models*. (University of Chicago Press. Chicago, IL. 1978)

shutting down of farm enterprises, social exclusion and rural poverty, environmental degradation, dilution of local identities, among others³⁴.

Social capital features both the cultures and traditions embedded within the community, as well as the physical conditions and characteristics that the community falls within and possesses, such as local schools, sports clubs and centers, and religious homes. Especially among poorer communities, these relationships of trust and partnerships do not directly or solely impact or improve conditions of poverty and development; however, they invest in the human capital aspect between members of the community and one another, and between members of the community and other supporting organizations (mosques, churches, etc.), that eventually induces communal change. Furthermore, it capitalizes on existing community behaviors in order to increase the community's organizational, associational, and cooperation levels so that the community is empowered to come up with innovative ideas to solve its own problems as much as its capacity can, and within what the overall larger policy framework allows.

Social capital analytically operates under 3 levels, with each building an important role in the formation of a social culture: the first is within communities, second, across communities, and third, the ties built with other public institutions. The first level, which takes place within the community, aims at capitalizing on people's resources and community associations through "bonding" them with one another. Historically, poorer people have been proven to rely on each other and on their social networks for survival and assistance³⁵. This is referred to as "survival" social capital. Though this mode is under assault for its futility in leading to any positive community transformations, it still remains a characteristic of poorer communities; the kind of social capital that helps people "get by", as Xavie de Souza Briggs puts it³⁶. However, to reach real foundations for development, survival capital has to be associated with the possession of strong community associations, such as schools and local business. These associations help empower each member individually, help improve the conditions of vital sectors such as

³⁴ Wiesinger, Georg. "The importance of social capital in rural development, networking and decision-making in rural areas". *Journal of Alpine Research*. 2015, p. 43-56. Accessed February, 2016. <https://rga.revues.org/354>

³⁵ Warren, Mark R., Thompson, J. Phillip Thompson, and Saegert, Suzan. "The Role of Social Capital in Combating Poverty". The Russell Sage Foundation. Chapter 1.

https://www.russellsage.org/sites/all/files/Saegert_chapter1_pdf.pdf

³⁶ Briggs, Zavier De Souza. "Social Capital and the Cities: Advice to Change Agents". Adopted and printed from *The National Civic Review*. Presented at an International Workshop on Community Building, The Rockefeller Foundation, Bellagio, Italy. October 1997. <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/saguaro/pdfs/SKandCities.pdf>

education, and help induce community leaders that represent the community in external conditions. On school reform in poorer communities, Pedro Noguera states that poor and illiterate parents have little voice in the betterment of the educational conditions of their local schools³⁷. However, if they organize themselves, impact can take place.

The second level that social capital operates under is to “bridge” the gaps between internally built social capital and extend it to outside communities in order to achieve a wider collective good. There are 4 types to this level that are essential to successful bridging; bridging within poor communities and themselves, bridging between low income communities, forging connections between the privileged and affluent and the poor, and fourth, connecting communities to the national level. Once again, Noguera examines the good this bridging does on the educational level, for parental-organized and collaborative efforts from and between different neighborhoods can bring about educational reform in terms of an increase in educational resources, bringing about newer ideas, and gaining increased political support to achieve educational reform.

The third operational level for social capital is to create what is referred to as “synergy” between social capital and public institutions. This synergy is used to “characterize the opposite situation in which local organizations, economic actors, and state institutions work together for positive developmental outcomes”³⁸. In truth, development is most successful when the government responds and cooperates positively with local initiatives and demands, as opposed to responding with negligence, indifference, or viewing poorer communities as of posing national threats. Furthermore, governments may not respond well because they are too “detached” from local needs³⁹. Similarly, parent-organizing movements that work on inducing educational reform can

³⁷ Noguera, Pedro A. “The Politics of School Reform: A Broader and Bolder Approach to Newark”. *Berkeley Review of Education*. (2011). <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/9mj097nv>

³⁸ Evans, Peter. “Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation” 1995, and Woolcock, Michael. “Social Capital and Economic Development: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework.” 1998, in Warren, Mark R., Thompson, J. Phillip Thompson, and Saegert, Suzan. “The Role of Social Capital in Combating Poverty”. *The Russell Sage Foundation*. Chapter 1. https://www.russellsage.org/sites/all/files/Saegert_chapter1_pdf.pdf

³⁹ Cortez, Albert. “Power and Preservance: Organizing for Change in Texas”. *In Strategies for School Equity: Creating Productive Schools in a Just Society*. (New Haven Conn: Yale University Press. 1998)

work best to overcome these conditions. Accordingly, synergy better performs when change is inflicted from the bottom up and not from the top down⁴⁰.

Needless to say, a combination of all 3 operational levels needs to take place in order to bring about social capital and achieve needed social transformations. While all 3 are important, a basic and very important foundation of achieving the first level, which is the bonding of community members and their resources with one another, is essential for any transformation to take place. Especially for extremely poor communities, it is sometimes sufficient to only operate under; both because of the limits that the community represents and the lack of response of public institutions to the poor.

Noguera sees education as a perfect medium to achieve a culture of social capital with⁴¹. Similarly, Coleman and Hoffer in 1987, and Braatz and Putnam in 1996, have shown substantial proof that family, community, and State involvement in education, improves educational outcomes. In fact, the very first known direction towards social capital in its modern sense was made in the context of its relevance and importance for education⁴², and in 1998, Coleman contributed the first practical evidence of the relationship between social capital and the rates for school dropouts⁴³. Social capital in education exists in the social networks between the family, school, and the rest of the community that are important for student success. This network takes place in three fundamental ways: children and students exercise social capital skills, such as participation, schools provide opportunities and mediums for shared community activity, and finally, students learn how to be responsible citizens of their community through means of civil education⁴⁴. In Nigeria, studies have shown that the involvement of organizations, such as Parent

⁴⁰ Warren, Mark R., Thompson, J. Phillip Thompson, and Saegert, Suzan. "The Role of Social Capital in Combating Poverty". https://www.russellsage.org/sites/all/files/Saegert_chapter1_pdf.pdf

⁴¹

Noguera, Pedro. "Social Capital and the Education of Immigrant Students: Categories and Generalizations *Sociology of Education*". *Sociology of Education*. American Sociological Association. Vol. 77, No. 2 (Apr., 2004), pp. 180-183. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3649386>

⁴² Lyda Judson Hanifan provided the first known definition of social capital in 1916 by discussing the rural school as a general educational and social center

⁴³ Coleman, James S. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 94, Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure. The University of Chicago Press (1988), pp. S95-S120. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2780243>

⁴⁴ "Social Capital and Education". *The World Bank*. 2011. <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTTSOCIALCAPITAL/0,,contentMDK:20186584~menuPK:418214~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:401015,00.html>

Teacher Associations, had significantly improved the local school structure and increased school enrollments⁴⁵. In addition, family social capital, such as parents helping and encouraging children with their homework, can be of influence against the negative impacts of the family's low socio-economic status on the children's academic and school achievements⁴⁶. However, social capital in education cannot substitute for the need for public funding, nor can perform and improve without an integrated system of school financing in order to maintain facilities, school quality, resources, and necessary maintenance⁴⁷.

In "Making Democracy Work"⁴⁸ Putnam explored the contexts needed for the formation of effective democratic institutions that eventually leads into economic growth. Social capital can serve as an important basis to inflict wider political changes. He sees that participation creates better governance, and hence, better democracy, based on the profound relationship between social capital and institutional performance. Putnam's work tells us that governments that work better are the ones that have a more lively associational community interacting with them in their respective regions. To achieve good governance, however, lays a prerequisite and strong connection between associational participation and social capital themselves. In Putnam's analysis, civic associations, especially the horizontal ones, are indicators of high citizens-community collaborations; what he refers to as associational collaborations. In his analysis, this is essential to build a generation of social capital, and eventually, enrich the quality of the political life in a given society. On the other hand, Ester Fuchs, Robert Shapiro, and Loraine Minnite, argue that while social capital is an important foundation, it does not compensate for the role that political institutions need to fill in order to alleviate the conditions of poorer communities. Accordingly, investing in social capital that excludes political representation

⁴⁵ The World Bank. 2011.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTTSOCIALCAPITAL/0,,contentMDK:20186584~menuPK:418214~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:401015,00.html>

⁴⁶ Ibid

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTTSOCIALCAPITAL/0,,contentMDK:20186584~menuPK:418214~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:401015,00.html>

⁴⁷ Ibid

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTTSOCIALCAPITAL/0,,contentMDK:20186584~menuPK:418214~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:401015,00.html>

⁴⁸ Robert D. Putnam. *Making Democracy Work*. (United States of America. Princeton University Press. 1993)

groups from poorer and smaller communities, such as community parties and unions, does not provide fair representation of these groups on the wider political level⁴⁹.

In conclusion: Education has shifted from traditional modes into more progressive ones that are more sensitive to citizens' socio economic backgrounds and that fit newer global demands. By token of its nature, social capital serves both individual and collective goods, and its formation helps people bond, bridge, and synergize their efforts with the rest of the world, and helps disrupt deviance and crime in poorer communities. Most importantly, there is substantial evidence that family, community, and State involvement in education improves educational conditions.

⁴⁹ Susan Saegert, J. Phillip Thompson, Chapter 2
https://www.russellsage.org/sites/all/files/Saegert_chapter1_pdf.pdf

Chapter 2

Participation, Governments, and Education

The second chapter discusses the evolution of the concept of participation and its relationship with governments from a theoretical perspective. It defines what a community is, and explains the forms of participation that are latent within one. In addition, it explains the different types of participation in education, and the importance and challenges associated with this participation in the educational context.

Participation and Governments

Democracies realize that “their formal political institutions will not function well or last long unless their citizens have democratic skills and values, that such skills and values must be cultivated deliberately; and that universal public education provides an opportunity to do so”⁵⁰. For example, in the aftermath of its 1910 Revolution, Mexico reorganized its schooling system to promote equality, secularization, and good civic “character” for all students; and with the increase of political pluralism in 2001, Mexico introduced a new mandatory course entitled “Civic and Ethical Formation”⁵¹. Accordingly, it is important to define what participation is, and identify what forms of a civic and political culture of participation is latent within a democratic system. The term participation has gained a wide-spread fame during the late years of the 1960s. In the U.S. the anti-poverty program included a provision for “maximum feasible participation”. In France, Charles De Gaulle has discredited both liberalism and communism, and opted for a third alternative: “honorable and practical association”⁵². In Britain, the 1969 A.M. Skeffington report on Public Participation in Planning had given the concept of participation its consent.

⁵⁰ Cohen, Jonathan, Pickeral, Terry, and Levine, Peter. “The Foundation for Democracy: Promoting Social, Emotional, Ethical, Cognitive Skills and Dispositions in K-12 Schools”. *Interamerican Journal of Education for Democracy*. Vol 3, No. 1 (April, 2010).

http://www.schoolclimate.org/climate/documents/policy/foundation_for_democracy.pdf

⁵¹ Cohen, Jonathan, Pickeral, Terry, and Levine, Peter. “The Foundation for Democracy: Promoting Social, Emotional, Ethical, Cognitive Skills and Dispositions in K-12 Schools”.

http://www.schoolclimate.org/climate/documents/policy/foundation_for_democracy.pdf

⁵² Maidin, Ainul Jaria. “Access to Public Participation in the Land Planning and Environmental Decision

From a theoretical perspective, political scientists Almond and Verba⁵³ define civic culture, as “a balanced political culture in which political activity, involvement, and rationality exist but are balanced by passivity, traditionalism, and commitment to parochial values”, and “in which large numbers of individuals are competent as citizens and as subjects”⁵⁴. Almond and James Coleman conclude that we do not inherit our political trends and behaviors through our genes; instead, “we *fit in* to our political culture through the political learning process”⁵⁵. Almond and Verba state that civic culture is one that is characterized by being “pluralistic” and does not only accept and permit change, but moderates it⁵⁶. Their studies show that the values and attitudes that emerge with and are sustained within democratically functioned institutions are directly connected to the manner in which people within a polity or a community view their relationships with others vis-a-vis their individual interests. Moreover, a civic culture that manifests itself in the form of civic participation is one based on citizens’ rationality, so that harmony between citizens and the political institutions exists. This almost interprets itself that the citizens, based on their own rationality, take educated assumptions in their political actions based on the relationship they have with their political institutions. This also assumes a level of “trust”, and often “satisfaction” that emerges in active societies between citizens and political institutions. This is backed up by Ronald Inglehart’s writings on Culture, Economy, and Political Change in Modernization and Post Modernization stages, where he finds out, and specifically among the polities of Europe, that “basic satisfaction with life and political circumstance, and levels of inter-personal trust, are strongly correlated with both the existence of relatively long-lived and stable democratic institutions, and with relative affluence of the populace”⁵⁷. Inglehart also makes the assumption that the longevity of political institutions importantly depends on the

Making Process in Malaysia”. *Center for Promoting Ideas*.

http://www.ijhssnet.com/journals/Vol._1_No._3;_March_2011/22.pdf

⁵³ Gabriel A. Almond and Sydney Verba. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. (Sage Publications. 1963)

⁵⁴ Schugurensky, Daniel. “History of Education”. *The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT)*. May 26, 2002. <http://schugurensky.faculty.asu.edu/moments/1963almondverba.html>

⁵⁵ Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, eds. *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton⁵⁵, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 27.

⁵⁶ “Almond and Verba's Civic Culture”. Accessed March 4, 2016.

<http://academic.regis.edu/jriley/205civicculture.htm>

⁵⁷ “Almond and Verba's Civic Culture”. <http://academic.regis.edu/jriley/205civicculture.htm>

habits and levels of satisfaction of citizens within a polity; in other words, the survival of democratic institutions lies in the hands of citizens.

On education, Almond and Verba believe that authority figures and systems found in places such as in schools, work, and the family, affect citizens' political participation to become distorted or less. However, if one is able to participate within the medium of their own school, they are considered equally able to exert influence on their governments, even if indirectly:

*... education has so many different kinds of effects. For one thing, people do learn in schools: they learn specific subjects as well as skills useful for political participation. And they learn the norms of political participation as well. Much of the learning may be through direct teaching; some of it may be more indirect. Not only does education influence political perspectives, it also places the individual in social situations where he meets others of like educational attainment, and this tends to reinforce the effect of his own education*⁵⁸.

Almond and Verba have been criticized as basing normative assumptions about the own nature of democracy as being more encompassing to political participation because “western democratic culture and institutions are superior and universally desirable⁵⁹”. In particular, their concepts of a civic culture ignore the notions of class and gender, so that civic culture is not anymore in the interest, protection, and use, of all citizens. Furthermore, their conception of a democratic theory is derived from a fundamental "confusion" between liberal and participatory democratic theories; "the civic culture rests not on the participation of the people, but on their non-participation"⁶⁰. Similarly, Carol Pateman's⁶¹ studies show that the rhetoric on democracy

⁵⁸ Koliba, Christopher. "Democracy and Education Schools and Communities Initiative Conceptual Framework and Preliminary Findings". <http://www.uvm.edu/~dewey/articles/Democonc.html>

⁵⁹ Schugurensky, Daniel. "History of Education". <http://schugurensky.faculty.asu.edu/moments/1963almondverba.html>

⁶⁰ Pateman, Carole. *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory*. (California. Stanford University Press). 1980. P. 158. https://books.google.com/eg/books?id=Vlq73L-2T2oC&pg=PA158&lpg=PA158&dq=%22The+civic+culture+rests+not+on+the+participation+of+the+people,+but+on+their+non+participation%22+.+Pateman&source=bl&ots=ul8jupKiX-&sig=IEuWZrfS7uT1zl5nye_M8ZwsclY&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewj8_omq5vnLahWICBoKHUULDqAQ6AEIGjAA#v=onepage&q=%22The%20civic%20culture%20rests%20not%20on%20the%20participation%20of%20the%20people%2C%20but%20on%20their%20non%20participation%22%20.%20Pateman&f=false

⁶¹ Pateman, Carole. *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970. <http://faculty.arts.ubc.ca/jbeatty/Pateman.pdf>

written by classical theorists needs to be revisited, that their theories were “value-laden” instead of empirical, and that the conditions and pre requisites that are essential to ensure the sustainability of political institutions have their origins in the contrast between democracy and totalitarianism as the only available options in our modern times⁶² .

