

LEBANESE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Pedagogy of the Oppressed within the Arab Spring Era

By

Hawraa Kanaan

A thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts in International Affairs

School of Arts and Sciences

July 2015



Lebanese American University

School of Arts & Sciences _____ ; Beirut Campus

THESIS APPROVAL FORM

Student Name: Hawraa Kanaan _____ I.D. #: 201103390 _____

Thesis Title: "Pedagogy of the Oppressed within the Arab Spring Era" _____

Program: International Affairs _____

Department: Social Sciences _____

School: Arts & Sciences _____

The undersigned certify that they have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis and approved it
in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:

Master of Arts _____ in the major of International Affairs

Signatures Redacted

Thesis Advisor's Name Jennifer Skulte-Ouaiss, PhD _____ Sign

Committee Member's Name Sami Baroudi, PhD _____ Sign

Committee Member's Name Imad Salamey, PhD _____ Sign



THESIS COPYRIGHT RELEASE FORM

LEBANESE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY NON-EXCLUSIVE DISTRIBUTION LICENSE

By signing and submitting this license, you (the author(s) or copyright owner) grants to Lebanese American University (LAU) the non-exclusive right to reproduce, translate (as defined below), and/or distribute your submission (including the abstract) worldwide in print and electronic format and in any medium, including but not limited to audio or video. You agree that LAU may, without changing the content, translate the submission to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation. You also agree that LAU may keep more than one copy of this submission for purposes of security, backup and preservation. You represent that the submission is your original work, and that you have the right to grant the rights contained in this license. You also represent that your submission does not, to the best of your knowledge, infringe upon anyone's copyright. If the submission contains material for which you do not hold copyright, you represent that you have obtained the unrestricted permission of the copyright owner to grant LAU the rights required by this license, and that such third-party owned material is clearly identified and acknowledged within the text or content of the submission. IF THE SUBMISSION IS BASED UPON WORK THAT HAS BEEN SPONSORED OR SUPPORTED BY AN AGENCY OR ORGANIZATION OTHER THAN LAU, YOU REPRESENT THAT YOU HAVE FULFILLED ANY RIGHT OF REVIEW OR OTHER OBLIGATIONS REQUIRED BY SUCH CONTRACT OR AGREEMENT. LAU will clearly identify your name(s) as the author(s) or owner(s) of the submission, and will not make any alteration, other than as allowed by this license, to your submission.

Name: **Signatures Redacted**

Sign:

Date: *August 5, 2015*



PLAGIARISM POLICY COMPLIANCE STATEMENT

I certify that:

- I have read and understood LAU's Plagiarism Policy.
- I understand that failure to comply with this Policy can lead to academic and disciplinary actions against me.
- This work is substantially my own, and to the extent that any part of this work is not my own I have indicated that by acknowledging its sources.

Name: Hawraa Kanaan
Signatures Redacted

Signature: [Redacted]

Date: May 20, 2010

To my family and my country ...

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This project would not have been possible without the support of many people. Many thanks to my advisor, Dr. Jennifer Skulte Quaiss, who read my numerous revisions and helped make some sense of the confusion. Also thanks to my committee members, Dr. Sami Baroudi, and Dr. Imad Salamey, who offered guidance and support.

And finally, thanks to my husband, parents, and numerous friends who endured this long process with me, always offering support and love.

Pedagogy of the Oppressed within the Arab Spring Era

Hawraa Kanaan

ABSTRACT

Like all great upheavals, the Arab spring was caused by various intertwined causes. In their analysis, academics focused mainly on the economic and political factors to explain the reasons behind the uprisings. However, education played an essential role in instilling the Arab youth to revolt against the authoritarian regimes within their countries. The lack of “adequate access” to “relevant quality education” was at the core of the latter upheavals. This thesis takes the cases of Egypt and Tunisia, the first being the most populated country in the Arab world and the second being the origin of this unrest cascade. It thus examines the role of education and the educated youth in the initiation of the Arab Spring within these countries in specific and the other Arab countries in general.

Keywords: Education, Arab Spring, Egypt, Tunisia, Youth, Unemployment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One	1
Introduction	1
1.1- Importance of the topic.....	5
1.2- Research Question.....	6
1.3- Methodology	7
1.4-Research Map/Plan	8
Chapter Two.....	10
Literature Review.....	10
2.1- Introduction.....	10
2.2- Education and Political Participation.....	11
2.3- Political Violence and Social Movements.....	20
2.3.1- Political Violence.....	20
2.3.2- Social Movements	22
2.4- Theoretical Framework.....	24
2.5- Conclusion	26
Chapter Three.....	28
Egypt	28
3.1- Introduction.....	28
3.2- Education History and Structure	29
3.2.1- History.....	29
3.2.2- Structure.....	33
3.3- Quality of Education Deterioration	35
3.4- Student Role in the Uprising.....	37
3.5- Citizenship Education.....	39
3.6- Key Challenges of Education.....	43
3.7- Conclusion	46
Chapter Four	48
Tunisia	48
4.1- Introduction.....	48
4.2- Education History and Structure	48
4.2.1- History.....	49
4.2.2- Structure	51

4.3- Role of Education and Youth in the Uprising.....	53
4.5- Citizenship Education.....	56
4.7- Key Challenges and Suggested Cures	60
4.9- Conclusion	64
Chapter Five	67
Conclusion.....	67
5.1- Introduction.....	67
5.2- Characteristics of Educational Systems in the Arab World	68
5.3- A bird's view of Egypt and Tunisia	71
5.4- Scope of Study and Limitations	72
5.5- Conclusions, Recommendations and Future Aspirations.....	74
Bibliography	76

Chapter One

Introduction

“You know the way in which dyers first prepare the white ground and then lay on the dye of purple or of any other color. Colors dyed in this way become fixed, and no soap or lye will ever wash them out. Now the ground is education, and the laws are the colors; and if the ground is properly laid, neither the soap of pleasure nor the lye of pain or fear will ever wash them out.” (Plato, *The Republic*)

Like a domino effect, the recent Arab uprisings started in Tunisia and continued all over the Arab region. The reasons behind these revolutions are numerous and complex, and definitely cannot be attributed to one factor. Some experts address the enormous role that social media played, some speak about corruption that was deeply seeded within the states, while others mention the drastic economic situation, particularly the lack of employment, the lack of state legitimacy and the dependency of the state on imported support through its weak foreign policy (Adams and Winthrop, 2011). Furthermore, academics have focused in their analysis on the demographic feature of these revolutions, specifically the ‘youth bulge’(Adams and Winthrop, 2011). While all of these analyses have contributed to our better understanding of the Arab uprisings and ongoing violence in the region, one aspect in particular has received too little attention: education.

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region has around half of its population below the age of 20 (Adams and Winthrop, 2011)—the region's societies are among the youngest on average in the world today (Adams and Winthrop, 2011). Given the ongoing push for change in the region and the young population, in-depth analysis of the situation in the region should focus on the two major aspects in the lives of youth; education and employment. Because education is an essential prerequisite for employment, this thesis focuses on elaborating the role of education in the Arab Spring phenomenon.

Conventional wisdom, since at least the writings of John Dewey (1916), views high levels of educational attainment as a prerequisite for democracy. Education does an extremely good job of predicting democratization. This connection reflects the ability of educated people to organize and push for rights collaboratively. Like all great social upheavals, the Arab spring was long in the making, and born of many intertwined causes. Thomas Jefferson stated “if a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be” (Padover, 1939, p: 89).

Numerous authoritarian Arab governments have long used education as a tool to push for public loyalty to the regime. This loyalty was demanded through authoritarian civic education at schools, thus reflecting the state's non-democratic ideology and laws. Curricula also included ethics that emphasize moral and religious values as well as collectivist ones. Instruction in the humanities and social sciences was used more to drill obedience and submission to the regime rather than encourage freedom of thought—particularly when it comes to making demands for accountability and representativeness from the regime.

Dictators provide strong incentives for the ruling clique to remain loyal; democracies provide more modest benefits for everyone. For democracy to beat dictatorship, the dispersed population needs to have the skills and motivation to work collaboratively to defeat the workings of dictatorship and executive aggrandizement.

Education—here defined as a critical, liberal arts education—teaches skills like reading and writing, which enable people to work collaboratively. At younger grades, teachers spend a lot of time teaching children how to get along. In the United States, education is strongly linked to civic engagement and membership in social groups (Campbell, 2006). The ability to work together enables the development of democracy. Given the historical connection between education and democracy, the fight to foster freedom in the Arab countries is likely to be a long, uphill struggle.

Despite the enormous effects of these uprisings that overwhelmed the whole MENA region, one can argue that Egypt and Tunisia were the cornerstones of this cascade of events. On one hand, besides Tunisia was the initiator of this phenomenon, it was discovered, after the regime collapse, that its educational level was overstated by the government. On the other hand, Egypt represents the most populated country in the Arab region. Although there is a large number of educated Egyptians, the unemployment rate is very high since the quality of education, with the exception of few private institutions, is generally thought of as low (Loveluck, 2012).

Education, in principle, is defined as "the process of receiving or giving systematic instruction, especially at a school or university" or as "a form of learning in which the knowledge, skills, values, beliefs and habits of a group of people are transferred from one generation to the next through storytelling, discussion, teaching, training, and or research. Through education, the knowledge of society, country, and of the world is passed on from generation to generation. In democracies, through

education, children and adults are supposed to learn how to be active and effective citizens. In particular, education helps and guides individuals to transform from one class to other. Empowered individuals, societies, countries by education are taking edge over individuals stand on bottom pyramid of growth". As a matter of fact, education can be categorized and classified through different methods and based on diverse criteria into various types, such as public and private, formal, informal and non-formal, primary, secondary and higher education, etc.

Democracy is defined as "a system of government in which all the people of a state or polity ... are involved in making decisions about its affairs, typically by voting to elect representatives to a parliament or similar assembly" (Oxford English Dictionary). Although there is no consensus on a unified and complete definition of democracy, legal equality, political freedom and rule of law have been identified as important characteristics Furthermore, four key elements have often been labeled as essential for the achievement of democracy: free and fair elections to choose the government and political system, guaranteed human rights of all citizens , active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life ,and laws and procedures equally applied to all citizens under the rule of law (Oxford English Dictionary).

Education programs in democratic countries teach skills and values that are critical to the democratic process and impact students' intentions and tendencies toward civic and political participation, along with encouraging behaviors related to social and moral responsibility. Education for citizenship is at the core of teaching Arab students the skills necessary to thrive in a democratic global environment. This type of education is based on two fundamental notions "education about citizenship and education through citizenship" (Faour, 2011).

While looking back at the authoritarian regimes in Egypt and Tunisia, we view how dictators treated students as docile subjects of the states where creative thinking was dispirited and information provided by the state was irrefutable. In this way, tyrants guaranteed the obedience and compliance of these students to their authority. In fact, “the main point is that education in the Arab world works like a funnel whereas it should work like a pipeline” (Goujon, 2014).