On the other hand, other literature has asserted the important and rather “educative” function of participation. Rousseau’s fundamental work on social capital lies in the individual decision making in and contribution of each citizen to the political system. He asserts that political participation and participatory democracy not only have a positive effect on institutions, but also a psychological one on the citizens that ensures their ongoing relationship and connection with policy makers. This implies two main characteristics in Rousseau’s argument; that participation ensures good governance, and that citizens get involved in the process of decision making itself, thus developing responsible individuals.”⁶³ More importantly, Rousseau’s work on participation, control, and freedom is extremely important in highlighting the value of individual freedom by enabling a “citizen to be, and remain, his own master”. John Stuart Mill correspondingly sees that active and public spirited types of character develop in the context of participatory institutions, thus, the system becomes self-supportive.

Studying the effects of education on political participation in developing countries is not yet entirely advanced, nor has it been greatly studied under the context of suppressive authoritarian regimes⁶⁴ . Some literature, especially case studies conducted in African communities; confirm that education increases political socialization skills; defined as “the process by which people form their ideas about politics. It's the lifelong development of a person's political values. Though most political socialization occurs during childhood, people continue to shape their political values throughout their lives”⁶⁵ . Even more, large literature examining advanced democracies suggests that education increases political participation. However, they also confirm

⁶² Bassiouni, Cherif, Beetham, David, Boye, Abdel Kader, El Mor, Awad, Kubiak, Hieronim, Massuh, Victor, Ramaphosa , Cyril, Sudarsono, Juwono, Touraine, Alaine, and Villoro, Luis. “Democracy: its Principles and Achievements”. *inter-parliamentary union*. (1998).

http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/DEMOCRACY_PR_E.pdf

⁶³ Pateman, Carole. Participation and Democratic Theory. <http://faculty.arts.ubc.ca/jbeatty/Pateman.pdf>

⁶⁴ Croke, Kevin, Grossman, Guy, Larreguy, Horacio A., and Marshall, John. “Deliberate disengagement: How education decreases political participation in electoral authoritarian regimes”. *Afro Barometer*. Working Paper No. 156. (April 2015).

<http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Working%20paper/Afropaperno156.pdf>

⁶⁵ Dugger, Ashley. "What Is Political Socialization?" *Study.com*. Chapter 7, lesson 5. (12 Mar. 2015).

<http://study.com/academy/lesson/what-is-political-socialization.html>.

that that does not necessarily translate into an actual change in the overall political behavior of citizens. For example, in authoritarian regimes, educated voters may instead deliberately separate themselves from any form of political activity. If education increases critical capacities, political awareness, and support for democracy, “educated citizens may believe that participation is futile or legitimates autocrats”⁶⁶. In a field experiment in Western Kenya in 2001 by Friedman et al. to study the effect of an increase in education induced by a secondary school girls’ scholarship program, it has been discovered that girls coming from disadvantaged rural backgrounds had an increased level of political awareness, and an increased rejection to cases of gender based violence. However, this awareness did not translate into a change in behavior in their political apathy, voting, or lead to an increase in community participation⁶⁷. In 2013 in Benin, Wantchekon, Novta and Klasnja find out that the first generation of formally educated Beninois and their descendants, graduates of the first missionary schools, are more likely to join and campaign for political parties, however, the study does not report any results regarding voting behaviors and political attitudes. In Zimbabwe, researchers find that the likelihood that better educated citizens’ vote or attend community meetings is substantially reductive, and that education may actually cause a decrease in political activity by the educated themselves.

On the other hand, Ruth Marshall’s studies on Nigeria’s 1976 education reform show that increased educational levels lead to active political participation in terms of voting, contacting politicians, attending community meetings, and devoting attention to political events⁶⁸. Equally vast literature asserts that education is instrumental for political participation and civic action⁶⁹. La Due Lake and Huckfeldt⁷⁰ argue that the positive relationship between education and political participation is “one of the most reliable results in empirical social science.” On the same token,

⁶⁶ Croke, Kevin, Grossman, Guy, Larreguy, Horacio A., and Marshall, John. “Deliberate disengagement: How education decreases political participation in electoral authoritarian regimes”.

<http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Working%20paper/Afropaperno156.pdf>

⁶⁷ Ibid. <http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Working%20paper/Afropaperno156.pdf>

⁶⁸ A. LARREGUY, Horacio and Marshall, John. “The Effect of Education on Political Engagement in Non-Consolidated Democracies: Evidence from Nigeria”. (November 2004).

http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jmarshall/files/nigeria_paper_v13.pdf

⁶⁹ Gabriel A. Almond and Sydney Verba. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*.

⁷⁰ La Due Lake, Ronald and Robert Huckfeldt. “Social Capital, Social Networks, and Political Participation.”

Political Psychology. International Society of Political Psychology. Vol. 19, No. 3 (1998).

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792178>

Sunshine Hillygus⁷¹ states that the idea that education is a primary driver of increased political participation is “largely uncontested.” Similarly, Putnam suggests that education “is the best individual level predictor of participation.”⁷² However, there are several ethical contentions within these assertions. This debate defies the very own nature of education as being a means to develop and empower one’s self with knowledge, as opposed to regarding the process of education as a tool to an end that feeds into a certain goal, system, or have the educational factor transformed into any sort of activity that is meant to eventually feed into a political system. Second, measuring educational effects on a society’s increased political behavior without taking into account other vital variables, such as family backgrounds and socio economic conditions, is highly questionable. Third, and with few exceptions, existing empirical literature examining the link between education and increased political activity has generally focused on a small set of rich advanced democracies⁷³, which assumes that communities should have a preexisting civic culture as a pre requisite for this formula to work. Needless to say, this will definitely not be the case with the cultures of most developing countries. Fourth, most literature correlates education with political participation in the context of creating democracy or sustaining an already existing democratic system. The premise here is that most developing countries should eventually and naturally transform themselves to becoming a democracy as the natural order. Huntington (1991) explicitly claimed that education contributed to the “Third Wave of Democratization” in the 1970s and 1980s. To this affect, education and political participation in non-democratic authoritative regimes that do not encourage civic or participation, such as China, needs to be paid attention to. This drives us to question future changes in community and political participation, if any, in such repressive regimes. There have been recent studies in China, especially in its pre-reform era, that quantified whether China’s middle class is a driving force to change the country’s political system or not. These studies have indicated a higher level of education among China’s “new” emerging middle class. However, it is argued that, while this class is dissatisfied with the country’s political system and levels of corruption, political participation among them

⁷¹ Hillygus, Sunshine. “The MISSING LINK: Exploring the Relationship between Higher Education and Political Engagement”. Volume 27, Issue 1 (March 2005). pp 25-47. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-005-3075-8

⁷² Ibid. <http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Working%20paper/Afropaperno156.pdf>

⁷³ Milstein, Rachel Sondheimer and Green, Donald P. Green. “Using Experiments to Estimate the Effects of Education on Voter Turnout”. *American Journal of Political Science*. Volume 54, Issue 1, pages 174–189 (January 2010). DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2009.00425.x

remains very weak.⁷⁴ Similarly, and even though it has made significant educational reforms, people's civic engagement trends in Egypt has not been consistent for approximately thirty years, and Egypt's socio-political cultural has not been encouraging for such engagement at least in the last half century. This is due to the lack of a social capital conducive to civic engagement, and the citizens' political apathy; explained in more details in the final findings' section.

Needless to say, this drives us to an essential exploration of the different types of community participation, in which it will shed light on whether community practices remain limited in their scope, or instead, go beyond the territories of the community to impact a larger political level. In other words, I may hypothetically theorize that development projects may induce a smaller scope of community-participation behaviors by individuals to improve the communities around them; the successes of which directly affects them; however, these behaviors do not promote themselves to cause a larger country-wide effect.

The Community and Education

What is a Community?

Communities are defined as the amalgamation of a group of members who share common characteristics, such as culture, language, tradition, law, geography, class, and race. In the Social Sciences, communities comprise three types; community as a physical place, community as relationships, and community as a larger collective power. The way those members are governed are either through democratic practices by choosing a leader from within the community completely autonomous from the government, or through a leader appointed by the government⁷⁵. Needless to say, a major component of community development stems from individual participation from each member of the community, which leads to community participation for a larger common good⁷⁶.

⁷⁴ Huangyan, ZHENG. "When Huntington Meets China: Analysis of Chinese People's Desire for Political Participation". http://ricas.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/aasplatform/achivements/pdf/2013_ab_10.pdf

⁷⁵ Uemura Mitsue. "Community Participation in Education: What do we know?" *Effective Schools and Teachers and the Knowledge Management System HDNED, The World Bank*. (1999). http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/09/13/000094946_02083104134721/Rendred/PDF/multi0page.pdf

⁷⁶ Chavis, David M. and Wandersman, Abraham. "Sense of Community in the Urban Environment: A Catalyst for Participation and Community Development". *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1990).

What is Community Participation?

The 1993 UNDP Human Development Report defines community participation as “a *process*, not an event that closely involves people in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives”.⁷⁷ Similarly, the WB defines Community Participation as “an active *process* whereby beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of development projects rather than merely receive a share of project benefits”⁷⁸ Likewise, E. A. Brett’s work defined participation as a rather “educational empowering process in which people, in partnership with those that are able to assist them, identify their needs and increasingly assume responsibility for themselves to plan, manage, control and access the collective actions that are necessary”⁷⁹. The three definitions share a set of important commonalities; that participation is a process rather than a singular or a set of separate actions, that members of the community control and have the power to direct the process, and that ultimately, the process leads to their empowerment. In addition, it is assumed that participation also cultivates a culture of belonging to one another between members of a community and one another.

The WB has identified the objectives for community participation by assessing its effectiveness in a number of their projects. The objectives had comprised the following five pillars; empowerment, building beneficiary capacity, increasing project effectiveness, improving project efficiency, and project cost sharing. Needless to say, it is embedded within the design of the project itself how much percent will be dedicated to each of the above objectives; some design 40% of their projects on efficiency, others 50% on cost sharing, etc. The degree of involvement

http://download.springer.com/static/pdf/712/art%253A10.1007%252FBF00922689.pdf?originUrl=http%3A%2F%2Flink.springer.com%2Farticle%2F10.1007%2FBF00922689&token2=exp=1460029316~acl=%2Fstatic%2Fpdf%2F712%2Fart%25253A10.1007%25252FBF00922689.pdf%3ForiginUrl%3Dhttp%253A%252F%252Flink.springer.com%252Farticle%252F10.1007%252FBF00922689*~hmac=fecaa526745d5af104cb1cc07391c8b740cb94604fd12b035561ef1dc90545af

⁷⁷ “Civic Engagement”. *United Nations Development Programme*.

http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourwork/democraticgovernance/focus_areas/topics_civic_engagement.html

⁷⁸ Paul, Samuel. “Community Participation in Development Projects The World Bank Experience”. *World Bank Discussion Papers*. The World Bank. 1987. http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1999/09/21/000178830_98101903572729/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf

⁷⁹ Brett, E.A. “Participation and Accountability in Development Management”. *THE JOURNAL OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES*, 40, no. 2. (December 2003). Pp.1–29.

<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un-dpadm/unpan042453.pdf>

of the community is also preset in the project/program design; for example, a number of the assessed WB projects had determined only 38% of community involvement within the execution of their projects early on. Attaining successful community participation, or lack thereof, in each objective, depends on other variables, such as bureaucracy, donor expectations versus reality, political support, and others.

Shaeffer provides seven possible methods for community participation, some of which are passive and others as active, as follows⁸⁰:

- involvement through the mere use of a service (such as using a primary health care facility)
- involvement through the contribution (or extraction) of money, materials, and labor
- involvement through ‘attendance
- involvement through consultation on a particular issue
- participation in the delivery of a service, often as a partner with other actors;
- participation as implementers of delegated powers; and
- participation in decision making at every stage, including identification of problems planning, implementation, and evaluation

He further provides examples of specific activities that involve high degrees of participation, (can also be applied to educational sectors), such as collecting and analyzing information, defining priorities and setting goals, deciding on and planning programs; managing and designing strategies and dividing responsibilities among participants, and monitoring and evaluating results and impacts. It is worth mentioning that a successful participatory process does not only mean involvement in the establishment or running of projects only, but in their sustainability and evaluation phases past the projects as well; in which case, community members take responsibility and assume accountability for the project beyond its completion. Needless to say, education is an intricate process that involves schools, families, teachers, learners, governments, and many others, and several studies have provided specific channels through which communities can be involved in in their children’s education. These channels can be summarized into the following: research and data collection of community educational needs,

⁸⁰ Uemura Mitsue. “Community Participation in Education: What do we know?” http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/09/13/000094946_02083104134721/Rendred/PDF/multi0page.pdf

establishing dialogue with policymakers, being involved in school management, curriculum design and development of learning materials, and contributions to school constructions⁸¹. This can be established by following three educational models; Community Based Education, which reinforces community norms and skills and integrates it into the educational process, Governmental Education, where governments design and provide the curriculum, and a collaborative model between the two, in which the community plays a supportive role in government provision of education⁸².

Participation in Education- Importance and Challenges

The UNESCO has called for an era of Education for All (EFA) in Dakar, and it is becoming more apparent that the betterment of the educational process depends on the degree of involvement of their respective communities in the process. In the US, “education organizing” movements seek to improve both schools and communities by focusing on cultivating social capital, developing local leaders, and diminishing school-community tensions. The rationale behind the importance of community participation in education tackles larger universal targets. To name a few; promoting girls’ education and closing gender gaps, changing home environments in local communities, and ultimately, achieving democracy. In parallel, it betters the education process itself by advocating for more school enrolments, bettering instructional methods, integrating liberal thinking and cognitive developments into the teaching curriculum, and decentralizing the schooling system to become autonomous from the government. Community specific socio economic variables are integral into achieving successful schooling programs. For example, test results in of the 2002 National Assessment of Education Performance (NAEP) in the US highlight the achievement gaps between white and black

⁸¹ Colletta, Nat J. and Perkins, Gillian. “Participation in Education”. *Environmentally Sustainable Development*. The World Bank. Paper No. 001 (1995) http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1995/02/01/000009265_3980901105156/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf

⁸² Ibid.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTISPMA/Resources/383704115333441931/14064_Community_Participation_in_Education.pdf

children, white and Hispanics, and poor students. Poorer and minority students naturally scored less on math tests⁸³.

But can community participation impact education negatively? And what are the barriers, especially if the process aims to impact the larger policy making level? Crewe and Harrison⁸⁴ state that community involvement in education ignores central questions of power within each community, as well as assumes the homogeneity of each community without taking into consideration other important aspects, such as seniority, economic differences, gender gaps, and so on. Furthermore, Shaeffer particularly finds out that not all communities, especially poorer ones, have the desire to get involved in the first place. This is because members of these communities, already struggling with basic economics needs, may have apathy towards education performing any role in bettering their conditions, or indifference towards the central role that the school can play in their lives. They also may lack trust towards any processes or services provided by the government, including education. This ultimately leads to a mandatory pre-requisite study on whether each community has an already fertile participatory environment among its community members that is receptive to educational programs, or not. For example, in the 1990s, the Dominican Republic had an already existing culture of strong community-school relationships. In 1991, 4,000 out of the 5,000 public primary schools had parent-teacher associations organized; all pre the intervention of the WB projects there. In addition, the nature of challenges per country and community is also very different; for example, in Africa, school administrative thefts may be a common challenge in the monitoring and sustainability of educational projects, while in Latin America, the nature of problems are widely different than this. The non-existence of legal frameworks, non-politicized local councils and schools, parents and teachers' trainings, potential monetary contributions by the community in the forms of cash, land, or others, not having networks with governments and Ministries of Education, and most importantly, having a non-decentralized educational process, among other factors, can act as

⁸³ Glickman, Norman J. and Scally, Corianne P. "Can Community and Education Organizing Improve Inner-City Schools?" *The Journal of Urban Affairs*, 30. Issue 5 pages 557–577 (December 2008) DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9906.2008.00418.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTISPMA/Resources/3837041153333441931/14064_Community_Participation_in_Education.pdf (1998)

major barriers, and have to be studied in each community and country context. Accordingly, community willingness while is important, is not enough.

An exemplary sample of community readiness is provided by the WB's projects. The WB has a total of twenty three universal educational projects that involve community participation as their key component; most in developing countries in Africa between Chad, Ghana, Malawi, Tanzania, and other African countries, and Latin America, such as El Salvador and The Dominican Republic. The common features between most of these projects is that they integrated school access and enrolment, establishment of parents' associations, improved pedagogical and learning material, and initiated trials to mobilize non-governmental organizations in countries where NGOs were active⁸⁵, in their original program design. In Ghana, community participation comprised 30% less of what the program had originally planned for. Countries that already had an existing culture of civic participation managed to serve these projects well, while others have posed a time challenge. In Tanzania, community members had contributed funds to forming school committees to monitor school performances with. In one village, the school committee hired a carpenter to build desks, and members of the committee monitored by requiring him to physically build them on school premises and kept the materials under a lock and key. They were also able to decrease the cost of each desk from Tsh. 30-40,000 to Tsh. 12,000. In addition, parents were willing to help finance school activities, and villages have subsidized parents who cannot pay, through loans or payment in labor. The result is; no community member has been exempted from making any sort of contribution. In Nigeria, the WB had supported its primary education sector and provided a community program aimed at achieving learning outcomes among primary age and adult learners of girls and women, as well as has established a project to increase access to basic education in the Nomadic group in Adamawa/Taraba Northern Nigeria. Needless to say, community members designed, planned, and executed both projects, with financial assistance from the WB by credit facility⁸⁶.

In conclusion: Participation is central for democracy to exist and to flourish. Similarly, the role of the school is central in fostering a culture of participation with since childhood. Participation

⁸⁵ Such as in Malawi

⁸⁶ "Accelerating Progress to 2015 Nigeria". *Global Education First Initiative*. (2013). <http://educationenvoy.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/NIGERIA-UNSE-FINAL.pdf>

can come in many forms; whether as minor as participation by means of attendance, or in the form of citizens of delegated powers to achieve change. However, community participation may impact education negatively should central issues of power, gender roles, or feelings of apathy within a community be ignored.

International organizations, such as the WB, have confirmed the effectiveness of community participation in all developmental areas, and especially in education, in order to achieve needed reforms. They have also confirmed that a primary level of “readiness” within a community needs to be present in order to ensure positive responses to developmental projects.

Chapter 3

Girls' Education: The New Schools Program (NSP)

This chapter discusses the importance, challenges, trends, and drives/efforts initiated in regards to girls' education on the global and local Egyptian levels. It later provides a description of the NSP program; its goals, strategies, and agendas for its implementing agency.

Girls' Education; a Global Drive

Access to primary and secondary education remains a global challenge to development till this date, especially in developing countries. Minimizing gender disparities in education plays a key role in the equation. In many countries, girls' education is still perceived as "un-necessary" compared to this of boys. Many studies have advocated for the social implications of educating girls and their positive economic impacts on both their smaller families and the larger communities; a number of which include their contribution to an increase in family incomes, reduced fertility, infant, and maternal mortality rates in the society, and the offering of greater life choices and increased participation levels in the development process for women. It is said that providing one extra year of education to a girl beyond the average boosts wages by 10% to 20%. Moreover, a WB 100-country study has shown that increasing the share of women in secondary education by 1% jolts annual per capita growth by 0.3%⁸⁷, which thus leads to faster economic growth. On the social level, when women gain approximately 4 extra years of education, fertility decreases by one birth rate, and extra years of girls' education can reduce infant mortality rates by 5% to 10%. Furthermore, educating women has far more impact on educating the children than this of men's. Similarly, it decreases their chances of catching diseases such as HIV, and subjects women to increased empowerment, participation, and the betterment of democracy on the political level.

However, despite the benefits, girls' education remains a universal challenge, mainly because its costs are higher to parents and its benefits less immediate compared to this of boys. Global statements and world initiatives have been started towards the minimization of gender gaps in education. For example, the World Summit for Children in September 1990 had emphasized the

⁸⁷ Herz, Barbara Knapp, and Sperling, Gene B. What Works in Girls' Education: Evidence and Policies from the Developing World. Council on Foreign Relations.
https://books.google.com.eg/books?hl=en&lr=&id=7a0W_bqvzA0C&oi=fnd&pg=PR5&dq=importance+of+girls+education&ots=UdIVrPdTSf&sig=UHFpgekV61W0xDwopxMSHJeM8&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=importance%20of%20girls%20education&f=false

importance of girls' education as a significant development tool. Similarly, the World Education Forum in Dakar in 2000 had endorsed six goals, with two thirds of which focused on eliminating gender disparity in education. Most importantly, the Millennium Development Goals (MDG); now, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), have focused on girls' education as a detrimental prerequisite for development, and UNICEF had declared that "None of the MDGs will likely be met unless there is significant progress in girls' education"⁸⁸. In a 2004 address to the Women's Health Coalition, Kofi Annan stated that "there is no tool for development more effective than the education of girls"⁸⁹. Global initiatives have included the previously mentioned Education for All (EFA), which resulted in a global increase in multilateral and bilateral foreign aid being directed to universal primary education at the expense of technical and vocational trainings and adult education. Other initiatives include the Fast-Track Initiative (FTI), under the WB, and the United Nations' Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI), under the auspices of the UNICEF. The latter had mandated countries, Egypt being one of, to form an action plan for the education of girls by the year 2002, and to be operational in 2005. However, a UNICEF 2005 report had indicated that "while UNGEI is on the way to achieving its targets of universal primary education by 2015 in some regions and countries, the challenge remains, with the accomplishments registered being "baby steps compared to what could have—and should have—been achieved"⁹⁰. In addition, by the year 2006, the world had realized that the goals to achieve a decrease in gender disparities in education within the MDGs have not been met. Needless to say, the root causes are multi-faceted and owe back to many factors, and hence, the solutions offered need to be as multi-layered and multi-faceted as the problem itself.

The Egypt Context

⁸⁸"THE CLOCK STRIKES MIDNIGHT". *Gender Achievements and Prospects in Education: The GAP Report*, UNICEF. <http://www.ungei.org/gap/educationClock.html>

⁸⁹ "Women's Empowerment in Africa". *Elimu Africa- Education Africa*. <http://www.elimuafrica.org/page20/page14/page14.html>

⁹⁰ Sultana, Ronald G. "THE GIRLS' EDUCATION INITIATIVE IN EGYPT". UNICEF MENA-RO, Learning Series, Vol. 1 (January 2008). https://www.um.edu.mt/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/39504/GEI-Egypt_Sultana.pdf

Needless to say, significant monetary contributions were injected towards the betterment of educational conditions in rural Egypt, especially in Egypt's post-colonial era. The Presidential Declaration of the Second Decade for the Protection and Welfare of the Egyptian Child (2000-2010) had placed child development at the core of Egypt's development agenda⁹¹. In addition, Egypt is among the top countries whose educational sector has received extensive sponsorships under the mandates of the MDGs. As a result, Egypt has made significant improvements in meeting the MDGs, especially in the basic education sector and closing the gender gap between girls' and boys' school enrollments⁹². Despite the efforts, sub-national discrepancies continue; approximately 15% of children aged between 4 to 5 years old were enrolled in pre- primary schools; a number far from the national goal of 60% enrolment which the government had set for itself by the year 2010⁹³. Until 2012, less than 10% of the total number of schools met the national standards for quality education⁹⁴. In addition, 35% of preparatory stage students in Egypt are considered illiterate, according to a 2015 MDG report. Furthermore, Egypt had scored the 139th place among a total of 140 countries in universal education quality matrixes according to a 2013 WB report, preceded by countries such as Botswana, Uganda, and Bangladesh⁹⁵. These indicators show that there is a discrepancy between quantity and quality of educational attainment in Egypt. These discrepancies, and the failure of the education system to develop equal access of opportunities to all citizens, may lead to social extremism or to increased levels of poverty in the country. Accordingly, the retreat of the Egyptian State to develop public education in Egypt over the years has paved the way for other alternative educational modes and initiatives to emerge; ones that are more contained but are more sensitive to local needs. Community Based Education (CBE) is one; though is accredited by Egypt's MOE, it takes place in a setting external to the public schooling system in a Multi-Grade School format, and directly involves the local community as part of the educational development process. Other local initiatives have also emerged to fill the gap. "Educate Me"; a local registered NGO since 2008,

⁹¹ "Overview. The Situation of Children and Women in Egypt". *UNICEF Egypt*. Accessed February 18, 2016. <http://www.unicef.org/egypt/overview.html>.

⁹² "Egypt Programme Profile: Education". *UNICEF Egypt*. Accessed February 18, 2016. <http://www.unicef.org/egypt/education.html>.

⁹³ Overview. The Situation of Children and Women in Egypt". *UNICEF Egypt*. <http://www.unicef.org/egypt/overview.html>

⁹⁴ Ibid. <http://www.unicef.org/egypt/overview.html>

⁹⁵ "The Africa Competitiveness Report 2013". *The World Bank*. Accessed 5 April, 2016. <http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/Africa/Report/africa-competitiveness-report-2013-main-report-web.pdf>

aims to improve the educational process in Egypt on the long term through a grass-root community-based and community-driven model that serves underprivileged communities⁹⁶. It also seeks to involve external communities by constant calling for volunteering positions. Similarly, other larger and private establishments, such as The American University in Cairo (AUC), has integrated an Academic Community Engagement (ACE) model into its classroom curriculum to mutually benefit the students and the community by addressing needs in underserved areas, including poverty alleviation, quality education, housing, NGO development, youth inclusion, and other areas⁹⁷.

International donors, such as the WB and USAID, have a history of designing local and international educational programs that specifically engage the community in their operational level, and more recently, the donors' community in Egypt has moved towards a community participation approach to reform national education⁹⁸. The UNICEF has designed long term partnerships in Egypt with the MOE and civil society organizations to model best educational practices, and initiated programs such as Early Child Development, CBE, and Inclusive Education, which started in 2013 and targets both Cairo and areas in Upper Egypt with expected results in 2017. In addition, the Education Reform Program (ERP)-June 2004 till June 2009- a partnership between USAID and MOE, had aimed at involving local communities in the sustainability of the program through strategies of developing a School Based Reform (SBR) project.

Egypt's Debacle

The number one enemy to girls' education in Egypt is poverty, where girls' education is still perceived as an added and an "unnecessary" cost within the overall frame of extremely modest family incomes. Costs as such include clothing, tuition fees, books and material, etc.

⁹⁶ <http://educateme-egypt.org/>

⁹⁷ "Academic Community Engagement." *The American University in Cairo*. Accessed January 13, 2016. <https://pacs.aucegypt.edu/cbl/Default.aspx>.

⁹⁸ Azfar, Omar and Kähkönen*, Satu and Meagher, Patrick. "Conditions for Effective Decentralized Governance: A Synthesis for Research Findings". *IRIS Center University of Maryland. The World Bank*. March 13, 2001. <http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/decentralization/Feb2004Course/Background%20materials/Azfar.pdf>

Accordingly, such funds are ultimately directed to a boy's education, being the natural investment in the family's prospects for improved financial conditions in the future. Naturally, girls are then left in their socially-assertive and "natural" roles of performing house hold chores, cooking and cleaning, taking care of the laundry, and so on. Studies have exhibited the strong connection between educational levels and poverty, and have correlated rising educating levels with less poverty conditions; with the chances of a university educated Egyptian to be poor as less by 2% than someone who is illiterate, which is 24%⁹⁹. One estimate had placed the proportion of "poor" children out of school nationally in Egypt in the years 1999/2000 at 23%¹⁰⁰.

In addition, culture and traditions play an important role in Egyptian context. Traditions channel girls into early marriages and hence, early reproductions, which eventually leads to bigger problems, such as increased maternal health cases. In fact, it has been proven that for every 1,000 women, every additional year of education will prevent two cases of maternal deaths¹⁰¹.

Needless to say, early marriages decrease the quality of girls' lives in terms of their abilities to make their personal life choices. Accordingly, girls never enroll in a formal education system, and for the lucky ones who do, an increased number of school drop-outs becomes the result.

Furthermore, access to safe, secure, and convenient educational opportunities remains a complicated issue, especially in rural and remote areas. During one of the interviews conducted for this research, one of the respondents had mentioned that girls were not allowed to be educated as they will have to walk for approximately 5 KM every day to reach their school destination within rural Minya. In Egypt, and especially in rural Upper Egypt, this was unsafe and uncustomary to be allowed. Another challenge is the resistance to a mixed-classroom environment, where both girls and boys were to sit in one classroom and attend school together. Due to local traditions, many families did not approve of this environment. Studies have

⁹⁹ "Embracing the Spirit of the Millennium Declaration". *United Nations Egypt*. UN Common Country Assessment (2005).

<http://www.eg.undp.org/content/dam/egypt/docs/LegalFramework/Common%20Country%20Assesment%202005%20Egypt.pdf>

¹⁰⁰ "NARROWING THE GAP IMPROVING LABOR MARKET OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN EGYPT". *The World Bank*. Gender Assessment 2010. Arab Republic of Egypt (2010). http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2011/09/13/000386194_20110913010434/Rend ered/PDF/546980ESW0p1120derReport020100Final.pdf

¹⁰¹ "The State of the World's Children 2004". The United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF). (2003). https://books.google.com.eg/books?id=zrtjWRjKVfgC&pg=PA20&lpg=PA20&dq=suzan+mubarak+on+girls+education&source=bl&ots=D5Ts_t_UK4&sig=-LbWxWcLZa8bJ5V7d-RpKiiPBMc&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwipqOXzlfzKAhXH_HIKHZeHDa4Q6AEIJTAA#v=onepage&q=suzan%20mubarak%20on%20girls%20education&f=false

indicated that when girls and boys are placed together in one classroom, girls receive less pedagogical attention and reduced teaching focuses as opposed to this of boys; let alone having to handle bullying from them. Furthermore, the quality of basic education in Egypt had remained questionable for years.

Background on the 1990s and 2000s

This era is extremely important in trying to know the full picture of behind the educational conditions pre and during the early intervention phases of the case study of this research; the NSP program. The Egyptian educational system has been challenged by many factors during the 1990s. These factors are especially important should we want to explain, and possibly form an analogy, on the educational conditions of Egypt, and Upper Egypt, pre and post the intervention of numerous efforts made by international donors over the years to improve Egypt's educational conditions, such as this one made by USAID and CARE. By 1990, as high as 50% of officially enrolled students in schools did not regularly attend classes, more so in rural areas than in urban ones. Overall, almost half of all students enrolled in primary education had their full 6 grades finished¹⁰². In the early 1990s, percentages as low as 14% of girls were enrolled in a schooling system in many Upper Egypt villages. By the mid-1990s in Upper Egypt, school attendance comprised 67% only in governorates such as Aswan and Assiūt, with 14% being higher to boys¹⁰³. During the late 1990s, and while it is generally recognized that government spending on education contributes towards higher growth of GDP, this spending led to a decrease in GDP. The government had increased its percentage spending from 3.8% for 1987-90 to 4.% for 91/92-93/94 and 5.37% for 1994-1997; however, GDP had still decreased due to an increase educational attainment over educational quality¹⁰⁴. In addition, many school children in their fourth and fifth grades during the 1990s had remained illiterate, as in not being able to read and/or write, though being enrolled in a formal schooling system. By the time they leave schools and join the labor market, their prior education had served them no benefit or purpose to the quality of their lives. Furthermore, and by the year 1998, illiteracy rates in Egypt reached 39% of the total population, with Minya being as high as 55%, 53.8% for Fayoum, 52.83% for Sūhaj, 52.53 for Assiūt, and

¹⁰²Country Studies. Education. <http://countrystudies.us/egypt/71.htm>

¹⁰³ Sayed, Fatma H. "Transforming Education in Egypt: Western Influence and Domestic Policy Reform". (The American University in Cairo Press. Cairo. 2006).
https://books.google.com.eg/books?id=7RiWBAAQBAJ&pg=PT122&lpg=PT122&dq=girls+education+and+upper+egypt+in+the+1990s&source=bl&ots=fEeyRPdzRc&sig=A4C4lv_dmZ5b78FC4JY7ZK4ztUk&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjS7bjomvzKAhUFEHIKHeBXCVMQ6AEIJAC#v=onepage&q=girls%20education%20and%20upper%20egypt%20in%20the%201990s&f=false

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/egypt_2001_en.pdf

51.76 for Quena¹⁰⁵. This means that 5 out of the top 6 governorates in terms of illiteracy rates for the year 1998 were from Upper Egypt, and highly indicative of the educational conditions back then albeit increased government spending on education .