In his book “*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*”, Paulo Freire explained that “education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world” (Freire, 2000, p: 34).

1.1- Importance of the topic

Through emphasizing on the role of education in paving the road to democracy, and by taking the example of the Arab Spring, this thesis seeks to contribute to the recent uprisings’ literature in three ways. First and foremost, it investigates the educational features of the nations in comparison to other features (economic, social, political, cultural, and religious, etc.) and examines how educational quality and expansion impact the political development of the state. Second, there is a general neglect of the educational determinants in affecting other factors whose impact on political development has received considerable attention (colonial legacy, economic development, etc.). Therefore, this thesis tackles the significant shift of the latter factors once the impact of education is taken into account. Third, most of the researches done earlier utilized cross-sectional design. Despite the merits of this design

in examining factors that don't change sharply over time; it is extremely problematic for variables as education (Benavot, 1996). Consequently, this paper studies the educational systems in the targeted region and its development in the past few decades.

1.2- Research Question

For the purpose of this paper, the main argument states that the inadequate access to relevant quality education is at the heart of the challenges that led to the Arab Spring. Within this statement lies several explanations. This will be further emphasized by exploring the role of education in paving the road for the attainment of democracy, especially in the Arab region. This is important since promoting and consolidating democracy is crucial to the political transformations currently under way; reforming education to foster citizenship is urgently needed if democracy is to take hold in the Arab world. The first step to cure a patient is to diagnose his illness and prescribe the most effective medication for his case. Therefore we should ask the following questions on the reasons behind the Arab uprisings; how did educational systems instill the upheavals? What was the role of educated youth in this process? What is the state of citizenship education in the Arab region? What are the key challenges facing the educational sectors in the Arab region?

The belief that many citizenship characteristics are attained through formal education is widely recognized. Political participation, electoral turnout, civic engagement, political knowledge, and democratic attitudes and opinions are highly linked to the level of education of the citizens (Hillygus, 2005). But the theoretical and empirical investigation of why education is such an influential explanatory variable is still missing from the literature. In fact, noticing how the educational process has a profound impact on the democratic behavior of the state's citizens is still a matter of

debate. This puzzling connection takes into consideration the various aspects of education, such as the quality of academic institutions, the content of the curriculum and the level of instructors, in its correlation to society in general, and the youth bulge in specific.

Since democracy only flourishes and thrives in a well-educated society that accepts diversity, respects different points of view, believes in relative truths rather than absolute ones and tolerates and encourages dissent (Faour and Muasher, 2011), this paper aims to show the poor educational reality that created problems in the Arab region, specifically Egypt and Tunisia, before the Arab spring. Consequently, this thesis will demonstrate a correlation between education and the Arab uprisings by emphasizing the role of education as an essential triggering force for the engine of change. This research not only spots the light on a different perspective for the causes of these uprisings, being the educational factor, but also stresses the importance of reforming education to foster citizenship leading to a real democracy.

1.3- Methodology

It has been noted that one of the best ways to tackle a research question or validate a certain hypothesis, while supporting it with facts and evidence and keeping it away from any prejudice or bias, is through case studies. This paper employs two different case studies—Egypt and Tunisia. As mentioned earlier, Egypt and Tunisia were chosen particularly due to their enormous impact on the Arab uprisings and since their cases cover the educational situation in many other Arab countries. A comparative analysis of the countries will take place to detect the common backgrounds that support this paper's claim.

The assessment relies on earlier theories that have correlated education and democracy as well as education's role in revolutions and uprisings. Furthermore, this research utilizes both qualitative and quantitative data, but is rooted in a qualitative epistemological position that recognizes the importance of locating the research within a particular social, economic and political context. But since the thesis is primarily theoretical, as there will not be any field work, it is almost certain that it will be entirely literature-based; the paper will rely heavily on the data available by academic journals and books. However, this does not mean that data and findings from International Organizations will not be used to support the mentioned theories. Thus, in addition to the case studies, the thesis will include a selection and discussion of theoretical and descriptive material, in context, and provide detailed comparison of theories in terms of their applicability.

The assessment relies on some indicators that include school and higher education, formal and informal education, public and private education, and other factors. These indicators are linked to the socio-economic factors and political structure. After all, the thesis will present a close look at a distinguished fundamental sector that is behind the rise and fall of the nations.

1.4-Research Map/Plan

This thesis consists of five chapters. The next chapter reviews the theoretical literature on the relationship between education and democracy. It also discusses the different theories correlating revolutions to education. Chapter three presents the educational system in Egypt. This chapter examines the gap between public and private education and the role that education played in the abrupt explosion of the Egyptian streets. Chapter four looks at the Tunisian educational system—particularly

its over-rated reputation during the previous failed regime and its contribution to the initiation of the Jasmine Revolution. The final chapter summarizes the arguments of the thesis as well as the answer to the research question. This chapter also lays out how education could play a more democratic role in the post uprisings phase by providing recommendations on how to improve and strengthen the educational sector in the Arab World.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

In this chapter, we will discuss the correlation between education and political participation through mentioning various theories about this connection. Also, we will tackle political violence and social movements. The third section will elaborate about John Dewey and Paulo Freire and their vision about education and democracy and freedom. The last section represents a conclusion for this chapter.

2.1- Introduction

Learning begins at birth, and it continues to take place at home, in front of the television or computer screen, in the neighborhood, street, or market place, through books and newspapers, in the work place, etc. Still, all the previous mentions are considered private learning. But whether we accept or not, the school and classroom are the only formal public source of education. It is the place where the democratic society, as a collective self-conscious public pursuing common good, try to shape their children to live in a democratic world (Schoeman, 2010). In fact, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasized the importance of education as a tool of humans' development:

“Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding,

tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace” (UDHR, 1948).

In *An Aristocracy for Everyone* (1994), Barber points out that the goal behind “democracy is not to empower the ignorant and the unreasonable, but to educate them so that, when empowered, they can govern reasonably and live well” (Schoeman, 2010). Barber continued “there is only one road to democracy: education. And in a democracy there is only one task for the educator: teaching liberty” (Schoeman, 2010). Democracy is less the enabler of education than education is the enabler of democracy. Tocqueville looked at the civic dimension of freedom. He claimed “freedom can deliver [individuals] to get in touch with one another, promote an active sense of fellowship” (Schoeman, 2010). While Rousseau, in his famous paradox, proposed that students should be forced to be free, and that the role of the teacher is to guarantee their eventual freedom by suppressing any obstacle that stands in their way (Schoeman, 2010).

Before going into in-depth analysis, a simple equation can be mentioned at this level that summarizes the whole process that links education to democracy: “Learning entails communication, communication is a function of community... no community, no communication; no community, no learning, no education; no education, no citizens; no citizens, no freedom; no freedom, then no culture, no democracy, no schools, no civilization. Cultures rooted in freedom do not come in fragments and pieces. You get it all, or you get nothing” (Schoeman, 2010).

2.2- Education and Political Participation

Despite the hypothesis that higher education encourages more democratic politics (Lipset, 1959, 1960) has been widely supported by empirical data (Barro, 1999; Glaeser, LaPorta, Lopez-de-Silanes, and Shleifer, 2004; Papaioannou and Siourounis, 2008), the theoretical reasons behind this relationship remained uncharted (Glaeser, Ponzetto, and Shliefer, 2007). According to Barro “given the strength of the Aristotle/Lipset hypothesis as an empirical regularity, it is surprising that convincing theoretical models of this relationship do not exist” (Barro, 1999).

Education has been considered a vital element for participation in democratic politics and civic culture. Almond and Verba’s influential study on civic culture credited the democratic behaviors of governments across various countries to the political engagement and participation of its citizens, and thus to their level of education. “The uneducated man or the man with limited education is a different political actor from the man who has achieved higher education” (Almond and Verba, 1963, p. 315). Building on their study, Putnam revealed that democratic governments were only successful in regions overwhelmed with customs of civic engagement and lively systems. On the other hand, in regions that lacked social cohesion and trust, the ruling class abused its powers through public patronage and cared less for the public demands. In his conclusion, Putnam stated that only cooperative trustful and trustworthy citizens can build democratic institutions and prepare for a democratic government (Putnam, 1993). This point is furthered in a paper by Fortunato and Panizza, where they suggests that “the performance of democratic institutions depends on the level of education of the electorate.

Our hypothesis is that education enhances political engagement and participation and increases citizens’ ability to make good electoral choices and to evaluate the actions of elected officials” (Fortunato and Panizza, 2011). Both the

political science and economics literature are interested and concerned in studying the interaction between democracy and education. They provide different explanations for the success and failure of the democratic institutions, however. The economic literature looks closely at the availability of asymmetric information (adverse selection and moral hazard) and the political science literature examines deeply the importance of social capital. In fact, both explanations may be attributed to the same fundamental aspect: education (Fortunato and Panizza, 2011). In summary, “education is the best proxy for both information and civic virtues” (Alesina and Giuliano, 2011), on one hand it fosters social capital and on the other it reduces information asymmetries, both serving in improving the role of democratic institutions.

Seymour Martin Lipset has argued as a part of his famous modernization theory that education can promote democracy through developing a culture of democracy that leads to economic prosperity and political development (Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson and Yared, 2005). Lipset claims that “education presumably broadens men’s outlooks, enables them to understand the need for norms of tolerance, restrains them from adhering to extremist and monistic doctrines, and increases their capacity to make rational electoral choices” (Lipset, 1959). Lipset then concludes by noting that “if we cannot say that a high level of education is a sufficient condition for democracy, the available evidence does suggest that it comes close to being a necessary condition” (Lipset, 1959).

Decades of political science research have shown that education directly influences a citizen’s tendency to contribute in the political realm. Furthermore, most empirical analyses shows that it is education, even in the presence of other socioeconomic factors, that is the most significant predictor of political participation

(Hillygus, 2005). The critical impact of formal education on political participation was studied by Converse, who concluded that “education is everywhere the universal solvent, and the relationship is always in the same direction” (Converse, 1972, p. 324). Literally, there are thousands of empirical research studies that prove a positive and strong relation between formal education and democracy, but none of them provides an explanation for the explicit mechanism that connect them. In other words, the link between education and political participation or any other democratic feature has been rarely clearly elaborated but rather more often mentioned blindly (Hillygus, 2005). Thus, Miller and Shanks argue that “we simply need a better understanding of the many ways in which education makes such a difference to rates of turnout on election day” (Miller and Shanks, 1996,p. 580).

After an extensive revision of the literature on democracy, three hypotheses were constructed that link education to political participation, these are; civic education hypothesis, social network hypothesis, and the political meritocracy hypothesis.

The civic education hypothesis is the most prominent theory relating education to democracy. “It is based on the belief that education provides both the skills necessary to become politically engaged and the knowledge to understand and accept democratic principles” (Hillygus, 2005). Furthermore, Rosenstone and Hansen revealed that political participation is associated with well-educated citizens following the notion that schooling provide them with “skills people need to understand the abstract subject of politics, to follow the political campaign, and to research and evaluate the issues and candidates. In addition, because of their schooling, the well-educated are better able to handle the bureaucratic requirements of registration and voting” (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993). In other words,

“education lowers the material and cognitive costs of participation” (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980). In democratic countries, schools teach their students the importance of political participation. In fact, the USA’s State of California’s Department of Education listed a content standard that encourage students “understand the obligations of civic mindedness, including voting being informed on civic issues, volunteering and performing public service, and serving in the military or alternative service” (Gleaser and Ponzetto, 2007). This is not unique to the United States of America, as Holmes mentions when talking about the aims of school systems in the world. He claims that most of the time political aims are cited as educational goals (Gleaser and Ponzetto, 2007). Holmes mentions cases such as, but not limited to, Sweden where “school work is organized so as to develop democracy in school and consequently in society as a whole”, Costa Rica in which “the constitution states that a general aim of education is to produce good citizens, a democratic way of living and human solidarity” and Indonesia which seeks to have “an education system that creates knowledgeable, democratic and patriotic citizens is the aim of the Indonesian government” (Holmes, 1979).

It is a matter of no debate that fundamental education, as to read and write, is essential for political and democratic practices. Taking the simplest example of voting during elections, citizens should be able to read and write in order to elect their representatives or communicate with them through letters. But at the same time this is not enough, as civic education proposes that education beyond the primary years are critical to limit the costs and facilitate the process of political engagement. Basic literacy is in no doubt a step in the political process, but deliberative decision making, political knowledge and professional skills need much more than high school certificate. Higher education, in most cases, improves the citizens

understanding of the relation between political action and democratic systems, teaches them concrete information about the political realm and facilitates their navigation to the democratic route (Galston, 2001; Niemi and Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo, 1999).

Yet some scholars claim that not all formal education can equip the students with the skills needed for proper political engagement. The literature, implicitly, points out that shaping political participation is only effective through schooling when the curriculum includes civic education (Levine and Lope, 2004). Courses from biology, chemistry and computer science, for example, do not impart directly to the skills needed nor encourage the attentiveness for political participation. Therefore, social sciences courses and civic engagement activities within the curriculum are primarily the reason behind enhanced political awareness (Neimi and Junn, 1998).

While the civic education hypothesis adopts the notion that more politically engaged citizens are the result of more educated citizens, real world examples disagree. Although the era of 1960s witnessed a dramatic increase in educational attainment, political participation did not likewise shift (Brody, 1998). The social network hypothesis provides an alternative explanation for the puzzle of political participation. This theory proposes that it is not the intrinsic skill building value of education that encourages political participation, but rather the individual's social network position that is usually predicted through his/her education (Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry, 1996). Nie et al. state that "formal education is important to the characteristics of political engagement because it sorts citizens into positions in the social and political hierarchy that facilitates political engagement to a greater or lesser degree" (Nie et al., 1996, p: 17). Citizens are divided into classes based on their

level of education, it acts as social sorting mechanism, with those holding higher levels of education at the center of the political circle, while those with lower educational levels positioned at the periphery. He continues by noting that “so long as the number of seats in the political theater remains fixed and education continues to play a strong role in determining social network position, the amount of inequality in the participatory hierarchy should remain constant regardless of the degree of increase in educational attainment over time” (Nie et al., 1996, p: 189).

In summary, the distance from the center of the political and social network, determined by their education, has the greatest impact on political engagement. Well-educated individuals have better chances to connect with people in decision making positions and are more capable of accessing resources with relevant political information (Hillygus, 2005). “Social activities hinge on interpersonal exchange of information... Education raises the benefit from social participation because it facilitates seamless information exchange. Educated people are better able to express what they know, to inform, and to persuade” (Glaeser and Ponzetto, 2007). In this way, education makes political engagement easier, less costly and much more efficient (Hillygus, 2005). Looking deeply at the political process, we find that voting is the easiest activity with few social barriers, therefore we find the connection between social networks and voting turnout is relatively weak. But at the same time, social networks can encourage or discourage voting (Nie et al., 1996). Living in a social environment overwhelmed with educated individuals who are more engaged into political conversations, motivate the political spirit and encourage for voting. Not surprisingly, politically active individuals, who are at the center of the social networks, are targeted by the political elite (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Verba et al., 1995). One more thing worth mentioning within this hypothesis is that

socialization is a pillar for curriculum design. The process of having a social network is not spontaneous nor purely innate, rather it is learnt from primary education through several curricula approaches. These include the Kamii and DeVries approach, the Bank Street approach and the Waldorf approach (Driscoll and Nagel, 2005).

The third hypothesis in this discussion is the political meritocracy hypothesis, also called “IQ meritocracy hypothesis”, which claims a strong correlation between years of education and political participation. This hypothesis suggests that intelligence leads to educational attainment, not vice versa. Thus, formal education in schools separates innate high intelligent students from lesser intelligent students. Although the hypothesis purports that a positive correlation exists between education and democracy, it still questions the conclusion that education causes democratic behavior. Accordingly, a fabricated relationship is assumed between education and democratic behavior, while in fact intelligence produces them both (Hillygus, 2005). Herrnstein and Murray ask “why does education matter so much” in explaining political participation, arriving at the answer that “education predicts political involvement in America because it is primarily a proxy for cognitive ability” (Herrnstein and Murray, 1994, p: 253).

Further along this line of reasoning, Luskin (1990, p: 349) contends that education is worthless in the presence of intelligence and some other factors to explain political engagement, as

“the simplest explanation is the paucity of controls. The studies showing an education effect do not always partial on interest, and never on intelligence or occupation qua political impingement. So education’s effect may really be

intelligence's occupation's and interest's. Education may be taking credit for the other variables' work. Students must pick up some political information in school, but apparently do not wind up knowing much or more, other things being equal, the longer they spend there."

In summary, political meritocracy theory concludes that political sophistication which leads in turn to political engagement depends mainly on intelligence rather than education. A study done on elementary age students revealed that more intelligent students were more willing to discuss and participate in political activities than their less intelligent classmates (Hess and Torney, 1967). Finally, even when linking socioeconomic status with political participation "the evidence supports the idea of an independent cognitive effect" (Neuman, 1986, p: 261).

A dramatic place to see the effect of education on political engagement is through student activism. Looking back through history, students have been at the base of most riots. Examples include students at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna in the Middle Ages (Glaeser and Ponzetto, 2007). Also, the riot of Martin Luther was supported mainly by students from Wittenberg and other German universities. Furthermore, several examples can be provided twentieth century such as the overthrow of Peron in Argentina (1955), Hungarian revolution (1956), downfall of Jimenez in Venezuela (1958), resignation of Kishi government in Japan (1960), resistance to Diem in Vietnam (1963), anti-Sukarno movement in Indonesia (1966), toppling of the Rhee government in Korea (1966), Prague spring (1968) and the downfall of Ayub Khan in Pakistan (1969). In fact, other examples may be provided about revolutions by students that were not successful such as the Tiananmen student uprising (1989) that failed to overthrow the Communist party, and some claimed that it was due to little support that students got in an overwhelmingly uneducated China.

Besides, it is worth mentioning that students also participate in peaceful demonstrations such as the Ukrainian case (2007). As a matter of fact, it is inaccurate to generalize from these examples that students prefer democracy, but rather the healthy conclusion is that students prefer political participation. For example, there are a few riots that did not call for democracy and in which students were key leaders: Bavarian hep-hep anti-semitic riots (1819), Mussolini Fascist movement and Hitler Nazi's movement that were basically supported by students (Glaeser and Ponzetto, 2007).

As we have seen, there are several points of views concerned with the correlation between education and political participation. Three hypothesis were mentioned in this section; civic education hypothesis, social network hypothesis, and the political meritocracy hypothesis. The next section will tackle in details the role of citizenship education in promoting democracy and facilitating its attainment.

2.3- Political Violence and Social Movements

2.3.1- Political Violence

Gurr (1970) provided an explanation for political violence. He described political violence as a phenomenon which includes “all collective attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actors- including competing political groups as well as incumbents- or its policies” (Gurr, 1970, p:3-4). It is a matter of no debate that political violence only happens when there is a general dissatisfaction of the present affairs of the state. But general dissatisfaction is a combination of individual dissatisfaction which in return is the outcome of the individual’s aspirations of the state and its role and the reality that is taking place. Gurr mentioned in his analysis three major variables “the potential for collective

violence”, followed by “the potential for political violence” and finally “the magnitude of political violence”.

Gurr investigated the psychological frustration- aggression theory. This theory reveals that the frustration- aggression theory is the primary sources of human capacity for violence. Although frustration itself might not necessarily cause violence, but when felt intensely for a long period of time, it will lead to anger and ultimately violence (Gurr, 1970). In fact, Gurr (1970) used the term “relative deprivation” to explain this hypothesis. Relative Deprivation was defined as “perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities” (Gurr, 1970, p: 37). In other words, relative deprivation is the discrepancy between people’s belief in what they deserve and their belief in what they can get. Then he continued that relative deprivation “is sufficiently general to comprise or be related to most of the general preconditions of revolution identified in other theoretical analyses” (Gurr, 1970, p: 37). The main theme in his book claimed that the potential for collective violence “varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among members of a collectivity.”(Gurr, 1970, p.24)

According to Gurr (1970), relative deprivation can happen in three ways: decremental deprivation, aspirational deprivation and progressive deprivation. To start with, decremental deprivation is the case in which value expectations remain constant while the capabilities decrement. On the other hand, aspirational deprivation takes place when value expectations increase while the capabilities remain constant. Finally, progressive deprivation occurs when expectations increase and so do the capabilities at the beginning. But later on, the capabilities seize their development or even start to diminish.

Furthermore, Gurr (1970) elaborated that people's frustration develops into violence if "they believe that they stand a chance of relieving some of their discontent through violence" (Gurr, 1970, p: 210). Besides, he suggested that people look at the earlier success of collective violence in which they recognize the perceived utility of violence that was used by other collectivities elsewhere. In his conclusion, Gurr (1970) admits that "man's resort to political violence is in part unreasoning, but doesn't occur without reason. Ignorance is almost always among its causes" (Gurr, 1970, p: 359).

2.3.2- Social Movements

Tarrow (1994) defined movements as "collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities" (Tarrow, 1994, p: 3-4), while he defined social movements as "contentious collective actions" which is "collective action used by people who lack regular access to institutions, act in the name of new or unaccepted claims and behave in ways that fundamentally challenge others" (Tarrow, 1994, p: 2). Tarrow provided an important distinction between the study of movements and the study of interest groups and political parties. Movements are distinguished by autonomous, flexible and loose organization unlike interest groups and political parties (Tarrow, 1994).