A January 2008 UNICEF report had estimated that among Egypt's most educational barriers is availability of schools, class density, and teacher deficiency; all challenged by budgetary and financial constrains that MOE was facing during the 1990s. Though 11,000 new basic level schools were constructed; classroom density, which is about 41 at the basic education level, was exceeded to an extra 10 to 20 students. In addition, this era was faced with teacher shortages, with a deficit of almost 86,743 teachers for the primary education, and a further 18,564 for the preparatory education. Furthermore, and in the late 1980s, the government had introduced a school-fee measurement that amounted to almost EGP 20 (USD3.5) per month, which had added a major challenge to families of poor incomes, and had further encouraged them to send their boys rather than their girls to schools. According to UNICEF, 650,000 girl aged between 6 to 11 years old were out-of-school in Egypt during this period¹⁰⁶. As Malak Zaalouk notes, such national averages “mask significant regional disparities, particularly in the governorates of Upper Egypt in the South, where overall enrolments remain lower, and gender gaps in primary net enrolments range up to 15.7%.”¹⁰⁷ In the year 2002/2003, and even though basic and secondary education amounted for 80% of total enrolment of education in Egypt, it received only 26% of the national budget of education, as opposed to university higher education and expenditures paid for administrative staff, which consumed the rest of the money¹⁰⁸. Up until 2005, literacy rates in governorates in Upper Egypt such as Fayoum, Minya and Sūhaj did not exceed more than 50%.

The Egyptian government had responded to the Dakkar declaration on EFA by placing girls' education as the top national developmental priority back then. Under the auspices of then-in-power Suzanne Mubarak, and the management of the National Council for Childhood and

¹⁰⁵ Egypt Human Development Report 2000/2001- http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/egypt_2001_en.pdf

¹⁰⁶ Sultana, Ronald G. “THE GIRLS’ EDUCATION INITIATIVE IN EGYPT”. UNICEF MENA-RO https://www.um.edu.mt/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/39504/GEI-Egypt_Sultana.pdf

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. https://www.um.edu.mt/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/39504/GEI-Egypt_Sultana.pdf

¹⁰⁸ “Embracing the Spirit of the Millennium Declaration”. United Nations Egypt. UN Common Country Assessment <http://www.eg.undp.org/content/dam/egypt/docs/LegalFramework/Common%20Country%20Assesment%202005%20Egypt.pdf>

Motherhood, chaired then by Moushira Khattab, a Girls' Education Initiative (GEI) was launched that committed the Egyptian government to eliminating gender disparities by 2007, mandated it to reach half-a-million girl-drop-outs of school, and achieving gender equality by 2015. GEI, launched under the umbrella of the UN's UNEG, had been taken on in Egypt since the year 2000. As mentioned earlier, Egypt had made significant progress in closing the gap between girls' and boy's education in the 1990s; the gap had been decreased from 12% in 1990 to 3% in the years 2001/2002. A girls-friendly schooling model had built 200 schools and 3,500 one-classroom in the 1990s in seven rural governorates in Egypt that reflected the lowest numbers in girls' education. The goal was to establish 3,000 schools by the year 2003, with presenting more than just educational opportunities, and providing solutions to combat poverty conditions.

The New Schools Program (NSP) – Overview

The New Schools Program is a “researcher’s heaven”, for it touches upon several crucial aspects that directly pertain to key developmental issues; such as gender and education, social construction and education, rural development, democracy, culture and norms, role of the State versus, and in alignment with, role of the citizen, and the overlap of all of these together and with other factors. The program was first launched sixteen years ago and had lasted for eight years, with accessible, and still sustainable, data that can be measured several years after its completion.

NSP is a school- based reform project with the aim of increasing access to educational opportunities, with a particular focus on girls between the ages of 6 to fourteen in underserved communities in Upper Egypt's Minya, Bny Suwwāf , and Sūhaj, who were never enrolled in a schooling system or have dropped out of school. This focus was intended to be achieved through four main pillars; improved quality of teaching and learning in these schools, mobilization of community participation in the phases of the project, the construction of schools, including primary, preparatory and community based multi-grade schools, and adult learning initiatives. Multi grade schools are defined as schools where groups of students of different grades are

taught in a single classroom. In most cases, in a multi grade school's classroom, pupils of two or more grades are taught by one teacher. In the context of NSP, multi grade schools were constructed for children, specifically girls, who have dropped out of schools or never been enrolled in schools between the ages of nine and fourteen. The program was launched in January 1, 2000 and had ended its first phase on September 30, 2003, with receiving three extensions and additional funding¹⁰⁹, and had completed its final phases in May 31, 2008. The project is a collaboration between USAID and CARE- with USAID being the project sponsor and CARE being the implementing and managing agency- and with partnerships with the MOE and with other local and/or community organizations and NGOs, as well as private firms¹¹⁰. These organizations included: The Education Development Center (EDC), The Salama Mousa Foundation, World Education, EHAF Consulting Engineers, URS Corporation/Dames, and Moore Group and O'Brien Kreitzberg.

The program, under the terms of the Global Development Alliance (GDA), and with a fund from Vodafone, has implemented a technology integration initiative in the program's third extension phase by establishing technology centers; ICT centers, and training teachers and school staff on integrating technology into the classroom.

As per the official program evaluation, a summary of the strategies of the program are as follows:

- NSP would identify areas in need, especially those with increased numbers of marginalized girls, with the help of MOE and the General Authority for Educational Buildings (GAEB).
- Facilitate the establishment of community Education Teams (CETs), with the purpose of encouraging and increasing awareness of the community on the importance of girls' education
- Construction of schools with the involvement and monitoring of community members in the various phases of the construction; land selection, school design, obtaining lands approvals, and construction.

¹⁰⁹ (obligations total over \$31.8)

- Establish multi-grade community based schools for girls between the ages of 9 to 14 years old who have never joined the schooling system
- Increase access to education through the development of continued community education action plans
- Develop the capacities of teachers and their integration of instructional materials within the teaching system
- Build the capacities of MOE officials to provide support to teachers and perform classroom and school monitoring
- Support the formation of educational clusters to develop a school based training and evaluation units
- Facilitate the formulation of Boards of Trustees (BOTs) and Parents Associations (PAs) through democratic elections, and provide them with operational and managerial support through trainings and modest endowments and grants.

A summary of the program achievements is explained in the following table:

| Indicator | Target | Achieved |
|---|--------|--------------------|
| Students Educated | 43,000 | 44,197 |
| Schools Constructed | 104 | 98 |
| Multi grade Schools Established | 190 | 189 |
| Teachers Trained | 2,000 | 2,018 |
| BOTs and PAs Established through Democratic Elections | 176 | 185 |
| Schools Implementing National Standards | 120 | 123 ¹¹¹ |

As shown in the table above¹¹², the program had an over achievement, compared to the original targeted numbers, in the areas of students receiving an education, numbers of teachers being

¹¹² American Institutes for Research. *NEW SCHOOLS PROGRAM: a final evaluation*. April 2008. Accessed November, 2015.

https://www.google.com.eg/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=0ahUKEwjX05_2scDMAhXHKMAKHfUGAmkQFggMAM&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.careevaluations.org%2FEvaluations%2FNSP%2520Final%2520Evaluation-June%252020%25202008.doc&usg=AFQjCNGaEhKAqIMDaPxRalbf8_-sj3CIeA&sig2=zqj871JOO195IeXLKQBgFQ&bvm=bv.121099550,d.d24&cad=rja

trained, establishments of BOTs and PAs, and the implementation of national standards in these schools. In total, NSP had constructed 98 new primary and preparatory schools; 1048 classrooms. The original target was 104% constructed schools, which makes NSP having a completion rate of 94%.

Needless to say, and as the principal implementing owner of the project, CARE Egypt's model in designing projects was to draw on technical expertise of other supportive NGOs (such as the ones mentioned above) in order to enhance the overall quality of their program design process. This is clearly stated and shown in their program's proposals, such as this for NSP. Meanwhile, while CARE was not able to provide me with a copy of the first program proposal for NSP which they submitted to USAID as the program's sponsoring agency¹¹³, I was able to retrieve a copy of the proposal for the second phase of the project. Specifically mentioned in the second proposal, the CARE team's collaborative model of involving other community members and organizations from the start had insured efficient usage of program resources and the good usage of collaborative and "comparative strengths". CARE has a history of logistically and financially managing multi-layered and sophisticated programs in Upper and or rural Egypt, while maintaining a good relationship with MOE, and a team that is committed to the cause; *CARE's team looks forward to the opportunity to apply its unique combination of experience, technical expertise, and its strong commitment to sustainable improvements in girls' education in Egypt to significantly further USAID/Egypt's SO2, and the MOE's goal of providing universal, quality education*¹¹⁴.

In conclusion: Minimizing gender disparities in education plays a key role in solving major social, health and economic problems in the society. The world has responded by initiating global forums and prioritizing girls' education as part of the MDGs. However, the challenges persist till today. In the Egyptian context, and even though Egypt has made improvements in closing gender gaps in school enrollments, culture and traditions and conditions of poverty had remained a major challenge to school enrollments and achieving educational equality, especially

¹¹³ I was repeatedly told it will be communicated to me by two members of their staff. One said it's hard to pull out from CARE's old archives.

¹¹⁴ CARE Team NSP Technical Application Submitted to USAID

in the 1990s in Upper Egypt. Programs such as the NSP, which aim to increase access to education in poorer communities, has sought the collaborations of relevant communities to induce communal change.

Chapter 4

Field Work and Research Findings

This chapter elaborates on my research methodology for conducting my case study on the NSP program in the village of Al Berka. It also includes a thorough elaboration of the interviews I have conducted in the village, which is divided into categories and sub-categories that give leads to answering my research question and testing my hypothesis in the later section of my research findings.

Research Methodology

As earlier explained, my research question is answered by developing a case study on USAID's-funded NSP program in Minya, Sūhaj, and Bny Suwwāf, through focusing on the community

contributions to the project in the village of Al Berka, and addressing the impacts that the project had on increasing the capacities of the community and changing their behaviors to more democratic manners.

In qualitative research, it is told to always be suspicious of data collection that goes according to plan¹¹⁵. Making discoveries and changing parts of this project was therefore part of the research journey. Initially, I linked the gap between education and democracy by focusing on community contributions to the NSP project and hypothesizing that the community's capacities have increased, in addition to exhibiting elements of democracy, as a direct result of its involvement in the educational journey of the project. However, while my field work has exhibited signs that ensures the cultivation of a culture of social capital in the community due to its involvement in the project; it has not lead however to democracy. Furthermore, limiting the fostering of such culture to be only a direct effect of the NSP experience, irrespective of other socio political conditions, is narrow and would be ethically wrong. This is explained more in the findings section.

Primary and Secondary Material

The project will start by building a conceptual framework addressing issues on the importance of community involvement in educational projects in increasing the capacities of small communities, as well as its impact on the betterment of the educational process itself. Due to the reciprocity of the relationship, and its conjunction with other important angles such as gender and local traditions, relevant program reports will be used in conjunction with the collected data as mentioned below. Secondary material will include books and academic journal articles, media reports, etc.

Research Sample

The NSP program, a SBR reform project implemented in Upper Egypt between the years 2000 and 2008, was specifically selected due to the heavy involvement of the community in almost all

¹¹⁵ Michael Quinn. Patton. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. (Sage Publications: Minnesota: 2002)

phases of its journey. Particularly, community involvement was mandated in the initial intervention phase, whereby communities had to be convinced of the project and of the importance of community collaborations towards its success. This was initially reached through the formation of a community education team from within the community. Second, the implementation phase had elements of community mobilization in the school construction phase, including the process of acquiring of lands, school construction, school designs, acquiring of funds from the community, and the formation of community bodies responsible for the running of the program, who are mainly the BOTs and PAs, through democratic elections. Third, the community was mobilized enough to continue the sustainability the project following the same standards that NSP had transmitted to the community, and contains aspects on how the community is sustaining the project till date.

Needless to say, Mallawi comprises 77 villages, and is among the largest cities in Egypt. In total, NSP had conducted thirty six community interventions in Minya. However, Al Berka village was among the best community participation stories in the entire governorate. To conduct my interviews, CARE was my main contact in putting me in touch with one of their NSP communities, and naturally, CARE had made me contact one of their best and exemplary models. Al Berka village was the first community that CARE had worked with in the whole Mallawi area, where 4 NSP schools were constructed; Al Berka primary school, Al Berka preparatory school, The One-Classroom School (not under NSP supervision), and the Multi Grade NSP school. Upon visiting, it was not hard to see why Al Berka preparatory school was NSP's model for excellence, for I learnt it had received several recognitions. To begin with, the school was visited by the US ambassador, embassy officials, and the MOE officials during its inauguration. In addition, one of its teachers, and a community education team member that I had later interviewed, was selected to represent NSP on behalf of the project's 3 governorates in an Egyptian Satellite channel's fifteen minutes movie that was telling the story of the project, and which was filmed in Bny Suwwāf . Furthermore, an American delegation, through the facilitations of CARE, had gathered the best twenty teachers' success stories from all of the NSP community and had sent these stories for a competition in the US. That same teacher and community team member mentioned above had won the award for the best teacher among all compiled portfolios. Lastly, Al Berka preparatory school had won the first place on the educational administration local level for aesthetic decoration and beauty.

These reasons, while have helped me see the many areas of success in the program, have also made it harder to assess areas of weakness in NSP, thus evaluate the community participation aspect of it fairly and equitably. Accordingly, and during my interviews with the CARE staff member in specific, I had to ensure asking questions on other experiences in schools that were not as successful, the reasons and challenges behind their lack of success, and the lessons learnt. This has ensured a more holistic and fair assessment of my field work.

Methods

8 Semi-structured interviews were chosen and conducted, for they give the respondents ‘a deep involvement in the conversational development’.¹¹⁶ Moreover, semi-structured interviews produce better quality data as they limit the scope of information provided enough to avoid the usual ‘chatter’, yet the open ended nature of questions opens up new dimensions for research.¹¹⁷ The interviews were conducted in the Arabic language, and with the following interviewee data:

- 5 girls between the ages of eleven to thirteen currently enrolled in the NSP preparatory school of Al Berka
- 1 multi grade teacher that has been involved in the project since its beginning
- 2 social workers who work in the same NSP school
- 3 community education members, who also serve as BOT members, parents of students who are graduates of or are still enrolled in NSP schools, and who were part of the community education teams formulated by CARE, and were key members in jump starting the project since its very early intervention phases.
- An 8th interview was also conducted in Cairo with the key CARE official who was responsible for the project in Al Berka during its entire duration.

To keep their identities concealed, the analysis and field work narration will refer to the interviewees as follows: interviewed 5 girls, the multi grade teacher, teacher number 1 and teacher number 2, community member 1, 2, and 3, and the CARE official.

¹¹⁶William Gibson and Andrew Brown, *Working with Qualitative Data* (Sage Publications: Minnesota: 2009)

¹¹⁷ Wayne Fife, *Doing Fieldwork: Ethnographic Methods for Research in Developing Countries and Beyond* (Palgrave Macmillan: 2005).

Access and Barriers

Being Egyptian, information on the culture of the host community has significantly improved my access to the information as researcher. In addition, speaking the Arabic language has also made the level of comfort during the interviews higher, since all interviewees were more comfortable with conducting the interviews in Arabic than in English. In addition, all interviewed members were inviting and welcoming, and were thoroughly participating in providing the needed information out of an unmistakable sense of “pride” towards the project. However, expecting barriers is a component of a researcher’s preparedness. Being Egyptian has the disadvantage of being too familiar with the culture, which can lead the researcher to assume things and make pre judgments. Luckily, my background is not at all familiar with the culture of Upper Egypt, albeit a couple of previous visits and for touristic reasons. Accordingly, context and environment of my research journey was thoroughly new and explorative on both personal and academic levels.