Social coordination is the main collective action problem for movements, Tarrow explained. Social movements must be initiated and sustained in the absence of any hierarchical internal organization. Besides, it must only respond to external resources to establish it and maintain its continuation. Furthermore, Tarrow explained that the main argument of his study "is that people join in social

movements in response to political opportunities and then, through collective action, create new ones" (Tarrow, 1994, p: 17). Instability within a certain regime, conflicts between the elite groups and the establishment of new powerful social alliances are all factors that facilitate collective action.

Tarrow (1994) explained that movements use "modular repertoires" to sustain its actions. The various known methods of collective action (strikes, protests, demonstrations, riots, barricades...) are transferred across social sectors and issue areas. Such actions might be episodic outbursts, but can be transferred into a social movement when it is based on "dense social networks and connective structures" that "draw on consensual or action-oriented cultural frames" (Tarrow, 1994, p: 10). Therefore, social movements mobilize supporters through recognized social networks and try innovatively to establish a certain framework that is capable of linking notable cultural symbols with specific grievances and suggested solutions.

Tarrow (1994) elaborated about the various cycles of contention. He elucidated that as soon as one movement widens and" information spreads about the susceptibility of a polity to challenge", many activists and ordinary people may "begin to test the limits of social control" (Tarrow, 1994, p: 24). Therefore, the success of one movement facilitates and enhances the road for other movements. Revolution is a probable result of the maximum or extreme level of the "cycles of contention"; "The difference between movement cycles and revolutions is that, in the latter, multiple centers of sovereignty are created, turning the conflict between challengers and members of the polity into a struggle for power" (Tarrow, 1994, p: 25).

Tarrow (1994) argues that “contention is more closely related to opportunities for and limited by constraints upon collective action than by the persistent social or economic factors that people experience” (Tarrow, 1994, p: 71).

2.4- Theoretical Framework

Democracy in modern society depends mainly on the concept of citizenship (Thayer-Bacon, 2008). Atholf and Berkowitz (2006) revealed certain competencies to build a responsible citizen, these include “civic and political knowledge, intellectual skills, social and participatory skills, and finally certain values, attitudes, and dispositions with motivational power” (Ghazal, 2014). Westheimer and Kahne (2004) distinguished between three types of citizens. The first type is the “personably responsible citizen”; this citizen is described as a contributor to the community through paying taxes, obeying and respecting laws, volunteering and helping people in need. The second type is “the participatory part”; this citizen works for the common good and considers political responsibility a natural one. The third type is the “justice-oriented citizen”; where the citizen tries to tackle the origin of the problem (Ghazal, 2014). In other words, “if the participatory citizens are organizing the food drive and personally responsible are donating food, the justice oriented citizens are asking why people are hungry and acting on what they discover” (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). While Altfeld and Berkowitz recognized the previous mentioned types of citizens, they added one more type; “the knowledgeable citizen”. This citizen might have been exposed to high quality civic education courses which would encourage him to participate actively in civic activities (Ghazal, 2014).

Two scholars that are considered the most influential in paving the road to democracy through education are John Dewey and Paulo Freire. Despite agreeing

with their opinion or disputing with them, they present strong dialectical arguments that are worth further exploration and attention.

John Dewy claimed that democratic governments and educated voters don't create a democracy, rather it is the willingness of the citizens to cooperate together and solve their differences for the greater goal of common good (Dewey, 1916). Dewey further emphasize that education and schooling are the only guarantees for cooperative citizens and social reformation. It is the responsibility of the schools and teachers to guide the students to engage in civil society, address society needs, be an active community member, and equip them with the required skills, learning opportunities, advanced knowledge and experiences to create the valuable citizens of the present and future (Dewey, 1899, 1916, 1938). Dewey then sates that communication and experience are essential for teaching and learning, and teaching and learning are the engine that maintains the survival of the society (Dewey, 1916, 1938).

Similarly, Paulo Freire viewed the road to democracy through education. But Freire looked at the role of education from a different perspective. According to him, education is an essential tool to break the cycle of oppression, free and humanize the oppressed to be able to rebel against the oppressor and overcome oppression (Ghazal, 2014). Freire presents a strategy to liberate the oppressed from "the fear of freedom" through education; "The pedagogy of the oppressed, as a humanist and libertarian pedagogy, has two distinct stages. In the first, the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation. In the second stage, in which the reality of oppression has already been transformed, this pedagogy ceases to belong to the oppressed and becomes a pedagogy of all people in the process of permanent liberation." (Freire, 2000). Only when the oppressed starts

seriously questioning the status-quo imposed by the oppressor, and is willing to get rid of all the myths created by the old system, she/he will begin to experience freedom and liberty. On the other hand, if the oppressed accept the current situation as it is, her/his exploitation will continue endlessly (Freire, 2000).

In summary, Dewey considered experience an essential element for student's development, while Freire deliberated that students should learn how to think critically away from the banking teaching model. Another scholar supported Dewey's and Freire's beliefs, Bell Hooks. Hooks elaborated that it is the classroom environment that affect the students' attitudes. Living in a classroom that appreciate freedom of expression and encourage participation would enhance the students' role in creating knowledge. It is the teacher's responsibility to create such a relaxing and exciting environment that foster critical thinking and creative problem solving (Ghazal, 2014). In general, humans are willing to invest in education to guarantee a better future, whether an individual or collective future. Looking at Dewey, Freire and Hook, it is the societal future that matters the most.

2.5- Conclusion

The countries that this thesis is studying are overwhelmed with an educational environment that denies students choices, hinder their ability to take charge of their own education and prevent them from benefiting from what they learned. There is a recurrent juxtaposition between theory and practice; some schools introduce their students to the theoretical concepts of citizenship, but limit their applicability through a strict educational system. This system is the same system that Paulo Freire (1970) warned about in his book "Pedagogy of the oppressed"; the banking system that treats students as vessels to be filled by teachers, following the

memorization route and devaluing the importance of knowledge. Within such a system; classroom is a threatening atmosphere for the students, grades are the main indicators of the student's capabilities, independent learning barely exists and private tutoring is normalized (Ghazal, 2014).

Educational experiences, in principle, should help build a responsible citizen. In the presence of democracy, appropriate teaching methodology, cooperative sense of community and liberate classroom practices, a sense of ownership in one's country is created. Consequently, this promotes social cohesion, fosters the sense of responsibility, and creates the inner need for contribution. Combined together, the latter attitudes and behaviors generate a deep sense of citizenship (Ghazal, 2014). No one is born literate, nor is anyone born a citizen, but humans are all born with the tendency and potential to learn and become educated, responsible, liberated and free. And here comes the role of education in paving the road to democracy.

The next chapter examines the first case study; Egypt. Being the most populated country in the Arab region, and a developing one at the same time, the Egyptian educational sector suffered severely from several deficiencies. It investigates the correlation between these shortcomings of the educational sector and the Egyptian upheaval.

Chapter Three

Egypt

3.1- Introduction

January 25, 2011 marked the start of the Egyptian uprising. More than 850 deaths, 6500 wounded citizens along with numerous destructions in public facilities were the result of the 18 days of protesting and rioting that led to the fall and collapse of Mubarak's regime (Wahba, 2011). Just like all other revolutions that happened across human history, various explanations evolved about the triggers behind it. Scholars explored the economic, political, and religious factors that played, in their opinion, a critical role in this upheaval. This chapter of the thesis will look at Egypt specifically through the lens of education as a significant catalyst for this uprising.

This chapter examines the history and structure of the educational sector in Egypt. Furthermore, it tackles the deterioration of the quality of education and the students' role in the uprising. Besides, it reveals the importance of citizenship education and elaborates on the key challenges facing this sector.

Although higher education was one of the first sectors to embrace a wider policy of liberalization in 2011, it was the first to adopt the new security regime put in place by the military two years later (Kohstall, 2014). It is widely accepted that youth were a significant constituent in the 2011 uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia (Kohstall, 2014). Thus students and graduates played a critical role in these upheavals. The riots in Egypt showed how different student groups overcame the

many political, economic and social cleavages that usually kept them apart and worked hand-in-hand for the success of these protests. It also revealed that higher education played a role as an instructive sector within the dynamics of change and continuity throughout the wake of the Arab uprisings (Kohstall, 2014).

3.2- Education History and Structure

3.2.1- History

Regime change has been a constant in Egyptian life. With each governmental transformation, citizens had to adjust with the escorted anticipatable policy changes. “Specifically in education, the constant change mimics shifting sands, where the wind of change gives shape to a new, appealing from that is subsequently blown to dust by the next storm” (Larink, 2013). Egyptians witnessed all types of education reforms: the elite/loyal selective educational system, the free state-funded educational system and the private expensive educational system.

Student mobilization can be tracked back to the development of higher education in Egypt. In fact, political developments have long been an influential factor in the evolution of the Egyptian educational sector. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire introduced a European educational system and was keen to educate a certain class of officers and administrators that establish later the national army (Hartmann, 2008). The investment in the educational sector deteriorated drastically later under the British occupation, and secular public schools, that were free earlier, started to charge fees. Cochran (1986) argues that the decline in the educational level in the latter era was a strategy to protect the British occupation from the possible emergence of a challenging well-educated nationalist

leader. They only allowed good quality of education to the elite sector that is supportive for the rule of monarchy.

Thus, education was at the core of the modernization project during the presidency of Abdel Nasser. During the 1950s, school and college education became free for all Egyptian citizens, the curriculum was reformed to become a model for other countries in the region and the Egyptians professors and teachers were highly demanded for their effective educational practices. Furthermore, university enrollment dramatically increased due to the guarantees given by Nasser that each university graduate will be offered a job within the public sector. On one hand, these practices renewed the civic pride and enhanced social cohesion. While on the other hand, this led to an outrageous demand for education that exceeded the available governmental resources. Gradually, the level of public education depreciated because of the under-qualified teachers who were necessarily hired due to the high demand. The system of school shifts emerged to suite the demands of overpopulated areas (Loveluck, 2012).

Concerning student mobilization, several political factions of Islamists, communists and Nasserists were active on campus until the 1970s. Moreover, the constitution of 1971 stated that education is a right to all Egyptian citizens. It revealed four different ways to attain this right; all qualified high school graduates have the right to attend universities, a national examination for university applicants was established to provide equal opportunities, higher education is free of charge and all university graduates are guaranteed employment in the civil service (Croxford, 2014). When Sadat reached the presidency, he followed “Open Door” policies during the 1970s. These policies opened the door for foreign investment in education, including private international schools and universities (British, French, and German,

American institutions were already there). This headed to the emergence of a superior private education sector that further worsened the educational level within public education (Loveluck, 2012).

On the political level, students' mobilization was limited to a big extent during Sadat's rule. In 1979, Sadat decided to dissolve the National Student Union and restrict the students and professors participation in inner-university decision making circles (Faraj, 1992). Mubarak came after Sadat and continued a policy of increasing repression. "He inherited a weary population with a very complex social makeup. Society had varying degrees of religious fervor, high illiteracy rates and strong class distinctions primarily as a result of the educational system itself" (Larink, 2013). Mubarak placed the university elections under judicial supervision and repressed the Islamist forces by expanding the privileges of security forces on campuses. Therefore, the students had to figure out an alternative way of organized gatherings away for the politicized student elections.

During the 2000s, Egyptian student mobilization was mainly regarding foreign issues such as the Palestinian Intifada and Iraq War. Through these events, students' reinvigoration were back. These movements led to the establishment of *Kifaya* (meaning 'enough' in Egyptian Arabic), an influential movement in the Egyptian street protests during the 2000s (Kohstall, 2014). Another movement called "9 March" emerged in 2005, upon the first competitive presidential elections. This movement was formed by professors and addressed educational reforms in general and university related issues in specific. It marked a new wave of mobilization for university students and professors and fought against the government reform plan for public universities (Higher Education Enhancement Plan) (Kohstall, 2014). Furthermore, many legal cases that tackled the exclusion of politically active

students and the presence of state security guards on university campuses were adopted by an advocacy group named “Association for Freedom of Thought and Expression” which won the cases against the university administrations (Kohstall, 2014).

Although the 1971 constitution claimed the right of education to all Egyptians, and as noble as this statement was, it mostly led only to the expansion of higher education for the wealthiest socio-economic groups from 1988 till 2005. The Egyptian government tried to enhance the quality of education through curriculum reformation, interdisciplinary studies introduction, educational technology usage and international exchange programs establishment. Because Egypt has a massive number of students, and mostly poor ones, it followed two preventative strategies to control students’ enrollment in public higher education; it allowed the establishment of several technical institutes and licensed several private universities, and raised the examination entry scores for the prestigious faculties of medicine and engineering. Unfortunately, all the latter attempts to enhance the quality of education and improve the institutional level were unsuccessful. Even the introduced foreign and private educational institutions couldn’t impact positively the national institutions neither directly nor by example (Croxford, 2014).

During the late years of Mubarak’s rule, one attempt to reform Egyptian education is worth mentioning. This reform was proposed by the National Democratic Party (Mubarak’s party) and was based on initiatives by Britain’s Quality Assurance Agency. It aimed to ensure quality education through creating a nationally funded independent agency, not controlled by the state, to oversee and reform the Egyptian higher education. This proposal was blocked after it was thought to be suspicious by the Ministry of Higher Education that feared the loss of its

predominant role and control over this sector. By the end of 2010, Egyptian universities were suffering from severe institutional sclerosis; with overpopulated students, collapsing structures and demoralized academic staff. In summary, the educational sector in Egypt was seen as an inefficient entity unable to reform itself.

In fact, a 2005 report from Human Rights Watch, titled “Reading Between the Red Lines: The Repression of Academic Freedom in Egyptian Universities”, revealed the reality of the educational system in Egypt. It claimed “repression by government authorities and private groups … affected every major component of university life” (p.2). The report further notes that “censorship stops professors from teaching certain books… Permit requirements for surveys block research in the social sciences. University officials and police limit student activities outside the classroom. State security forces often respond violently to campus demonstrations … Professors and students acknowledge that there are certain subjects- chiefly politics, religion and sex- that they will discuss only in a limited way” (Human Rights Watch, 2005, p.2).

No one can claim that higher education reforms or student protests were solely the reason behind the January 2011 revolution, but no one can deny too that at least since 2005, protest culture was developed in universities under Mubarak’s regime and thus prepared these institutions for such an upheaval. This is why, students and professors responded directly to the call for protests on January 25, 2011.

3.2.2- Structure

The Egyptian educational structure is similar to that of the American system. The first stage is Kindergarten, followed by the primary/elementary level, then the

preparatory/middle school level and finally the secondary/high school level before moving to the university. All the stages before the high school level are compulsory. Many parents are forced to pull their children after middle school and find them a job to support their huge families. However, parents are faced with three options of schooling systems. The first option is the state funded religious education, at which the student studies Qur'an, since most of the Egyptians are Muslims, and then the student can continue into a state funded religious university "Al-Azhar Mosque". The second option is the overpopulated state funded general school system or simply public schools/university. In such a system, the Ministry of Education is the central director in which it decide what to be learned and when. While the third choice remains the best alternative for those who can afford it, private schools/university (Larink, 2013).

Here, it is important to shed the light on the gap between public and private education in Egypt. The cost of private education is many times the average salary of the Egyptian citizen. That is why, education is seen sometimes as a trigger to widen the gap between the Egyptian classes instead of shrinking it. There are stark differences between the quality of education in private and public institutions along with the gap in the facilities and services provided. For example, within private educational system, students enjoy smaller classes with well-maintained buildings. Furthermore, private institutions are equipped with prestigious features such as technology, sports, foreign languages and art. And after graduation, private university students have more opportunities and chances to find a well-paying job. The society nowadays value standardized test scores and credentials much more than critical thinking and lifelong knowledge (Larink, 2013).

However, in Egypt private schools are not free to teach whatever they like, they are closely monitored by inspectors from the Ministry of Education that specifies the curriculum to be followed. Still, private schools loosely follow the set curriculum, unlike the public schools that are rigid in instruction but a bit flexible in lesson planning. Interestingly, the government inspectors periodically visit the classrooms to guarantee the school's compliance with the set curriculum. As a matter of fact, these checkouts can also be seen as a safeguard for the political regime (Larink, 2013). This triggers the need to investigate the role of the Egyptian students and educational curriculum in the 2011 protests.

3.3- Quality of Education Deterioration

Mubarak's era witnessed an alarming population expansion, at which the state funded educational system became the victim of economics (Hartmann, 2008). At that period, Egyptians were introduced to the opportunities of the free market economy, but were used also to the state funded education. Thus, they tried to benefit from both sides. In order to preserve the state funding for the educational sector, Mubarak found out that the best solution to relieve the economic burden of funding the educational sector is through privatization. No further investments in the educational infrastructure took place, instead the students number was doubled in the classes. Therefore, teachers who were trained to teach 25 students per class were obliged to teach 50. This caused deterioration in the instruction practices and quality of education. Besides the crumbling infrastructure, the educational profession lost its standards and respect while teachers suffered from low self-esteem accompanied with low wages. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education suffered vastly from corruption itself (Sobhy, 2012).

While only the wealthiest families were capable of moving their children to private or international schools, the remaining majority of population had to suffer with a weary educational system. Thus, many families got accustomed to the idea of private tutoring to compensate for the deficiencies within the system. Private tutoring itself became an independent educational track, and parents had to commit large portions of their salaries for it or else their children will be left behind (Fouda, 2013). In fact, due to the low wages, teachers themselves participated in the maintenance of the tutoring system. Moreover, the Ministry of Education unofficially supported this system by allowing teachers to teach, only in tutoring sessions, for the state administered test and standardized tests. Also, the Ministry forces the students to buy their authored book although they barely use it (Sobhy, 2012). In addition, the teachers followed several strategies to force students in poorer schools to use private tutoring; cases of physical violence and psychological abuses were reported (Sobhy, 2012).

Schools in Egypt follow the rote memorization and test taking strategy. In the last year of their secondary school, students undergo a state-administered standardized test. Depending on the score of this test, and the financial ability of their parents, students will be able to choose between the state-funded, state religious funded and private university. While other students might attend vocational schools to learn a specific trade or begin working in an unskilled labor. Astonishingly, the latter students could still be considered illiterate by international standards and not ready for current demands of workforce. Students who attend secular universities will be categorized according to their state exam score into the suitable faculties (Medicine, Engineering, humanities, etc.). Regardless of the financial ability and test score, some private universities have specific criteria for admitting Egyptian

students. An example of the New Cairo British School is mentioned. This school accepts only half of students as Egyptians, and the priority is always given to the British citizens. Analysts recently pointed out some of the deficiencies in the Egyptian educational system. They emphasized on test taking, memorization, the choice of university tracks and university admissions policies. Furthermore, analysts questioned the absence of soft skills such as critical thinking, problem solving and team work which are core skills for any professional advancement (Sobhy, 2012).

After all of this being said, reform is an essential step for the Egyptian educational system. The presence of multiple private institutions each with its own philosophy and culture, the existence of a broken and inefficient state system, the increase in unemployment, illiteracy and poverty are all signals marking the desperate need for modification and development. The absence of any governmental central plan for national growth, including quality educational enhancement, is not only affecting the fabric of the Egyptian society but also grappling with the country's future on a grand scale.

3.4- Student Role in the Uprising

Two years before the fall of Mubarak's regime, student leaders gathered to form a national student union. Although the first meeting was successful, most of the union presidents did not show up for the second one. The person responsible for the national's union press activities and the editor in chief of the American University in Cairo's newspaper, Farah Yousry, claimed that "state security had been busy making phone calls warning them to attend... They were afraid to come" (Matthews, 2012). Therefore student mobilization during the uprising cannot be considered a sudden uprising, but rather a continuation of students reacting to the regime's attempts to

silence the students and control the universities. The protests quality changed tremendously starting with small pockets of resistance and then extended dramatically to reach all social sectors. An in-depth analysis reveals at least two prominent ways in which students impacted the uprising.

On one hand, students accumulated a protest capital during the last few years through campus activism, in which they gained protests experience. In fact this experience played a critical role during the uprising, not only through sustaining large-scale mobilization, but also by provoking their passive colleagues and professors to join the protests (Kohstall, 2014). On the other hand, when the students joined the protests outside the university campuses, they had a bigger chance to take their demands beyond the university and consequently lead to the evolution of higher education (Kohstall, 2014). Unlike all the previous reform policies, Egyptian students were able, through their participation in this uprising, to open a new window for concrete academic freedom.

After Mubarak stepped down in 2011, many student protests revolved around removing senior university officials such as deans and presidents. Within private universities, American University of Cairo students called for reductions in tuition fees while German University in Cairo called for the formation of their own student union. But the most important accomplishment that Egyptian students achieved was the re-establishment of the National Student Union that had been dissolved in the 1970s (Matthews, 2012). This Union called for student engagement in political and civic life. Besides, this uprising shifted the strategies of the elites in some universities who were earlier the gatekeepers of the former regime and its higher education policies. Thus, shortly after the regime fall, security guards were removed from campuses, free elections for student bodies were revived, and many name plaques

correlated to the former regime were removed (Kohstall, 2014). It is worth mentioning at this level that not all students were motivated to join the uprising for the same reasons, in the end they do not all have the same political views nor socio-economic backgrounds, but they all agreed that higher education needed reform and many crucial issues should be addressed. Hopefully, the Egyptian student body, will play a key role on the political scene in the post-revolution phase (especially with the reformation of the National Student Union) just like it was powerful force during the revolution (Matthews, 2012).

3.5- Citizenship Education

Citizenship education has been always viewed as one of the crucial elements for social transition along elections and institutions. It has been claimed that “citizenship education entails building an informed and active populace able to contribute to a total culture of democracy” (Wadell, 2013). While Fairuz (2011) described active citizenship practices: “Practicing active citizenship involves empowering individuals, enabling them to feel comfortable in democratic culture and feeling that they can make a difference in the communities they live in”.