Overall, I did not experience trouble in dealing with the school principal, who was my main contact for arranging for the interviews. However, the interviewees were not precisely the ones I had asked for. Initially, I had requested meeting with NSP school graduates who have started or were enrolled in the school during its launch phases. However, the 5 girls I have met were young and still in preparatory schools, though still a product of an NSP school. In addition, I had also requested an interview with the school principal, who had declined the interview after I have reached the school. Lastly, one of the community team members were present during almost all of the interviews, especially with the students; sometimes intervening in the discussion with the girls and answering questions on their behalf, and I have made a conscious effort to keep diverting the questions back to the girls more than once. Furthermore, it was somewhat essential for this study to get the sponsor’s perspective on their agenda and their overview of the project. Hence, I have requested multiple times; via their official Facebook page, networks that CARE had put me in touch with, and by communication through several emails, to meet with officials from USAID for an interview; however, with no luck. Lastly, being able to physically reach Al Berka village was a struggle on its own. As someone who has never been to Minya before, I have booked a direct train from Cairo to Minya thinking that the Mallawi Center, which Al Berka village falls under, is easily accessible by a taxi drive from the main Minya train station. I was wrong. Soon after my train ride, I realized that Mallawi is almost an hour away by taxi from central Minya; in kilometers, almost 2.45. To reach there, I took a taxi for an hour, and to reach

the village, it took us another 20 minutes of asking passersby where our small village was. Geographically, Mallawi lies in the southern part of the Minya governorate, with ābu qrqas from the North and Mrkz Dayr Mūas from the South, and has an estimated population of approximately 680751. Mallawi itself did not strike me as agricultural; perhaps the neighboring ābu qrqas was. However, it had a lot of worn out construction buildings, police concentrations, and small local shops; which is why it is considered the administrative capital of the area. During the last 20 minutes of the drive, and while approaching our small village, the scenery began to differ; the streets became smaller, emptier, and with more agricultural lands on either or both sides.



Front view of the school

Post Fieldwork Challenges

Post the interviews, I have done my best in ensuring the accurate delivery of all collected data. As a ‘messenger’, I have attempted delivering the gathered information without personal judgment. However, a few personal gatherings were included in the analysis section of the data, and not in its delivery. In addition, there are a few limitations to this research. As much as I have tried to make the best selections in my sample to give the best assessment for the research question, I recognize that one research only is not able to provide conclusive answers, and that to reach more conclusive results, one needs to interview villages that have none-NSP schools

component, as well as villages where NSP has failed in creating any elements of community mobilization within.

Field Work Analysis

The interviews have resulted in thorough and rich information that were organized into 5 categories, with sub categories in most, according to the following criteria: the chronological organization of the project, key interview highlights, important signs of community transformations, and any other important research findings.

The categories are as follows:

- a. Community Context of Al Berka*
 - Terrorism and Upper Egypt
 - Al Berka Social Composition
 - Educational Conditions of Al Berka
- b. NSP Program Intervention- Barriers and Achievements*
 - CARE- The Foreign Entity
 - Why Educate the Girl?
- c. NSP Schools- Stories of Participation*
 - Land and School Constructions
 - On Teachers and Teaching
- d. Community Change*
 - Ownership
 - Empowerment
 - Sustainability
- e. Development and Aid Organizations- The Third Party*

In narration, the first category is the community social, educational, and political context of Al Berka village and this of Upper Egypt, which are necessary to know in order to understand the community; its nature, barriers, and needs, better. The second category discusses the NSP program early intervention phase, the community barriers imposed in the beginning, and how the community was able to overcome them. These barriers are summarized into the following sub-categories: CARE being a foreign entity and its intervention in Al Berka's rural culture, and second, community barriers that placed hindrances to educating girls in Upper Egypt during the late 1990s and early 2000s. The third category discusses the program's implementation phase; its progress and achievements, and community stories of participation. These are sub-categorized into stories on land and school construction, and second, on developing teachers and teaching methods. The fourth category is on community changes and transformations that have taken place during and beyond the project, and include indicators of community ownership, empowerment, and the sustainability aspect of the program. Finally, the last section discusses the importance of developmental and aid organizations in bringing about needed reforms in local and poor communities.

a. Community Context of Al Berka

In studying the community conditions of Al Berka and Mallawi in large pre the intervention of the NSP program, analysis will be divided into a number of angles that have been addressed by several of the interviewees as follows: a) the political conditions of terrorism in Minya and Upper Egypt during the 1990s b) Al Berka's social and community characteristics, and c) the community's educational conditions.

Terrorism and Upper Egypt:

To begin with, 3 of the main community members interviewed from Al Berka village, as well as the CARE staff member, also originally from Minya, have made sure they mention the effects of the fundamentalists movements largely present in Mallawi during periods from 1994 till the early 2000, and how it has touched upon their life conditions. Several militant movements have carried out terrorist attacks during this period in Upper Egypt under fundamentalists' religious ideologies that aimed at applying the Islamic Shariaa all over Egypt. The most prominent of them was The Islamic Movement¹¹⁸ which had a significant representation in Upper Egypt, along with the Jhad¹¹⁹ and the Tkfyw Alhjr¹²⁰. These movements have taken extreme terrorist actions in Upper Egypt and in the country on both civilians and politicians. On the politicians' level, it resulted in the killing of prominent figures such as Faraj Fūda and Rfa 't al Mhjub, the ex. parliamentary member, in the year 1990. In 1995, Hosni Mubarak was planned to be assassinated in Adis Ababa. Between 1993 and 1996, almost 170 tourist was killed in eleven attacks, and in November 1997, Upper Egypt witnessed the gruesome Luxor massacre¹²¹, which the Islamic Group had claimed responsibility for, and where the number of casualties had reached 58 tourist and 4 Egyptians. It is claimed that the Egyptian authorities back then had to make use of the families of Upper Egypt to help them arrest militant group members; among the most famous were Naufal Rabyia' from Qena governorate and E'zzat Hnfy from Minya¹²². In fact, Minya was among the most influenced governorates in Upper Egypt to witness terrorist attacks. Villages such as "Dlja" in Dair Mwas, and "ābw Hlal" neighborhood, also in the southern part of Minya, were residence to among the most famous radical figures; 'Assm A'bd al Mjiyyd, 'Ešam Derbala, and Safwat A'db al Gahny. In 1993, the village was surprised with microphone speakers announcing the application of the Islamic Shri'a on all citizens; one merchant from the village had even received 150 whips for lying. When police raided the village

¹¹⁸ الجماعة الإسلامية in Arabic

¹¹⁹ الجهاد in Arabic

¹²⁰ التكفير والهجر

¹²¹ مذبحة الدير البحري in Arabic

¹²² Al Hawary, Dandarawy. "خط الصعيد قضى على الإرهاب وليس العادلى". *Al Youm Al Sabae*. 28 December 2013.

http://www.youm7.com/story/2013/12/28/%D8%AE%D8%B7-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%B9%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D9%82%D8%B6%D9%89-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%B1%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D9%88%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%B3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%84%D9%89/1421326#.VsMpk_I94dU

to arrest radical figures, the group started showing activities of violence towards Egyptian Copts, which led the police to build a wall around the Beni ‘bād¹²³ village in ābu qrqas in fear of attempts to burn the village due to its high concentration of Christians¹²⁴. Till date, it said that ābū Hlal still holds posters of anti-police everywhere, with pictures of the former president Mohamed Morsi on its walls, and where the legal court¹²⁵ is still being held in order to punish community members who have committed wrong deeds.

Social Composition and Community characteristics of Al Berka:

Al Berka is a small village of approximately 7,000 residents, and falls under the Mallawi Center of the Minya governorate, where most of its residents either work in the educational sector or the agricultural sector. Interviewed Multi Grade teacher is a member of the Berka community for all her life; born, raised, married, and is working there. When asked if she had any community activities prior to her work in an NSP school, and when asked to describe overall community activities latent within the village before the CARE intervention, she said that the community is small, and that most members of the village already knew each other. Their type of community participation is not one of a political or electoral nature, but they all were always the first to attend each other’s weddings, funerals, and are always socially in solidarity with one another. They are already very aware of who nominates themselves in the parliament from their village and/or Center; their merits, drawbacks, and whether they are lying to the village members to achieve political grandeur or not.

When asked the same question, school teachers 1 and 2, also members of the community, had more or less stated the same, saying that because the community was already small, word of mouth was influential and fast. Their exact words were: *had the community not already been tied, there would not have been participation*; a statement that embeds a lot of questions on necessary pre-requisites, if any, needed to be present in a community prior to the intervention of a developmental project that mandates citizens’ contributions as central to its success.

Community member 1, when interviewed, had said that the village followed a system of

¹²³ بني عبيد

¹²⁴ “أبو هلال.. قصة البؤرة التي أنجبت أشهر قادة الإرهاب في العالم”، *Al Mogaz*. 15 August, 2014.

<http://www.elmogaz.com/node/175228>

¹²⁵ المحكمة الشرعية

marrying from one another¹²⁶, which had already enriched personal bonds between community members.

Children inside one classroom would already know each other very well; one girl would be another boy's cousin or sister, and so on. I already know very well the wife, kids, aunt, mother, and all family members of community member 3, and he would know the same about me¹²⁷.

Educational Conditions of Al Berka:

Before the intervention of NSP, the village had only 1 school, where the physical and logistical structures of were challenging. The school comprised 3 classrooms located inside a very old building, which was the oldest building in the whole Mallawi district educational area. Accordingly, the safety of the building, the students, teachers, and all those inside the school, was all in question;

The village was dying and in every dire need for a chance like this. I would do every effort I can to allow this program to be successful; a golden opportunity to change the situation and build a new school and make up for the old school¹²⁸.

The community had then built 2 extra classrooms with 100 students inside each, and they were made of wood. However, the wood was so old, that students inside classes could literally see one another from the holes inside the wood, let alone being protected from natural conditions of rain, which would ruin the classrooms, and wind, which made the classrooms prone to falling. The community had long suffered from the problem of students' enrolment as there were no spaces and no capacities to enroll students in these few, and poorly made up, classrooms. Needless to say, children of the village were not receiving any education, and the MOE had no role in or solution to any of this. However, the construction of those classrooms were early signs that showed community progressive approaches to solving pressing community problems as such prior to any third party intervention.

¹²⁶ نظام النسب

¹²⁷ Community member 2

¹²⁸ Community member 1

b. *The Intervention: Barriers and Achievements*

NSP, and the program's implementing agency, CARE, had met a lot of barriers when first intervening in Al Berka and other neighboring villages. Eventually, they were able to ensure a satisfactory level of community consensus that was able to jump start the initial phases of the project. According to the interviewed CARE official, the agency had a list of shortlisted villages that they approached as per a preliminary community research that the agency has conducted. In the beginning, they faced some bureaucratic challenges in dealing with governmental bodies. The levels of hierarchy and the numbers of officials and entities they had to interact with were many; there was first a Residential Committee¹²⁹ of the Head of the Educational Administration¹³⁰, and then the City Heads¹³¹, and then a second committee on the level of each Educational Administration¹³². These had the Center Heads¹³³, who had first nominated the places. Accordingly, CARE delved into discussions with the Educational Administration over the conditions of the nominated villages. In each village, and with the help and presence of a MOE official, they targeted influential family members and figures of authority in each village. If initial satisfaction was met, they formed a small group of community members, or Community Education Teams, who they hoped were initially excited about the project. This team would then help CARE orient the rest of the community with the project through large community information sessions. In the case of Al Berka, the community team were a group of sixteen members; 3 of which I have interviewed, and who have lived through the project beginning its very early initial phases. Afterwards, CARE required preliminary research on the educational needs of each village, in which the community team members had conducted by themselves as their first official assignment. This research comprised 2 important criteria: a) community educational needs, according to the number of schools in each village, and second b) the numbers of new born-s in the previous 3 years prior to the launch of the project. As a second assignment, CARE had divided the roles. They informed the team that, while a large part of the

¹²⁹ لجنة تسكينية

¹³⁰ مدير الإدارة التعليمية

¹³¹ رؤساء المدن

¹³² إدارة تعليمية

¹³³ مديريين المراكز

communication with MOE and the Directorate¹³⁴ was CARE's responsibility, getting the rest of the community excited about the project was the team's job.

Needless to say, the following state the key barriers that the project has faced in its very early intervention phases, and how CARE, and most importantly the community, was able to overcome those barriers. In other words, the barriers fully integrate stories of community engagement successes, and how the community was able to overcome those barriers by themselves. Needless to say, and according to the interviewed CARE official, the first villages to work with had a great impact in terms of words of mouth on other villages, which eventually led to a higher demand of enrolment in NSP schools than the available resources of the project were.

CARE- The Foreign entity:

The most pressing barrier in the intervention phase of the project, and before its initiation phase, was the involvement of a foreign entity into small communities in Egypt, and the questions, if not suspicions, that were associated with their intentions as non-Egyptian entities. In addition, the fact that this foreign entity was specifically interested in educating girls in the community made the job harder. Accordingly, CARE's most important challenge was to resist and change people's perceptions about their intentions. In the beginning, the program had received fluctuating responses. Questions such as "what do you want from us?" and "what do you want from our girls?" were received. CARE official said: *as little as entering those small communities in new Jeep cars was problematic and evoking to many questions and suspicions. We were looked at as the strangers who no one knew what they wanted*¹³⁵.

Needless to say, correcting those suspicions was not only hard on the smaller community level, but also on the level of other neighboring villages. For example, community members from neighboring Dayrūt¹³⁶ and Nazlet El 'ryn¹³⁷ had completely refused to collaborate with CARE.

¹³⁴ مديرية

¹³⁵ CARE official 1

¹³⁶ ديروط

¹³⁷ نزلة العرين

One of the community team members said he had to endure rumors and bad reputations from as little as performing small daily activities, such as using public transportation;

*It was hard to get on the local bus every day. I could easily have quarrels with people. It was that violent, and it happened on a daily basis*¹³⁸.



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Community education teams

Community member 3 said that they tried to calm down the smaller and larger community by reassuring everyone that this was an Egyptian school, built on an Egyptian soil, with Egyptian school teachers' giving their best, and with the Egyptian flag hanging on top of the school; thus, there were no ulterior agendas to why the project was starting. According to the words of community member 1, *they had to challenge the whole community for this*, and according to

¹³⁸ Community Member 2

¹³⁹ Photo inserted upon the consent of the participants

community member 3, those same opponents from other villages, and he named the village of Nazlet El 'rīn, have regretted their opposition later.

In reality, the basic ideological concept of community participation in some communities in Upper Egypt was virtually and conceptually very hard to find and/or to achieve. For example, the Chief, or 'ūmda, of a village under the name of Shaikh Shbaika¹⁴⁰ in Mallawi had completely refused to receive the program's orientation. This Chief was the main authority figure in the village, which had a pre-existing history of fundamentalists groups. Shaikh Shbaika had extremely few girls who were educated; *you could count them on one hand- maybe 2 or 3*¹⁴¹, and 85% of the village members were working at the Chief's, who owns most of the land. According to the interviewed CARE official, the Chief had wanted all people around him to remain on the same level of un-education; *he didn't want their enlightenment; the lack of it ensured that people stayed under his powers*. External city officials have also tried to convince him, and his response always remained in refusal. With the help of the head of the local unit¹⁴², CARE had continued approaching other authority figures in the village as their only remaining hope. However, because the Chief had all other village members insinuated, a lot of the families remained in opposition. Eventually, CARE was able to intervene in Shaikh Shbaika, albeit at a later date. Upon seeing constructed schools in other villages, and when families realized that the aim was public service and that the rumors had no value to them, the Chief himself had approached CARE to start the project. Surprisingly, the level of community engagement in Shaikh Shbaika was reportedly very high, even more so than this of Al Berka, for it came after a large history of opposition.

Why Educate the Girl?