Furthermore, Torney-Purta revised citizenship programs in 24 countries. He noticed various and essential elements such as “participative, interactive, related to life, conducted in a non-authoritarian environment, cognizant of the challenges of society diversity and co-constructed with parents and the community as well as the schools” (Torney-Purta, 2002). But Faour (2013) warns that “authoritarian political systems create authoritarian educational systems that lack accountability and transparency and encourage blind obedience to authority figures”. Baraka (2006) states that Islam and the Arabic culture call for democratic education following the Prophet’s saying “it’s the duty of every Muslim man and women to seek education”.

Historically, the Egyptian educational sector has been utilized by different authoritarian regimes to advance political goals. The lack of citizenship education and the dominance of a politicized curriculum paved the road for authoritarianism in Egypt. Asik (2010) explains that “education can be considered to be the battle ground for controlling knowledge and acquiring ideological dominance through discursive and institutional means”. Recalling the Egyptian uprising, it is noticed that the citizens’ loss regarding identity and values reflected the weary educational system found at that time. Identity and values are conveyed by policy makers through citizenship education. This was noticed after the revolution when the Ministry of Higher Education rushed to add citizenship education classes for grades 11 and 12 that, according to Professor Elham Abdel Hamad, there were mistakes with the curriculum page numbers. Abdel Hamad later discovered that despite the new curriculum’s call for equality and engagement with other cultures, it explained everything based on Islamic perspective (Waddell 2013). Faour (2013) also analyzed the new curriculum and supported in his finding Professor Abdel Hamad: the new curriculum “provides useful information relating to citizenship and human rights but gives special attention to the perspective on political awareness in Islam … It affords no attention to the perspectives of other religious group”.

One of the striking examples presented on this issue is the Egyptian Constitution. The constitution forbids the right of any citizen to change his/her religion. This seems contrary to how the Egyptian Ministry of Education defines civics education as “education that forms skills and abilities of students enabling them to take a vital part in social and political life, creating civilians believing in the values of society, democracy and freedom” (Baraka, 2006, p.3).

An historical analysis of citizenship education in Egypt revealed that its definition is altered with the political goals of the ruling regime. During Abdel Nasser's time, citizenship education was tied to "Arab society" and "socialist ideologies". Sadat's and Mubarak's era emphasized the term "productive citizens" in its citizenship education definition (El-Nagar and Smolska, 2009). Baraka (2006) explains, after a study she has done on Egyptian textbooks during Mubarak's period that the term authority was mentioned double the times "citizens" was mentioned. This, in Baraka's opinion, signaled "state dominance over individuals". Although the curriculum mentioned equality and rights, but the loyalty to the state remained the most important theme. Furthermore, the curriculum claimed democratic practices and open political arena, still teachers felt hypocritical when they taught these titles to their students, as they deeply knew that there was no real avenue for their students to enjoy it (Fairuz, 2011).

The consecutive authoritarian regimes that ruled Egypt for a long time deeply marked the educational system. In fact, they created a difficult school climate or learning environment. Despite the several reform attempts, centralized power and ineffective oversight continued to overwhelm the educational system without a firm political will to execute them (Faour, 2013). The general culture of submission revealed through the student-teacher relationship, along with the rote learning practice, reflects the hierarchical leadership structure overwhelming the school climate within Egypt. In other words, students had to copy-paste all the information written by the teacher on the board without any clarification or room for critical thinking and discussions (Waddel, 2013).

As mentioned earlier, private tutoring is one of the striking features of the Egyptian school climate. It has been estimated that around 20% of the Egyptian

family income is spent on private tutoring per child (Bray, 1999). Furthermore, student's scores are matched with the strength and price of the tutor. The school climate is not encouraging for all Egyptian citizens. In fact, a study done by Faour (2012) showed that majority of students do not feel safe in school. In addition, studies showed that there is lower enrollment of female students, because they are prone to harassment by their male colleagues or teachers (Langsten, 2011). Within such an environment, even the best citizenship education curriculum will not be able to convey its message. As a matter of fact, it is not only citizenship education that cannot take place within such an environment, but also education in any other subject. However, citizenship education needs the most a base level safety environment to flourish (Faour, 2012). Dr. Elham Abdel Hamad claimed how can we expect from our students to be honest citizens, when we institutionalize corruption in our schools or when the culture of lawlessness surrounds them? (Waddell, 2013). Dr. Abdel Hamad further commented that the goals of the students who participated in the revolutions were not accomplished because students didn't have enough critical thinking and analytical skills. Herrera (2012) concluded that after several interviews with youth Egyptians, they revealed that they want to "live with dignity and freedom in accountable democratic systems with standard of equity and justice". However, this can't be attained until these youth find leadership to "imagine alternatives and rebuild structures of power" (Herrera, 2012).

The law in Egypt forbids non-governmental organizations from participating in any formal political activity. However, during Mubarak's era, the civil society was more robust than earlier times. In fact, some scholars go further and believe that these civil societies were at the heart of the revolution (Youniss and Barber et al., 2013). Various programs and workshops developed by the civil society to provoke

the students' enthusiasm to learn citizenship education and improve their debate and critical thinking skills such as "Arab Voices," "Active Citizens Programs" and "Big Heart" (Waddell, 2013).

3.6- Key Challenges of Education

Within Egyptian public schools, neither students nor teachers are monitored by a firm administration, thus either students or teachers miss their classes without repercussions. In fact, when students miss a class, they do not seem to feel guilty. In their opinion, they are not missing so much because they mainly depend on private tutors for their state administered exams. Many Egyptian teachers support the learning process for test taking results only and few believe in the true essence and impact of quality education. Unethically, some teachers withhold their knowledge from the students in their class to benefit from private lessons due to the low school wages. While other teachers share the opinion of their students that knowledge is not as important as passing the exams, and thus allow cheating in their classes. In other words, when describing the status quo of the Egyptian educational system, stories of corruption, physical and psychological abuses are the first to be noticed (Larink, 2013).

The financing challenge facing the Egyptian educational sector include returns to investment in education are relatively low, and the ever growing demand for higher education is putting the government under pressure when setting the budget. The current system of financing higher education in Egypt is inadequate, inefficient and inequitable. Furthermore, such a system is stimulating for the continuance of the stiff class structure, generating a malicious cycle of poverty and

regional imbalance instead of promoting for equal opportunities and social mobility (Fahim and Sami, 2009).

A study done by LoveLuck (2012) talked about the key challenges that face education in Egypt. In particular, there are strains on infrastructure, poor teaching quality and dependence on private tutors, over centralized control, a focus on rote learning for examinations, negative attitudes towards vocational training, the entrenchment of social inequalities and inadequate university access, funding and research capacity.

Investment in school facilities in Egypt is a necessity because the present facilities couldn't catch up the rate of enrollment. It has been noticed that music and art rooms, playgrounds and laboratories were a rarity (Osman, 2011). "The quality of school facilities has been found to have clear effects on the daily performance of both the teachers and the students who use them" (Schneider, 2002). In fact, most students were quite aware of the fact that it is not just the teachers who are to blame for these deficits, but that structural constraints make it difficult for them to teach effectively during regular class hours" (Hartmann, 2008).

Since the teaching profession in Egypt is associated with low social and economic status, many teachers tried to find a solution through private tutoring. On one side, this will increase the teachers' wages, while on the other it will fill the gap that the formal schooling keeps for the students. As a matter of fact, the private lessons led to huge absenteeism at public schools, which led the schools to become, if attended, a place for fun and play (Sobhy, 2012). Furthermore, the policies of beating, verbal intimidation and humiliation within schools pushed the students to sign up for private lessons (Sobhy, 2012).

The Egyptian Ministry of Education shapes the educational trajectory of millions of students through controlling the curriculum, issuing the lessons plans and setting the centrally administered and standardized state examination. Furthermore, government inspectors attend periodically to ensure the teachers' adherence to the set curriculum. Besides, the government has to approve all political curriculum content, thus acting as an instrument to inculcate students with certain cultural values. In fact, a recent OECD report "Reviews of National Policies for Education: Higher Education in Egypt 2010" showed that one of the main obstacles in the reform of educational system is the centralized control of the government (Loveluck, 2012).

It is a matter of no debate that pedagogical methods and learning approaches are problematic in Egypt. Rote learning and memorization are encouraged while critical thinking is discouraged. This system of learning is said to be followed due to the deficiency in library books, learning materials, facilities and equipment.

Vocational training in Egypt is regarded as inferior to other types of education. Usually, those who fail to seize a place in the university attend the technical colleges. The OECD report in 2010 considered the transition from secondary school to the university or vocational training as one of the most important and difficult reforms (Loveluck, 2012). According to the latter report, Egypt should revive the technical and vocational education instead of neglecting it, in order to raise its status and quality and encourage students to participate in it.

Education is seen in Egypt as a factor that entrenches social inequalities instead of reducing the gap. It is well known that private education with its good level of language and IT training equips its students with the skills needed for more prestigious positions.

Besides all that is mentioned above, the Egyptian educational sector suffers from deficiencies in funding availability, issues of quality and access, weak research capacity and output and mismatches between education and career opportunities. According to the OECD report, the improvement of the quality of public education and the enrolment expansion is impossible if this sector continues to depend only on the governmental budget. Rather, a more efficient way should be followed such as resources diversification or equitable increase in cost sharing. Besides, the funding issue is an important issue to tackle as it affects the investment in research and development. Furthermore, gender and regional educational inequalities is one more challenge that is worth mentioning. Interestingly, although unemployment rate is higher in graduates rather than in non-graduates in Egypt, there is still a high desire for university education (Loveluck, 2012). And this, if it reflected anything, it is the intrinsic value of education in the eyes of the Egyptian society. Consequently, there should be a robust motivation for the Egyptian government to search deeply for a logical applicable reform for this sector.

3.7- Conclusion

Not too long ago, teachers and professors who came from Egypt were considered an asset for the country they were residing in. They were well trained and looked up to as role models for effective teaching practices. An overview of the educational sector in Egypt today reveals a vastly different reality. Teaching, at least in some parts of the Egyptian education system, has lost its moral compass and its position as a respected art in the region (Larink, 2013).

The next chapter looks in-depth at the Tunisian educational sector. It provides an overview about the history and structure of this sector and investigates the role of

education, youth and civil society groups in instilling the first flame of the Arab Spring. Furthermore, it examines citizenship education in Tunisia and the educational policies designed and implemented. Finally, it reveals and the challenges present within the country and suggests few recommendations.

Chapter Four

Tunisia

4.1- Introduction

The ticking bomb that was set off by the self-immolation of Mohammad Bouazizi in December 2010 disrupted the island of stability that had prevailed in Tunisia over the previous few decades. The social unrest that began in Tunisia and escalated rapidly to engulf the whole Arab region was said to be associated with a combination of factors, which included the profound social inequalities, the demographic constituency, the discrepancy between the levels of education, the high unemployment rates, the overwhelming corruptive environment and the semi-absence of civil and political rights (Abouzeid, 2011).

The beginning of the end of the twenty three year rule of Ben Ali started on 18 December 2010 when Mohmad Bouzizi, “an unemployed university graduate working as a street vendor, committed self-immolation in protest after police confiscated his stock of fruits and vegetables” in Tunisia (Bougaada, 2011). This incident sent signals to the Tunisian society and provoked its academics who are fed up with high unemployment, rise in food prices and political corruption to start a protest. According to Allani Allaya, an Islamic studies professor at the University of Jendouba claimed “The first sparks for this revolution came from the students and professors” (Bougaada, 2011).

4.2- Education History and Structure

4.2.1- History

Over the previous century, many regimes fortified educational attainment in Tunisia. Looking back through history, we can see that the French colonial administration encouraged students to engage in higher education to acquire vocational and technical skills. The first half of the twentieth century witnessed the establishment of an educational system in Tunisia for the resident French citizens' children, but also many Tunisian citizens sent their children to these schools. Thus, it was noticed a dramatic increase in enrollment rate within primary and secondary education (DeGeorge, 2002). When Tunisia gained independence in 1956, the educational system founded by the French was further strengthened. Habib Bourguiba, was the first Tunisian president within the modern state. Bourguiba knew that a well-educated population might be dangerous on his firmly authoritarian regime, but he could not deny the importance of education, therefore he called for greater equality for women and widespread public education among other liberal policies (DeGeorge, 2002; Jones, 1980; Sack, 1973).

In fact, Bourguiba had a future vision for his support for education. He knew that reforms for this sector will create a more literate and educated population. This consequently would support the modern state that he was dreaming of and attract economic investments and development. Furthermore, an educated society could create one Tunisian identity which can replace the fragmented groups that were left by the French mandate, "the 1958 ten year education plan not only addresses educational access and expansion, but also aimed at both unification and Tunisification of the country" (Jules and Barton, 2014, p.16). Finally, Bourguiba felt that Islamic leaders were a threat to his regime, thus he promoted for a secular education as a defense line for this threat (DeGeorge, 2002, p. 587). Bourguiba made

a cost-benefit analysis for educational advancement and he concluded that educated people might call for democracy, but at the same time they will accomplish economic growth, social solidarity and prevent the formation of radical opposition. Therefore he was willing to take the risk.

Between 1960 and 1990, education was a profitable investment. This improved educational access drastically. A publication by the World Bank stated that “Tunisia was among the best performers in terms of expanding the average level of education and in improving the distribution of education opportunities” (Thomas et al., 2001). The government was able to provide education to most of the population, although the overall rate of the level of education was not outstanding. Statistical data by the Tunisian government showed that in 1958 the primary school enrollment rate was 320,000 while by 1975 it approximately elevated to a million (Jones, 2007). Furthermore, the literacy rate increased gradually to more than 50 percent in 1980 and more than 66 percent in mid 1990s (DeGeorge, 2002, p: 593).

Ultimately, the educational sector enhancement led to the development in several fields. For example, ‘modern’ concepts as measured through efficacy, beliefs in universalism, conformity, trust and fairness seemed to rise (Sack, 1973). In this way, the Tunisian schools educated the students at the formal and informal level through socialization. Besides, Sack (1973) considered that it is how many years that the citizens attended school that impact their ideals and beliefs such as trust and democracy which consequently lead to democratization. He also mentioned the effect of globalization, travel and social media on highly educated citizens.

Despite the governmental ability to fund the citizen’s education, it failed to find them jobs that were commensurate with their educational levels (Paciello, 2010). Economic growth depended mainly on exports instead of developing internally, and

the dominant available jobs were traditional and intensive labor activities such as agriculture and textiles (Bchir, Chemingui and Hammouda, 2009). Upon the world financial crisis in 2008-2009, all countries highly dependent on the global market were hardly hit including Tunisia (Paciello, 2010). Consequently, this led to a recession in the Tunisian economy and a rise in the unemployment rate in an unprecedented manner reaching over 30 percent in youth and college educated, basically people between 15-24 years old. Astonishingly, the largest unemployment rate among all educational categories were university graduates which was 19 percent at the beginning of the crisis and reached 30 percent in 2011 (Tunisian National Institutes of Statistics, 2012). This situation of dissatisfaction provoked the instability and the boiling of the citizens, especially the highly educated ones (Campante and Chor, 2011). The spoils system along with the state of corruption that spread all over the country compounded the economic problems even more. Nothing changed until the incident of self-immolation of Mohamad Bouazizi, the university graduate who worked as a street vendor and couldn't tolerate the corruption that pervaded the system anymore (Anderson, 2011; Reuters 2010).

4.2.2- Structure

The educational system in Tunisia is divided into three main sections, basic education, secondary education and higher education. We will discuss each part in details next.

The phase of basic education is free and compulsory and it lasts nine years (from age six till age 16). This phase is further divided into two complementary stages. The first is a six years stage in which students learn the fundamentals of education such as reading, writing, arithmetic and expressions. Within primary school, intelligence develops, artistic sense ripens and civic and religious education progresses. Moving

to the preparatory school, which lasts three years, this stage strengthens the student's general education and intellectual and practical skills. The above mentioned phase in its two stages is taught in Arabic and is differentiated from the secondary education by the "High End of Studies in Basic Education" (Hamdy, 2007).

The second phase, secondary education, is characterized with better direction and more specialization. Within high school, the student will be much more able to define her/his potentials, tendencies and preferences and choose accordingly his aspired employment domain. In such sensitive phase, educational guidance is highly required as the world is moving to a more specialized domains of study. The first secondary year is common to all students, a pre-orientation stage that gather all the students in preparation for their division in the following years based on their potentials and choices of the subjects they mastered the most. The second year has six sections; the industry/science which leads to three separate sections—mathematics, experimental sciences and technical sciences, the fourth section is techniques of informatics, the fifth is courses in economics and the sixth is chain letters. Through this system students have the choice to pick the most suitable domain for their capabilities and propensities. In this way, the future generation would have professional skills in their specialized domains (Hamdy, 2007).

Finally, higher education phase encompasses universities, Higher Institutes of Technological Studies and Higher Institutes of Teachers Training. University degrees are divided into undergraduate, masters and PhD. The Higher Institute of Technological Studies lasts for five semesters and an internship and aims for professional training. While the Higher Institute of Teacher Training lasts for two years and aims to provide an academic and pedagogical preparation for the teaching profession (tunisientunisie).

4.3- Role of Education and Youth in the Uprising

The highly educated Tunisian population was integral to the Tunisian upheaval. It is a matter of no debate that corruption had proved to be pernicious in that time of economic upheaval, but the singular tragedy of Bouazizi touched all the dissatisfied Tunisian graduates who could not find work. Kinsman (2011) stated “it is not that Tunisia was in a state of grinding poverty, but rather that education resulted in lack of professional fulfillment. Poorer people could expect no justice”. He added “the scale of illicit benefits for those in power was breathtaking” (Anderson, 2011). Djamela Boudroub, a political science student told *Nature Middle East* that “the quality of education in Tunisia has been regressing in the past years because of the unemployment and marginalization that university graduates endure. They don’t care anymore and are all desperate and think of nothing but migration to Europe” (Bougaada, 2011). It is not that those who were in power were deaf and blind from the educated citizens sufferings, but rather they used many repressing practices that stoked further the flames of unrest.

The fall of Bourguiba in 1988 was linked to the economic recession and the rise of Islamists groups. Although Zein Al-Abidine Ben Ali, the successor of Bourguiba, succeeded in stabilizing the situation at the beginning, but “the strong educational system had already laid the foundation for government upheaval prior to his taking the office” (Anderson, 2011, Halliday, 1990). Therefore, the more Ben Ali’s regime suppressed freedom of speech and social associations, the more these practices provoked the educated populace, which led eventually to the Jasmine revolution.

Most of the young citizens who overwhelmed the streets during this revolution were unemployed or underemployed graduates (Mahjoub, 2010). In fact, many of these youth were jobless although they were university graduates or had valuable technical skills. Because university entrance only required passing the baccalaureate exam, university graduates multiplied dramatically within the last decade with no capacity to be absorbed within the Tunisian job market. Sarcastically, university graduates represented 57 percent of the citizens looking for jobs, and they had lesser chance to find one than the less educated youth (Mahjoub, 2010). As a matter of fact, 45 percent was the percentage of unemployed youth in 2009, in comparison to 22 percent in 1999 (Paciello, 2011; Haouari, 2011). But the latter numbers excluded the youth who immigrated or those who joined the informal economy, thus youth unemployment was underestimated by the official numbers. Many factors played a role in elevating the university graduates unemployment rate within the country such as the mismatch between the demand and supply of skilled workers, high number of students and the low quality of graduates training (African Development Bank, Economic Brief, 2011).

Furthermore, the quality of education was by far less important than the quantity of the educated due to the weary educational policies. Zouhair ElKadhi, in reference to the relation of Tunisia with the International Monetary Fund, claimed that “The government was often more preoccupied with pleasing the international institutions rather than looking at what was good and effective for the country, and the education policy was one such instance … We suddenly started producing an excess of graduates, there were graduate schools everywhere … and there were no links between the educational system’s outputs and the needs of the labor market” (Honwana, 2011). While Nabil Maalel explained that despite the Tunisian

government financial incentives, there was not enough foreign investment in the private sector to create new job opportunities. In fact the only avenue for secure work was through the public sector which cannot bear all this huge number of graduates (Honwana, 2011).

Several governmental attempts tried to lessen unemployment rates without any success. Beginning from the 1990s, in which the government established the Tunisian Solidarity Bank to support small enterprises and create new job opportunities. But soon enough, this bank became a tool for further corruption and bribery by the ruling political powers. Furthermore, in the year 2000, the National Employment Fund was established to expand employment (Kallander, 2011). At that point, unemployed graduate youth were encouraged to take loans with competitive interest rates to establish their own small businesses (Hibou, 2009). But all of these projects failed due to corruption and political control. In other words, citizens who were connected to the regime monopolized all the jobs within the public and private sectors (Goldstone, 2011; Kallander, 2011; Paciello, 2011).

The young graduates had to accept underpaid jobs, get involved in smuggling across borders, migrate to other regional countries or to Europe or search for an opportunity in the informal sector (Honwana, 2011). Within this drastic situation, the young graduates saw no hope and no real prospects for their future within this political system. Unsurprisingly, these young, knowledgeable and robust graduates were at the core of the Tunisian revolution. The vicious cycle and desperation they lived in provoked them to rebel, engage in violence and employ their knowledge and skills to fight the ruling party in all means and by all possible ways (Honwana, 2011). They had a future to fight for. The case of Tunisia supports the contention that the presence of an educated population within bad economic conditions that can

galvanize opposition to the regime (Sanborn and Thyne, 2013).