This barrier had a two folded side to it; finances, and local traditions. To begin with, the program had faced a lot of resistance in its intervention phase to change people's perceptions about the education of girls. In the case of Al Berka, a large percentage of families did not believe in girls'

¹⁴⁰ شيخ شبيكة

¹⁴² رئيس الوحدة المحلية

education as the roles were already set; a girl's natural role was to help her mother at home, and a boy's job was to work in the field. There was no need to educate the girl, and why would they when she will end up getting married and become someone else's financial responsibility? In my interview with the Multi Grade teacher, the respondent said she used to physically and personally visit houses during the beginning of the project. Together with another well-respected community senior who was very much involved in the project, she tried to convince parents, who were mostly uneducated as well, to send their girls to the NSP schools. Similarly, CARE official said that they had to conduct a lot of home visits to convince parents to send their girls to schools. In fact, and up until 2015, the program's multi grade teacher had still conducted a home visit to one of the village houses to meet a parent, and the parent did not still agree to have his girl educated; posing the same accusatory question; why the girl? The teacher resorted to more innovative ways to be able to convince the parent by providing him with real life situations; "What if someone abuses her ignorance and makes her sign on something she was not supposed to sign? What if she needs to give a medicine and was not able to because she is not able to read a prescription?"

Similarly, the NSP school children stated that, while most of their friends and families were educated, a few were still not. This is because the girls themselves do not like education, as those who received an education *didn't do much with it*¹⁴³. Others still had to work with their parents in the field. Most importantly, both reasons stem from having parents that do not encourage their children to get an education in the first place, which is ultimately why the girls are not interested. All interviewed students had parents, sisters and brothers, and family members, who encouraged them to get educated. While as a researcher I cannot say Al Berka has 100% changed in terms of education of girls without empirical evidence, the village has made huge progresses. While traditions used to be the number one barrier, with finances coming second, finances is now the number one barrier, preceding traditions. While this progress could have highly occurred due to CARE's interventions, the village is now open to other awareness channels, such as Television and the Internet, which may have highly and positively impacted the community perception on the education of girls.

¹⁴³ According to one of the interviewed students

On the other hand, high numbers of school drop outs, which Al Berka used to suffer from in the past, were largely for reasons of finances. This is because, not only did both the boy and the girl had to help their parents, but also because education was a financial burden on the family. For example, one village parent had a total of 6 children; 5 boys and 1 girl. Naturally to the parent, the girl was an added financial burden to the already 5 boys he has to pay an education for, and accordingly, he was not going to send the girl to school. Members of the community presented him with solutions that he will not have to pay for anything for the girl as all fees and material will be covered by NSP. The community had to leave him after the discussion to take his time to think, and then later, had followed up with him, and with success. Such approach between members of the community and one another show deep levels of understanding, as well as persistence, between those involved in the program and the rest of their community.

Accordingly, CARE's intervention to take care of all associated school tuition; fees, copybooks, all school material from pencils to all other, had played a large impact in elevating the financial burden off parents' shoulders, thus, increasing school enrolments of girls in the village.

Occasional drop outs however do still take place, but with immediate interventions from the community taking place. Currently, no student at the school I have visited is dropping out of school, and students may miss 1 or 2 classes only during the time span of fifteen days. One of the current students enrolled in the preparatory stage had missed more classes than she should. This is because, 2 days a week, she had to fill in her mother's shoes to sell vegetables to the village, while her mother would go to the market and buy the stock. Eventually, the teachers intervened and spoke to the mother. If need arises, according to the teachers, they call the parents to school for a discussion. More importantly, when a student is repeatedly absent, this leads to the weakening of the kid's educational level. This is because *kids don't study and there is no follow up from the parents because lot of them has to work after school* and the parents are already busy with making ends meet.

On the other hand, and prior to NSP, lack of access to nearby schools posed a problem to girls' enrolment. Geographically, and historically, girls had to travel all the way to Al Berka to receive an education, which meant they had to walk for approximately 5 kilometers to reach their school destination. This was deemed unsafe and un-customary for families in Upper Egypt. Meanwhile,

other villages remained with zero schools. These villages were the ones that NSP had made a huge difference for; such as E'zbat Sāf alghrbya, Nzlat āsmant, Nzlat ābu qrqas, E'zbat Hmdy, and Shaikh Shbaika¹⁴⁴

c. NSP Schools: Stories of Participation

Land and School Constructions:

Each of Al Berka's sixteen team members had assigned a representative from each extended family in the village to collect funds from all families to initiate the project with. These donations were either monetary or in other forms, with CARE's main aim to evoke a sense of ownership of the community towards the project. CARE had mandated that the community collects 10% to initiate a school trust fund¹⁴⁵ with, and with the other another 10% being contributed from the Ministry. Initially, families did not want to pay, and the team members had to go through endless negotiations to be able to convince people to pay whatever amount they can, even if in modest amounts. In addition, community members had to also collect 10% of the costs associated with the construction of the schools, so if the school had theoretically cost L.E. 24,000, the village had to collect and contribute with the amount of L.E. 2,400 towards the costs of building them. However, the larger problem, were in guaranteeing other forms of donations, specifically, convincing community members to give in parts of their land for the construction of the schools. Consistent negotiations started with people who owned, or were responsible for the operation of, some lands, in order to give up some acres from their fields. This had sometimes resulted in the police intervening to solve such disputes, in which, the team members had to resort to newer approaches to collect the lands. They created a logic for the landlords; if they were to donate pieces of their land, people will start living around the vicinity of the new built schools, and thus, the land prices will go higher and their value would increase in the market. Currently, one acre of the land could reach as high as L.E. 200,000, as opposed to of L.E. 20,000 in the past. Needless to say, the logic behind the negotiation was extremely innovative, and to

¹⁴⁴ عزبة سيف الغربية, عزبة حمدي, عزبة الشيخ شببقة, أبو قرقاص, نزلة أسمنت

¹⁴⁵ ودبعة

come from a small group of dedicated community members who have given the time and mental effort to come up with such solutions, was original and dedicative. In addition, CARE had mandated that community members would get involved in all stages of legalizing the lands. Community members had to acquire the approval themselves, sometimes with great difficulties as the local authorities weren't always cooperative or fast. Another fascinating example, which was story-told by interviewed community member 2, was that because they had difficulty collecting money, they would gather the leather that was removed from the slaughtered sheep during the greater Bayrum, and they would take the collected leather material and sell them for money. This money would then get installed into the community's monetary fund for the project. Needless to say, a major barrier for a few villages other than Al Berka, in specific 3, was that they had no land to give in for the construction of the schools; no State owned lands nor private owned lands. However, they had severe educational needs, and people were willing to receive assistance. In addition, citizens of the 3 villages were too poor to give donations in order to buy land. With the coordination of CARE, the governorate had bought the lands for these villages 3 villages, and these were the only example of land contributions provided by the government towards the project.



Front view of Al Berka Preparatory school

Prior to the launch of each school, CARE would determine the school structure together with the local Educational Administration who the principal, officers, teachers, and other members of the school were. In the beginning, they had difficulty finding teachers, and would resort to ones from

neighboring areas. In addition, and as part of the program, CARE would mandate that at least 1 or 2 community members needed to be physically present with the contractor during the process of school construction, and be responsible for supervision of the entire process. This had required a lot of commitment and dedication from the community members. As per the final NSP evaluation report, the process of school construction, due to contractor difficulties, had often taken more time than expected. Accordingly, and until the schools were constructed, CARE had assigned the community teams with the formulation of 3 temporary classrooms¹⁴⁶ and multi grade classrooms in village houses or local youth centers. For the multi grade schools, they were also responsible for recruiting the facilitators¹⁴⁷ (the teachers in the multi-grade format) and the students, until the official schools were constructed. The temporary schools had lasted for almost a year, and according to CARE, it was a novelty that a MOE teacher, sometimes not from the same village but from a neighboring one, would actually agree to go and teach inside a local house. As schools were constructed, parents' associations, as well as schools' boards of trustees, would be democratically elected by the involvement of all interested community members. In the case of Al Berka, BOTs and PAs members, as well as school teachers, would overlap, so that all three groups can be composed of one another; mainly a result of the small size of the village. For example, in the case of the 3 community members I have interviewed, they were all parents of children in an NSP school, 1 was also a teacher, and the 3 were BOT members. All members, including parents and teachers, would receive trainings on community participation, good government, volunteerism, teaching methodologies, active and comparative learning, as well as other subjects.

On Teachers and Teaching:

Given the above mentioned community struggles and intervention barriers that the program had to go through, and with efforts being put into placing emphasis on girls' education in the community, the situation eventually changed over the time span of the program's 8 years. In the beginning, the challenges faced revolved around the community's acceptance to girls receiving

¹⁴⁶ الفصول المؤقتة

¹⁴⁷ ميسرات

an education, in which CARE and other dedicated community members had to fight and get into numerous conversations for by methods of home visits and endless conversations.

Upon their actual construction, NSP schools became so popular “they were almost like private schools, and enrolment in them was very hard”¹⁴⁸.

When communities began to notice how clean the schools were, how the classrooms’ settings were different, and how teachers were trained, they began to be convinced. The village thought this was not an ordinary public school but a private one, though in fact, this was a regular national school. For example, when regular national schools had desks¹⁴⁹, the NSP schools had tables of smaller number of students in circles, not one long desk in the back and front of another, which allowed engagement between the students and themselves, and between the teacher and the students. The school I have visited had 2 guards greeting me upon my arrival, had a large courtyard, a small but very inviting patio that had a shield from the sun, relatively spacious rooms, (though the Principal was sharing his room with another school official), a room with a basin and a stove, in addition to someone being responsible for irrigating the plants, cleaning the yard, and fixing us coffee and tea.

¹⁴⁸ According to CARE official

¹⁴⁹ تخت



The courtyard of the school



Entrance towards classes and the Principal's room

The yard also had a lot of drawings and pictures on the walls, and the school guard was very happy that someone was taking pictures of “his” premises; he kept encouraging me to take more.

Needless to say, Al Berka preparatory school was officially inaugurated with a visit from the American ambassador back then, the Minister of Education, and officials from the American Embassy, being one of USAID’s educational contributions to Upper Egypt and the country. According to community member 1, when people started seeing schools being constructed and the ambassador visiting with all the “buzz” created in the village and neighboring villages because of his arrival, they finally started seeing the seriousness of the whole project, and slowly, they wanted to become a part of it. Even nearby villages that were in opposition were “jealous”. The approach of the project was one to lead by example.

Needless to say, the school took no fees from students for tuition, books, pencils, or any other material, except for the modest L.E. 20+ that national schools mandate from parents. In addition to the school teachers, the school had two home-based social workers; one has been working in the school since 2007, and a second from 2011.

In regards to the multi grade schools, the final NSP report had mentioned that some of the multi grade classrooms during NSP’s history were poorly constructed and had suffered from bad weather conditions, such as rain and dust. It had also suffered from pests and insects getting inside the classrooms because of the modest construction. This was however not the case with Al Berka multi grade schools. Though I have not visited, I was told that classes were very clean. Multi grade classrooms enrolled students starting 9 years old to 14 years old, and sometimes from 6 years old to 14 years old depending on demand. Class sizes can go up to 6 or 7 in one level, and some classes had forty because the community is small. Classrooms had a small stove for the House Keeping subject¹⁵⁰, and a bathroom. They also teach sewing, English, Social Studies, Science, Computer, and other mandated subjects by the MOE. Multi grade classroom teachers were referred to as the facilitators, and not teachers, and one facilitator would teach all of these subjects to his/her students. When interviewing the multi grade teacher, she mentioned that through CARE, she was able to receive trainings on methods of active learning and comparative teaching. She would let children in her classroom teach one another by intention; for example, while she was busy teaching 6th grade, a student from 4th grade would teach other

¹⁵⁰ التدبير المنزلي

kids from 1st grade on how to count and do math, and so on. According to her, had CARE not trained her, she would not have known about other subjects that she was not taught of herself, or on how to actively teach them. For example, they trained her on Arabic; something she said she did not know how to teach since her undergraduate background was in English. Needless to say, CARE had interviewed this teacher several times and made her sit for several tests before taking the decision to employ her in NSP's multi grade classrooms. All selected teachers have been subjected to this screening and tests prior to being accepted into the NSP system.

Furthermore, CARE, together with a fund from Vodafone, had integrated a technology component in the final phases of the program by building computer centers inside each school. People in the village would be very excited about using computers, especially since these centers had their doors open to the rest of the community from 5:00 pm after school hours and till later in the night. Naturally, this was of precedence to Al Berka.

School computers came at a time when the whole of the Mallawi district did not have any cyber spaces to use in the first place. This was a novelty to small village like ours. CARE had done this for us¹⁵¹.

d. Community Change

The NSP program had undoubtedly created community changes in terms of civic participation in Al Berka village. Whether these changes are a direct result of the NSP program or not, or are also a result of other factors as well, is of question. As mentioned more in the analysis section, other factors may have played a role, such as the cohort-feelings that the community already shared, MOE and State efforts in Upper Egypt in the 1990s and 2000s, the overall effect of exposure to social and digital media, and the subjection to political changes that took place all over the country since 2011, that may very well need to be included in the equation. However, the interviews I have conducted have shown a boost in both the educational conditions and the

¹⁵¹ CARE official 1

cohort-building capacities of the village, largely due to a major impact that the project had made on people's lives.

Ownership:

The sense of ownership created by the program was working in two directions in parallel; to invest on people's sense of ownership towards the program, and second, to capitalize on community sentiments and relationships between members of the village and one another for an increased level of ownership towards their village. To increase the sense of ownership towards the program, it was very important that CARE was to involve all community members in the processes of its initiation, implementation, and sustainability. As mentioned earlier, Al Berka is considered a small community of 7,000 members who already knew each other and are tied by means of marriage and social obligations. During my interview with the community members, the School Principal, had cut us in the middle to announce the death of another village member, and that at some point, they will have to cut the interviews somewhat shorter as they will all need to go and attend the funeral. This ownership transcended to the interview I had with the girls as well. When asked whether they would like to leave their village at some point or not, they had all unanimously vocalized their rejection to the idea: *Al Berka is our village. We grew up and we live here. How can we forget it? If we leave and go somewhere else, we will know no one*¹⁵².



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¹⁵² As per one of the interviewed 5 girls

¹⁵³ Photo inserted upon the consent of the participants

Their sense of belonging towards the village was evident; even the tones of their voices went higher when posing the prospects of them leaving. When asked if they can study outside for a while and then return, they unanimously agreed they will study and then come back; they said it's "their" own place. And then one girl stated; *how can we forget our village?* To them, village was the cohort feeling and ties they have with their family and friends. When asked if they can leave if their friends leave, they said they will still stay. When asked if they will leave if their families leave, their response was that they will regretfully have to leave too.

The process of school construction; from acquiring the land and collecting of funds, to being involved in all school launch phases, including the smallest details of choosing the color of the school paints and school designs, had made the village feel that this is their own project, and hence, had increased their level of awareness and dedication towards education. One community member said that he had gladly volunteered money that he had lawfully gained from additional work assignments under the MOE to be used for the school's benefit. In addition, parents right now care.

It is considered a novelty in the small village of Al Berka that parents cared enough to physically pay a visit to the school and ask about the performances of their kids; a parent would be barefoot, very poor, and with a torn Kaftan (Galabeya), and they would still care about their children's school performances¹⁵⁴.

As per the various responses from the interviewees, Al Berka now has zero drop outs from school, and all children are enrolled in a formal schooling system, including children at neighboring villages. According to them, if as few as 1 kid dropped out of school, people in the village would come and report to them the story in details and wait for an action. This has happened on several occasions. In addition, to involve all members of the community in the program, all parties had received orientations and trainings; PAs members, BOTs members, teachers, as well as the parents themselves. In the beginning of the project, parents had avoided being present during the parents' meetings in fear of being asked for financial donations. Right now, according to 1 of the interviews, a parent knows he would come attend the meeting, get treated for food and drinks, and be intentionally involved in the project, thus tacitly investing in

¹⁵⁴ Community member 3

his responsibility for and protection of it. In other words, communities had put conscious efforts in these schools, and that's why the schools are still being well-maintained and kept. The trainings that teachers and all other members had been receiving, along with the constant monitoring, visits, and pressures from the local administrations and CARE, had made NSP a top reason for creating these changes.

Empowerment:

The early stages of intervention that CARE had presented to the community of Al Berka, as well as other villages, with, denoted signs of empowerment to the community. When CARE had first presented the project, they have provided the community with the power of the choice to accept the project or not. While Al Berka was in dire need for a program as such and had received the program with a welcome that denoted a need for education, others have not. Accordingly, the way this program was intervening from its early stages had empowered the community with the luxury of acceptance or refusal. In addition, a motivation lay in the essence that this was not an imposed program by the Ministry or any other state-owned official entity, which I am going to discuss in more details in the later section of third party interventions. Furthermore, while some participants in the program were involved due to their official assignments by the MOE, others wanted to join out of their own free will. During the interview with the Multi grade teacher, she said she is the one who applied and made the choice to join the program, though she had a BA in English and could have worked somewhere else. Her main reason was that this program in specific had the main focus of helping girls, and so, she wanted to make a difference and have a role in creating this change. Needless to say, the stories told above, and the actions taken and still being taken by the community, were ones that denote to a more empowered village. The first interview I had with the girls was least to describe as compelling in reflecting angles of empowerment in the community. Upon first entering the school, I got greeted by 5 to 6 curious and smiley girls who even though looked shy, were studying me as to who that stranger who is visiting their school and village is. I did not know these were the girls I was going to interview. Due to their younger age; between 11 and 13 years old, none of the girls had lived the times of the NSP program. However, I had asked them questions on their visions, how they are welcoming education to their lives, how they see their marriage prospects versus their education, and the roles that their families had in their lives, and I was surprised with their enlightenment.

The answers I have received were vocal, confident, and denoted of a high level of understanding to the world, albeit their young ages. Though is an effect of their education, it may not necessarily be a direct effect of being enrolled in an NSP school only, but perhaps, from my personal view, showing traits of a newer generation that is more open to increased life choices. All respondents said that both their parents, who were also educated, were the main reasons why they wanted to go to school in the first place; similar to their siblings who have also all been educated (1 of them had 5 sisters and all were educated). They also said their teachers always told them they want to see them as something “big”, such as doctors and engineers; they even bring them prizes and engage them in competitions between one another.

Our education is valuable and irreplaceable. We all have to get an education. No one can stand against us getting an education¹⁵⁵.

In addition, they spoke about wanting to have a “better-life-status”. When asked what a better life status meant for them, they saw education as leading them to a “good life status” because it will take them on a path that will help them “benefit” the people around them. Their second definition of “benefit” meant they wanted to become doctors, engineers, or lawyers. When asked what their marriage prospects were, all said they will wait till after they finish secondary school and their university education to get married; one said she will need to finish an MA and a PhD first before she thinks of commitment. They have agreed that an age of 26 to 29 is a good age for marriage. Whether in the progression of their lives this will happen, or they will eventually submit to earlier proposals for marriages, is interesting to study in the capacities of another research. However, the visions they had for their life goals at such a young age was of worth noticing. The multi grade teacher had also told the story of a student she described as a “genius”. This student is very poor, and has to work in the field, as well as work in a local mobile shop store, after finishing his school hours. His mother is not convinced with the importance of his education in the first place; however, he does not miss school at all, and is always clever in most school subjects. She predicted he will have a bright future, despite a reality that poses many hurdles towards his progress. To get a sense of an older generation’s mentality, I had asked community member 3, who had daughters who were either educated or receiving an education, if

¹⁵⁵ Interview one with the 5 students

he would agree that one of his younger daughters takes a step further and travels to the United States to receive an advanced degree. He instantly said yes, though looked a little bit skeptical about the question; possibly for a lack of access to an opportunity as such, and not for the decision itself to send her or not.

Sustainability:

The NSP program was unique in ensuring the incorporation of methods of sustainability since its initiation phase. These methods were composed of 2 corners: financial, and educational sustainability. Two trust funds for each of the NSP schools were launched from the beginning of the project that the village members have personally contributed 10% of tow, thus, increasing their sense of ownership towards the project. Members of the community were made aware that they cannot make use of these funds unless this condition is met. CARE had ensured that these trust funds can not be used before 10 years; the first to be put to maintain the computer centers with (each school had 9 computers), and the second, to be used for construction maintenance work that the school may need at any point. On the non-financial level, CARE ensured the sustainability of the project by investing a lot of work and training on building the capacity of the community, and on members who got trained and who eventually trained other community members on the same training material they received. Together with the Center for Curriculum Development, CARE had built an educational portfolio for active learning that the schools uses, which the evidences of are valid till date. More importantly, and according to the interviewed CARE official, NSP left a very good and sustainable reputation in the villages they intervened in. Schools were built and maintained very well, and till date, it is harder to get enrolled in an NSP School than in a regular national school; it has the reputation of almost being a private school. School Principals who move to the CARE schools through government assignments are very aware that they will work hard; some even refuse to take the job just because of the amount of work they know they will have to put in. According to community members, school meetings are still being run efficiently. Inside the PAs meetings, their operation is still being carried out lawfully and democratically; the meeting is to be cancelled if the number of attendees was not legally sufficient until the official number of attendees are complete.

On the other hand, some NSP schools were not as successful in the sustainability compartment. This is primarily because of a change in the calibers of teachers and school principals that CARE

had first worked with and trained, which pertains to organizational mobility imposed by MOE on its employees. Accordingly, the new officials do not transcend or transmit the same values that they have been trained on to others who have not lived through the NSP experience. However, and specifically in Minya, the schools that still uphold NSP standards comprise almost 60%, compared to ones that have fallen behind, according to the interviewed CARE official. Needless to say, CARE is not in touch with all schools till date; only the ones that they continued working with in other projects post the completion of NSP.

D- Development and Aid Organizations- The Third Party

In the case of this study, a key aspect of bridging the gap between community empowerment and education is the intervention of an exterior development agency element into the equation for both sponsorship and implementation; in the case of this program, it would be USAID as the sponsor, and CARE as the implementing agency. I have called the intervention of an exterior party the “third party” intervention in the development process. However, one cannot realize whether third party intervention is necessary or not without bringing into the equation the relationship between the community and the State, which are basically the first and second parties, and what each does, and most importantly expects, from the other. In addition, whether the MOE, and the smaller ministerial bodies underneath its supervision, were cooperative during the implementation phases of this program or not, is also key. Accordingly, one of my crucial interview questions was to ask community members on what their opinion was on the role of the State in education. Most of the responses were that the State has not done much for them, and that with CARE, they are better trained. One of the community members said he is more able computer-wise now than teachers he has personally spent time and worked with in Cairo. He added that trainings conducted by CARE were punctual and facilitated. On the other hand, to receive one of those trainings from the MOE, he had to drive every day for almost 2 hours going to New Minya, and then back again to his village, all on his own personal expenses. In addition, the training took place at 1 pm which is after his working hours, and which meant he had to work in the morning, and then move mid-day towards the location of his training and wait till night for his return. To the interviewee, that was not “humane”. On other hand, CARE had provided in-

house trainings to all teachers and community members, with food and beverages being served, and with content that they were probably not going to get anywhere else, such as computer trainings on computers they physically had in their schools. These incentives and facilitations were not offered by the MOE, and if they were, they were being offered in un-attractive and non-motivational contexts, with little attention to the attendees' physical or logistical needs.

In the case of NSP, CARE admits that the State entities were largely cooperative, but because CARE was essentially building and handing the State fresh new schools. When it came to the lands, the ministry only had to truly intervene in buying lands for only 3 of the schools in the entire Minya governorate, and the rest of the lands were already there. To legalize lands in order to build the schools, community members had to go and acquire signatures from twenty two different government offices, which though was the community's job, had posed major obstacles in the program's launching phases. However, the MOE's cooperation was ensured on many other levels, for essentially, a third party was doing the job, and intervening to build and deliver new schools in otherwise inaccessible and underserved areas, with their own teachers being fully trained to work there. In addition, these schools were built on the highest of standards; according to the CARE official, they were built *according to CARE standards, not the MOE standards, and it turned out that CARE standards were much cheaper than building with MOE standards if budgets were to be compared*. The school designs looked even more attractive than those implied by the Center for Educational Facilities, and they are being replicated now to other national non-NSP schools.

However, and even though a third party may bring in the needed funds and a facilitated knowledge-transmission processes, donor funded approaches have to revolve around national sectorial and intersect oral collaborations. In other words, donor funded projects, being the third party in the equation cannot perform or meet their targets under being several parallel and isolated projects that perform without the support of the relevant Ministries. This is actually detrimental should educational programs want to ensure their sustainability. In addition, educational projects cannot be further sustained unless they bring in a holistic approach to education that includes aspects of financial, technical, and vocational investments that transcends to the larger level, which is what NSP transmits; knowledge-sharing processes that connects all involved stakeholders to one another in order to ensure that the project is integrated within the

local context of the village and with the direct involvement and supervision of the local community. In the case of NSP, the involvement of the third party can be looked at as the bridge that connects the gap between not only fluctuating levels of dissatisfaction between the community and the State, but also as connecting to gaps created as a result of changes taking place in other sectorial areas. For example, the face of Upper Egypt as a whole is changing in terms of their Agriculture production; cotton productions have receded, and the textile industry in the country has been facing difficulties, which has changed the economy of rural Egypt altogether. Accordingly, it could take the existence of a third party to accelerate needed changes that could otherwise fail, or take a slower pace, due to other non-education related factors intervening in the process of educational reform, such as governmental budget constraints, and money that is otherwise being spent on other more pressing sectors. This argument could be challenged by advocators of aid creating dependencies in development, especially in third world countries. This view could also be supported by massive universal discrepancies in development; some countries have done really well in terms of sustained growth in the realm of international development, while others have sunk in increased poverty and corruption due to foreign aid. My two cents is that third parties that capitalize on community-organizing movements and invoking community leadership within in the context of their projects, are making tremendous investments that lead to measurable and outstanding results in both the sustainability of their projects, as well as in the creation of a change in the human behavior of the communities involved.

Chapter 5

Field Work Findings and Analysis

My data is analyzed by comparing the findings from the interviews together with the final program evaluation report, as well as analyzed through the lens of relevant theoretical literature on social capital and democracy, and the associated operational levels for the advancement of social capital within a community.

My interview findings have reflected the following two major divisions:

- 1) The community involvement in the NSP project has successfully helped in strengthening the capacities of the community into increased participation and community cohort-building, and have helped to develop an already-existing-but-limited culture of social capital in the community, which proves the first part of my hypothesis to be right.
- 2) As for the second part of the hypothesis, while the community may transcend to democracy in the future, and while the community has exhibited a few signs of a more democratic environment during and beyond the duration of the project, I cannot say that the community of Al Berka has been democratized, and hence, my hypothesis was proven wrong in its second part.

The presence of the NSP program was a necessary but insufficient condition in the advancement of democracy in the community.

First Part of my Hypothesis- The Advancement of Social Capital:

The success of the project in helping advance a culture of social capital is due to a number of reasons that are mostly rooted within the conceptual framework of this research, which is social capital through education and its relationship with democracy, and its leading to elements of trust and more associational relationships and behaviors between the community and one another and with other neighboring networks.

- First is a reason that lies in the fundamental essence of social capital, as per the work of Robert Putnam and the WB, which is the building of trust as the core value between the networks of individuals and one another. The community had shared limited but un-collective and un-organized forms of trust prior to the intervention of the program; the kind of trust that had its roots within their natural social ties, but did not have the power or structure to inflict communal change. However; albeit initial resistances, and by being involved in the various stages of the project, the community of Al Berka had witnessed transformations in the way its citizens regard education due to increased levels of trust among them as a result of the project's positive contributions, which eventually led to feelings of ownership towards the schools, and their sustainability till today.
- Second is a reason that is imbedded within the first operational level of the theory of social capital in itself, which is community bonding. It is also embedded within several of the indicators for social capital developed by Putnam, such as serving on local committees, engagement in local club meetings, and memberships in local organizations¹⁵⁶. This is divided into two components; bonding and indicators pre the project, and ones post the project. Needless to say, the community of Al Berka has exhibited signs of community bonding pre the intervention of the project, which means that there was some form of social capital, albeit its limited extent, before NSP. This was reflected in the local school that the community has built, even though its conditions were extremely poor. However, this social capital was the survival type of capital; the type of capital that helped people "get by" as per as De Souza Briggs' analysis¹⁵⁷. The effects of survival social capital remain limited in their scope of impact due to its lack of resources, which abstains more progressive forms of development to take place because citizens are primarily concerned with

¹⁵⁶ See Chapter 1

¹⁵⁷ See page 17

“coping”. In addition, survival social capital does not have the power to change community perceptions that aim to solve larger social issues, such as girls’ education. For example, and in the case of NSP, the community began retaining higher numbers of girls receiving an education only after the intervention of NSP. This is due to reasons regarding increased access to education, the barring of all financial costs associated with education of girls by NSP, hence, the elimination of any financial burdens on the family, and the higher quality of education of NSP schools. This all assumes that a certain level, even if a limited one, of survival bonding in the community, helps in the success level of an intervening developmental project. This also assumes that for poorer communities, survival capital is present and is of avail in order for them to make essential ends meet. As earlier mentioned, the years before the intervention of NSP; 2000 to 2001, were witnesses to the first waves of increased globalization, and as per Egypt’s Human Development Report back then, there was a general fear that increased exposure to mass media would weaken the building of social capital on the local level¹⁵⁸.

As for post NSP, the community of A Berka has remained active beyond the capacities of NSP. This is due to both external and internal factors. The external factors include the continuation of the community to organize itself and remain involved in other projects funded by other outside sponsors, such as a literacy eradication project funded by CARITAS. The community also has organized efforts with the Food Bank and other charitable entities that approach the village or the Mallawi Center for donations. Internally, the community has organized themselves on a number of activities. First, the village had started a number of internal projects approximately 5 to 6 years ago. One of the projects was to establish a community organization that helps local farmers with their livestock. This organization, by means of community personal funds, helps members in need to buy cattle for them in order to help them with their income. So far, they have bought livestock for eleven families. In addition, families can turn in the produce of their cattle to the organization, where by the organization helps selling this produce, and bringing back the income to the families. Furthermore, the community has established a separate community team that overlooks all charity work in the village. This team legalized its work to become a formal community organization in Al Berka, whereby they take premises of this organization in the local mosque. This organization helps village members with charity donations of blankets, financial loaning, and any other donations in need. As described by one of the community members, this

¹⁵⁸ Egypt Human Development Report-2000/2001- http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/egypt_2001_en.pdf

organization is in essence “from the people and to the people”. This team also helps in the coordination aspect of liaising with outside donors. For example, the team has formulated a database of all families in positions of need, and they communicate the names to the Food Bank for regular food donations.

- Third reason lies in the second operational aspect of social aspect, which is community bridging between members of the community and other neighboring organizations, and which links social capital to the evolution, or lack of evolution, of an attitude of participation that leads to democracy. Fifteen years ago, which is approximately the same time when the program was established in, the Mallawi Center had formed a coalition under the name of “The Union of the Mallawi Coalition¹⁵⁹”. This coalition combines fifty villages from the Center of Mallawi, including Al Berka, and, is regarded as very active. It works in a number of directions, among which is political involvement, and solving community disputes within the local development context. On the political level, the coalition gathers parliamentary candidates’ weeks before the elections to hear what their plans are and establish open discussions with them on their propositions for the community. Before the latest parliamentary elections in 2016, the coalition had gathered a consensus almost ten days before the elections begin on which candidates they had selected for support, and notably, 3 of the candidates who were backed up by the coalition have successfully made it to the parliament. In addition, the coalition has an environment of openness and error-correction. On several past occasions, they had gathered previous parliament members who have not served their communities well for an open discussion on their wrongdoings. On the other hand, the coalition works on solving community disputes and enriching local development. For example, a village under the name of Al Hūr¹⁶⁰ had recently come forward to the coalition and presented a problem they had with irrigation and a local gas storage house, upon which, members were able to organize their contacts and networks from different villages and in different areas and were successful in solving the problem; all using personal efforts. This involvement, coalitions, and community-organizing efforts denote to high levels of organizational capacities between members of the smaller community of Al Berka and one another, between Al Berka and its larger community, and between the fifty villages of Mallawi and one another.

¹⁵⁹ اتحاد ائتلاف ملوي

¹⁶⁰ الهور

- Fourth, a strong pre requisite to the success of a community-based project is the existence of a dedicated team of community members who are willing to give the cause of the project their best, even if their numbers were few. Coupled with dire community needs for access to education, the small size of the community, as well as traits of kinship and close social affiliations between its members and one another, this team had the perseverance to stand against resistances and prejudices, and the needed level of progressiveness to realize that certain rural ideologies needed to take their time to change. Second, the community participation level during the different phases of the program was very high, and the fruits of this participation are still sustainable till date; again, albeit major resistances in the beginning. This sustainability is reflected through the financial security of the project which continues till date, which the community has contributed to, as well as the sustainable involvement of all different stakeholders in the program until now, including parents, teachers, and school associations, which reflects signs of community ownership towards the program. Most importantly, this is also because the community has changed perceptions, to a large extent, over the importance of education, and especially, towards the education of girls. Interview findings have indicated the existence of very low percentages of uneducated girls and percentages of drop outs in the village, despite some economic challenges, which exhibits signs of increased community awareness on the issue.

Second Part of my Hypothesis- On the “Democratization” of Al Berka

- While the above are evidences of an increased culture of social capital, and while they may show signs of a democratic behavior, such as in the example of the support of the Coalition to political parliamentary candidates recently, and the involvement of the community in this form of political lobbying, as well as the democratic elections of BOT and PA members within the NSP schools, I cannot say that the community has been “democratized”. Earlier in my literature review, I have mentioned that Putnam’s work tells us that participation creates better governance, and hence, better democracy, based on the profound relationship between social capital and institutional performance. If among the most fundamental elements of democracy is participation, a separate study needs to assess not only the citizens’ activities in the neighboring Collation and their activities performed within their village, but also other political and non-

political activities; their voting habits for example, as well as other perceptions and life choices, including equality, freedom, liberty, among others.

- Another important reason owes to the fact that notions such as democracy, community, and citizenship are now regarded as of weakening institutions, especially in the developed world¹⁶¹. This is due to the rise of other persistent factors, such as exposure to globalization, the increasing complexities of governments and societies, and an overall lack of trust in political institutions. Accordingly, the need for new dynamics of local participatory development that are more holistic, together with the need for new approaches towards social inclusions and democratic processes, including democratizing the indicators themselves, has become more important than the accuracy of indicators; “democratizing (of) indicators of human progress and sustainable development is essential to empowering citizens”¹⁶². Accordingly, indicators have become different, and cannot be limited only to sustainability, qualities of life, measuring GNPs and other economic factors (widely discredited for providing accurate measurements, especially on the smaller local level), or by the number of organizations in the community. Furthermore, the need to develop new indicators for small communities has become as important as developing indicators for wider nations. Based on the above, two important lessons persist; 1) that indicators should not be regarded as a management tool nor as an end to themselves, but a means in the journey of improving democracy and community outcomes, and second 2) that, at least in the specific case of NSP, the democracy aspect is not an end, and that the “process” of community participation in the project “is” the product itself.

Beyond the NSP

Needless to say, I cannot limit the social capital aspect of Al Berka to be a direct result of the NSP project only, though a major contributing factor as per signs of ownership, empowerment, community organizing, and sustainability mentioned in the interviews section. This is due to a number of reasons as follows:

¹⁶¹ Salvaris, Mike. “Community and social indicators: How citizens can measure progress. An overview of social and community indicator projects in Australia and internationally”. *INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH*: (November 2000).

<http://library.bsl.org.au/jspui/bitstream/123456789/362/1/Community%20Social%20Indicators.pdf>

¹⁶²Salvaris, Mike. “Community and social indicators: How citizens can measure progress. An overview of social and community indicator projects in Australia and internationally”.

<http://library.bsl.org.au/jspui/bitstream/123456789/362/1/Community%20Social%20Indicators.pdf>

First is the debacle of trying to identify what the correct indicators are to measure human growth, including social capital, with. Discussions about human progress and its indicators are as old as Aristotle's discussions on "the good society" almost 2000 years ago. These discussions are coupled with increasing growth in the numbers of programs that are of community-based natures; mainly owing to the heavy realization that in order to solve socio economic problems, community-wide solutions need to be addressed and utilized. Furthermore, these solutions need to be as multi-layered and multi-faceted as the problems themselves, as earlier mentioned in this research. Second reason is due to several dimensions both directly in relation to Upper Egypt and nation-wide during the times of the project. First, the socio-economic conditions of poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment in Upper Egypt are not consistent with growth on national levels, which poses a major discouragement to the cultivation of a culture of participation or democratization there. While Egypt has witnessed a decline of 14% in poverty rates between 1995 and 2000, Upper Egypt faced a poverty increase by 17%. By 2004, the poverty rate in Upper Egypt reached 41%. On the wider level, Egypt's predominantly economic and political conditions during the past thirty years was not receptive to democratic attitudes of participation; few of which reasons are citizens' political apathy, the desire to meet economic needs instead of realizing democracy, the complexities posed by the government towards civil society and the overall lack of reception to activism and freedom of speech, and a general lack of integration of the concepts of a civic culture in national education and in citizens' everyday lives¹⁶³.

Third reason is because of larger and general efforts made by the MOE and other development agencies thorough the years, and till the year 2013/2014, that contributed towards the betterment of educational conditions in Egypt through other methods other than community involvement. Compared to the 1990s and 2000s numbers that are mentioned in the third chapter, research by the Education Policy Data Center (EPDC) shows there was substantial growth in primary school enrollment in Egypt from 2000 to 2008; 92% of children in primary school age 6 to 11 attend primary school at the appropriate age, with 91% of them in rural areas. By 2008, females were as likely to attend school as boys, however, has still remained the highest in areas in Upper Egypt. Similarly, 67% of youth were attending secondary school, 65% of them in rural areas, with 66%

¹⁶³ "The Egypt Human Development Report 2010". *The Institute of National Planning, Egypt and the United Nations Development Program*. (2010).

<http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/research/Egypt/Egypt%20Human%20Development%20Report%202010.pdf>

for females and 68% for males, and with gender gaps being higher in secondary school than in primary school¹⁶⁴. In addition, below is another chart produced by UNICEF that explains the gross enrolment ratios between 2008 and 2014. The numbers vary a little compared by those produced by EPDC for the year 2008/2009, however, reflect occasional increases in school enrolment numbers per category until the year 2013/2014; national primary enrolments for all schools under the MOE went up to 95.2% by the year 2013/2014, with females comprising 95% .

| School year | 2008/09 | 2009/10 | 2010/11 | 2011/12 | 2012/13 | 2013/14 |
|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| <i>(percentage)</i> | | | | | | |
| Pre-Primary | | | | | | |
| Total | 23.2 | 22.1 | 23.7 | 24.3 | 26.6 | 29.6 |
| Males | 23.7 | 22.7 | 24.3 | 24.9 | 26.5 | 29.6 |
| Females | 22.7 | 21.5 | 23.1 | 23.7 | 26.6 | 29.6 |
| Primary | | | | | | |
| Total | 96.0 | 95.6 | 101.2 | 100.1 | 96.9 | 95.2 |
| Males | 96.0 | 96.3 | 102.5 | 101.5 | 96.6 | 94.8 |
| Females | 96.1 | 94.8 | 99.8 | 98.5 | 97.2 | 95.7 |
| Preparatory | | | | | | |
| Total | 80.5 | 81.1 | 91.9 | 92.1 | 93.0 | 91.9 |
| Males | 79.0 | 79.4 | 91.6 | 91.7 | 91.1 | 90.0 |
| Females | 82.2 | 82.9 | 92.2 | 92.6 | 95.0 | 94.0 |
| Secondary | | | | | | |
| Total | 56.9 | 59.4 | 61.5 | 64.3 | 66.5 | 64.6 |
| Males | 57.9 | 60.0 | 61.9 | 65.2 | 66.8 | 64.4 |
| Females | 56.1 | 58.9 | 61.1 | 63.5 | 66.3 | 64.8 |

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*Gross enrolment ratios for different levels of education, by gender,
2008/09–2013/14*

However, and even though Upper Egypt has had quite a return on investment particularly in the areas of closing gender gaps, labor participation for female university graduates in Upper Egypt is as high as 58%, higher than the national average of 47% and the uneducated or those with less than secondary. In addition, Upper Egypt suffers from illiteracy rates of 17% higher than the national ratio¹⁶⁶, and more than 57% of those who never enrolled in a schooling system are in

¹⁶⁴ Education Policy Data Center. Egypt. http://www.epdc.org/sites/default/files/documents/Egypt_coreusaid.pdf

¹⁶⁵ “Children in Egypt: a statistical digest”. *UNICEF Egypt*. June 2014. Cairo, Egypt.
http://www.unicef.org/egypt/Children_in_Egypt-_data_digest_2014.pdf

¹⁶⁶ “Reclaiming their Voice: New Perspectives From Young Women and Men in Upper Egypt”. *Middle East and North Africa Region Sustainable Development*. The World Bank (2012)

Upper Egypt¹⁶⁷. Needless to say, youth in Upper Egypt express dissatisfaction with their overall experiences in education, their well beings as citizens, and their preparations for a competitive and global job market¹⁶⁸.

Fourth reason of why I have not limited social capital to be a result of the project only is because of the recent political changes that Egypt has faced during the past six years. The country has witnessed increasing signs of involvement on many levels, whether political engagement in terms of voting powers and elections, or social involvement, such as in the rising impact of social media and the air of an increased freedom of expression level from different sectors of the country; primarily the youth. This is of worth noticing even if this freedom of expression is tied with current concerns of suppression. Another drive for local community-organizing could be the need for local communities to compensate for a gap created between State roles and the communities. Accordingly, local communities can resort to internal solving of local disputes, and the need to locally organize themselves to meet micro economic pressures, and in face to combat larger macro pressures. This is apparent in the case of Al Berka, where the village conducts an internal collection of donations that is provided to poorer families, and where they liaise with charity organizations in Egypt for increased charity contributions to families in need.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/11908/716740ESW00PUB0ast0version0June013t.txt?sequence=2>

¹⁶⁷ “Survey of Young People in Egypt”. *The Egyptian Cabinet Information and Support Center*. Population Council. (February 2010). http://www.unicef.org/egypt/SYPE_Preliminary_Report.pdf

¹⁶⁸ “Reclaiming their Voice: New Perspectives From Young Women and Men in Upper Egypt”.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/11908/716740ESW00PUB0ast0version0June013t.txt?sequence=2>

Summary and Conclusion

Democratic and progressive modes of education that are sensitive to local contexts and that involve the community in the educational process are essential to achieve educational reform with, essential for the survival or political institutions, and for the benefit and sustainability of democracy itself. Needless to say, community participation in education is essential for the success of community based education projects, and for the development of communities themselves. By involving all members of the community; parents, teachers, children, governments, and all other stakeholders, in the educational process, an environment of social capital is created. Social capital aims at capitalizing on the human aspect of the community so that members of the community; their resources, assets, and human interactions, are connected with one another and with the outside world to achieve local trust. Social capital is especially crucial for poorer and rural communities to avoid their isolation, marginalization, to boost rural development, and to fill the gap between people's expectations and State roles. However, human capital may act as a major hindrance towards the success of educational attainment. Poverty and impeding norms and traditions may take decades to change and conquer, if ever. Thus, the world has responded to gender disparities in education by placing it in the forefront of global development priorities, such as in the MDGs. Increasing literature is placing emphasis and evidences on the economic, social, and political boosts that educating women places in a society.

Lately, the donor community in Egypt has moved towards a community based driven projects, for they have realized that the success of development lies in implementing projects that pay respect to the surrounding culture's socio economic needs, and involves members of the community in all phases of the project in order to achieve program sustainability. Needless to say, Egypt has made significant educational progresses in the 1990s and 2000s, especially in closing the gap between boys' and girls' school enrolments. Despite the efforts, major disparities of school enrolments, unemployment, and overall citizen satisfaction still exist, especially in the area Upper Egypt.

Funded by USAID between 2000 and 2008, with CARE being the main implementing agency, NSP is an exemplary model of a school based reform project that involved all members of the community in the process of constructing primary, preparatory, and multi grade schools in underserved areas in the governorates of Minya, Sūhaj, and Beni Suef. The program had an over achievement in areas of students enrolment, trained teachers, the formation of BOTs and PAs, and the schools meeting national standards. My field work findings at the small village of Al Berka in Minya governorate have indicated that the community's involvement in NSP has helped in the advancement of a culture of social capital in the village; in which the signs of are exemplified in increased community participation, change of traditional perceptions, ownership, and empowerment. Most importantly, it is exemplified in the sustainability of the project itself, as well as the ability of the village to organize itself in participatory manners that take place internally, and between members of the village and other neighborhoods. However, the small village of 7,000 people cannot be called "democratized", or of being more democratic, as a result of its involvement in NSP, and a separate study needs to take place to be able to assess the signs of that, if any.

The central conclusions behind this study are as follows:

- In poorer communities, survival capital is mostly present and is of avail in order for them to making essential ends meet. A certain level, even if a limited one, of survival social capital in the community, helps in the success level of an intervening developmental project.
- Social Capital in local communities can be successfully achieved through engaging the community in the educational process.
- Social capital inheres the essence of trust among the associational networks being created between community members and one another.
- While social capital may lead to increased participation, its impact may not reach the policy making level, and may not directly feed into governance or towards the building of democracy.
- The involvement of the community in education can contribute to solving larger social issues, such as closing gender gaps and changing the perceptions on the role of women, thus contributing to local and rural development.

- Educational programs that involve the community in all levels positively impact education by increasing community ownership towards it, thus bettering the education conditions of the community.
- On the other hand, they positively impact the community through changing home environments, and further bonding the community members with one another.
- While community involvement in education is important, it cannot work on its own. Educational reform on all levels needs to take place; encompassing training of teachers, improved instructional methods and curriculum, among others.
- Neither communities, nor development and aid organizations, can work on their own without the involvement and collaboration of governments, should any educational reform take place.
- An education that is sensitive and pays respect to local socio economic characteristics and needs produces responsible, enlightened, and empowered citizens.
- Democracy is not an end. The “process” of community participation in a developmental project “is” the product itself.

Needless to say, and as explained in more details in the methodology section, the limitations of this research lies in the fact that we cannot constrain the advancement of social capital in the sample village of this study to be a direct result of the program intervention only. This is not only due to other pressing and intervening factors pertaining to the socio economic conditions of Upper Egypt and Egypt only, but also because I cannot exactly assess the conditions of Al Berka pre and post the intervention of the program from all other and interfering angles within the capacities of this research. Furthermore, I cannot generalize that the conditions of Al Berka will work exactly the same if replicated in other communities as well.

Final Reflections

On some final notes, I have taken on my field work under the assumption that community participation is “the” key element to the success of an educational project. However, I have realized that, though is a very important factor, it is not “the” main factor. Other important factors fall into the equation as well, which some of the interviewees have discussed in details. The need to conduct teachers’ trainings and develop newer methods of instruction, develop on the teaching curriculum and the content of the material presented to the student, the need to develop educational policies that are region and village-context, and more; all play an important factor in the success of the educational process.

Furthermore, community engagement and participation are not the main aim of the educational delivery process, nor they are supposed to act as a solution to solve larger complex issues contributing to poor educational quality in both developing and developed countries, and in autocratic and democratic regimes. However, it is a process that assists the realization of improving educational quality and increasing capacity-building in a given society by exhibiting behaviors of empowerment and self and collective realization. Through being involved in the various stages of implementation of educational projects; intervention, financing, monitoring, sustainability, and others, communities ideally develop and strengthen their local capacities and develop democratic attitudes¹⁶⁹.

In addition, the role of development aid, while central in filling gaps between government spending and rural development cannot perform nor act on its own without the needed parallel support and collaborations with political institutions.

Last but not least, the formation of social capital, from a personal point of view, abstains the creation of dependency that largely and controversially stigmatizes development aid.

Development organizations that invest in the capacities and strengthening of the networks of communities with one another, help these communities successfully organize and sustain themselves beyond the capacities of their projects.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTISPMA/Resources/3837041153333441931/14064_Community_Participation_in_Education.pdf

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