4.4- Role of Civil Society Groups in the Uprising

Despite the regime's harsh repression and regulations, Tunisian civil society organizations benefited from the relatively cohesive, tolerant makeup of the Tunisian society, in which only economic disparities caused sometimes social conflict, but is far away from any ethnical cleavage (Deane, 2013). The most important civil society group that stood beside the protests in the revolution was the Tunisian Bar Association. The Tunisian lawyers were in front the courthouses in Tunis to protest against governmental violations of human rights. In fact, hundreds of lawyers were beaten by the police in their demonstration on December 31, 2011 (Ben Mhenni, 2011). As the protests continued, Tunisian civil society—made up of journalists, teachers and lawyers—participated in the demonstrations. Later after, the opposition political parties joined the protests too (Ben Hammouda, 2012). And eventually the Tunisian General Labor Union participated under the pressure of the local and regional unions. Its participation was a step forward to form a national coalition against Ben Ali's regime.

4.5- Citizenship Education

The Code of Personal Status was the governing doctrine before the establishment of the Tunisian constitution. This code emphasized the importance of civil laws away from any religious dimension and opposed gender discrimination. Later on, many laws were established to ban any form of religious, political or gender discrimination and called for respecting private lives of the citizens. In 1959, principles affiliated with citizenship rights such as equality, the right of establishing

organizations, the respect for private life and freedom of thought, expression, assembly and press were all guaranteed in the Tunisian constitution (Al-Silini, 2013).

The Tunisian educational system has undergone several phases of reform. The first phase (1956-1975) was considered the core stone for later reforms. The second phase (1976-1990) in which it was a relatively stable phase while the third phase (1991-2002) provided new educational options in Tunisia. Each of these phases was characterized with specific accomplishment. The first phase witnessed the universalization, institutionalization and the establishment of regulatory frameworks governing the education system. Within the second phase, tensions between the educational system and labor market emerged. While in the third phase, the 1991 law, which was drafted in the presence of various segments of the Tunisian society, marked the launch of the modern curriculum upon which it fits the needs of each student. The role of these reformations was to “promote the Tunisian national identity, develop a civic sense and feelings of cultural affiliation at the national, North African, Arab and Islamic levels and promote openness to modernity and human civilization” (Al-Silini, 2013). Therefore, the educational system in Tunisia was promoted to emphasize the importance of citizenship identity, values of openness to others; through moderation, tolerance, nondiscrimination based on gender, religion, or race and the proficiency of foreign languages. Thus, the post-reformed educational system was recognized as modern and accustomed with global civilization.

After the evaluation of the previous reforms in 1998, a document called “The knowledge Society and the New Education Reform: The Implementation Plan for the School of the Future 2002-2007” set the standards for the new educational reform phase. This document focused on using contemporary technology, considering the

student as the key aspect of education, encouraging the equal distribution of schools in different regions and updating the educational curriculum to fit the modern requirements. The implementation plan tackled knowledge, social, cultural and religious scopes in order to develop the ideal Tunisian citizen prone to the notion of social cohesion.

A study done in Tunisia in 2001 by the Arab Institute for Human Rights investigated human rights and citizenship within the Islamic educational curriculum. The study's findings revealed that although the Tunisian curriculum emphasized the value of respecting differences among people, the curriculum was not oriented towards secularism and modernity, provided inconsistent information and endorsed the rote learning track instead of encouraging critical thinking. Furthermore, religion was the basic resource of human right and citizenship values whereas civic values were marginalized (Al-Silini, 2013).

Despite the idealized image of the government that the curriculum presented through respecting human rights and citizenship values, students in Tunisia witnessed violations of these rights and values on a daily basis whether in school, society or in politics. No one can deny the importance of introducing the foundations of citizenship education, civic values and human rights, but at the same time, practicing this knowledge of national and political responsibilities through political engagement, social solidarity, constructive criticism and critical thinking is much more important, and that what the Tunisian government deprived its citizens from. It is the responsibility of the teachers and schools to spread political awareness, foster citizenship education and promote the critical thinking and problem solving skills by creating such the appropriate environment and undergoing special training sessions (Al-Silini, 2013).

As mentioned earlier, citizenship education was introduced within the new educational reforms in Tunisia. These reforms were manifested through education policy design and policy implementation.

4.6- Education Policy Design and Policy Implementation

The Tunisian Education Act, the decrees on school life and the “School for Tomorrow Program” represent the legal foundation of education policy in Tunisia. Furthermore, the National Programme for Integrating Disabled Children which complements the latter mentioned legal frame work (Masri et al., 2010). Besides, Tunisia has adopted the concept of Priority Educational Schools in which positive discrimination is promoted by the Ministry of Education and Training. This concept, which was supported with the National Action Plan for 2011, suggested that schools in need for more assistance are prioritized in comparison to other schools.

The 2007 national decree concerning the Regional Directorates of the Ministry of Education and Training was one of the most important education policies that empowered the different regions (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012). Within each regional directorate, more autonomy to manage and monitor their own projects in line with their own indicators were granted. School councils were established; this led to the emergence of more efficient partnership between schools and their communities.

Moving to higher education reform, the 2008 Higher Education Act represented an answer for employer’s needs, social expectations and the credibility of national degrees (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012). Consequently, through the university’s remunerated services under contracts with the production sector, they became more autonomous and effective in the implementation of the Tunisian

national development plan. The educational challenges of the 2007-2016 decade were identified by the Tunisian government and it was agreed, in terms of practical steps, to enhance the quality of education in order to face them firmly.

The National Centre for Pedagogic Innovation and Research in Education was established in 2001 to facilitate field research and practical surveys. In addition, in 2008, teacher training institutes were created to enhance academic innovation and scientific research in education. Furthermore, university poles were established by the government so that public research institutes within each geographical area would be linked to the university found in the same area (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012).

Despite the earlier mentioned educational policies adopted in Tunisia, the educational sector within the country continues to suffer from various challenges. The following section reveals most of these challenges and suggests some cures.

4.7- Key Challenges and Suggested Cures

It has been claimed that the earlier regime, although supported education, it managed it tightly to abuse it as a tool of economic manipulation and patronage. This led to the development of an educational system that is centrally controlled with little opportunity for students' innovation and learning outcomes (Brisson and Krontiris, 2012). It is a matter of no debate that the educational experience in Tunisia has been far better than that of its neighbors (Egypt, Libya, etc). This was true prior to the revolution and afterwards.

After the revolution, the first national conference on educational reform was conducted in March 2011. This conference stated that "previous reforms have targeted just the updating of the legal texts without having a profound impact on the reality of the educational institution". Furthermore, it criticized the absence of a

national framework for assessment with clear indicators and criteria. Although literacy rates have improved for the last few decades, illiteracy still has not vanished completely with around 16% of the male population and 35.6% of the female population in Tunisia still unable to read and write (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012).

Rural areas are the most affected regions with high levels of youth illiteracy. There are further regional disparities in the institutional levels of performance and results. Besides, Tunisian universities are not well integrated within the global educational system due to the inadequate level of research and development, poor quality and quantity of faculties and lack of equipment, technology and management. Most importantly, the Tunisian educational system is criticized for its inability to afford job opportunities for university graduates. In fact, many financial resources were allocated to enhance the educational sector (7.4% of GDP is public expenditure on education) in order to accommodate for the increasing numbers of students (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012). There is a huge numbers of enrollment in higher education. Students are supported to enter universities through public grants, loans and subsidies. But the problem lies with the stage after graduation. Since education in Tunisia is mostly theoretical and lacks practicality, each year thousands of students graduate from university with deficiencies in essential professional skills required for a changing labor market.

A comprehensive plan should be followed to enhance education quality based on the following suggested cures. First, the selection, training and evaluation of the teachers should be done in a different way. Second, private tutoring should be banned or at least limited by specific rules and regulations. Third, the government should base its public spending on educational institutions, universities or schools, according to their performance. Fourth, curricula should be revised and updated to fit

the best practices and latest researches. Fifth, the technological side of the curricula should be emphasized and utilized. Seventh, textbooks contents should be coherent in order to facilitate the student's movement from one educational level to another. Eighth, government administered standardized exams should encourage critical thinking instead of depending on memorization route (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012).

In addition, the process of educational reform is not the responsibility of one side, rather teachers, parents and students should all be actively involved in it. Furthermore, state and non-state stakeholders should cooperate closely to guarantee more effective reforms. National consultation is an essential step in the reform process, in which all stakeholders should participate effectively in policymaking and should share the responsibility of implementation (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012).

4.8- Recommendations

It was recommended by Rezk and Kralikov (2012), for the educational sectors in general, and in the Tunisia one in specific, to support quality enhancement and shift from hierarchical state control to network based governance schools and universities. According to them, the latter goal can be attained through different policies and measures such as decentralization, cooperation, participation, diversification, incentivisation, alternative financing, better management and transparency and integration (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012).

The following suggests eight recommendation by Rezk and Kralikov to enhance the Tunisian Educational sector. First, universities should be further decentralized in areas such as teachers' recruitment, budget control and curricula design. The latter practices become more efficient and appropriately handled at the university level instead of the national one. Many studies showed that academic

stagnation is one result of the restriction of university's autonomy. Second, cooperation between the western universities and schools and the Tunisian ones can have a great impact on improving the quality of these existing schools and open the door for the establishment of new western educational institutions. Third, the Parent Teacher Associations found within Tunisia can play a meaningful participatory role in provoking officials to build new schools to reduce overcrowding and to establish committees to assist poor children to attend schools. While topics related to teacher's performance, parents surveillance and evaluation of the educational process by the student in almost negligible. Fourth, youth who are nor engaged in education, should be trained by special NGOs to provide them with the required skills and make them well equipped for the demands of today's labor market. Fifth, more incentives should be provided through financial awards for schools or universities with the best performance, for playing a role model for its counterparts. These awards should not only target the institution as a whole, but also the teachers and professors within. Besides. Incentives should be provided for educational institutions willing to improve their quality of education through guidance and special training for their formal and informal, academic and non-academic staff. Sixth, efficiency and rationality in resource allocation and more cost-effective behavior in the educational systems is the best way to deal with the limited public funding within the country. Funding diversification through finding supplementary contributions from the private sector, partnerships with local economic institutions and regional or international donations are some of the various ways to support educational reform and educational enhancement. Seventh, better management and more transparency approach should be applied in the use of resources, quality control and greater accountability. Eighth, the integration of the educational institutions in Tunisia into

regional or international associations combining educational institutions from different parts of the world (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012).

4.9- Conclusion

“No one could have predicted that, in the space of a few months, the death by self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi, a 26-year-old Tunisian struggling to make a living as a fruit vendor, would have sent such shock waves across the Arab world. That single act of desperation has led to the toppling of dictators, unleashed demands for political freedom and left autocratic rulers struggling to hold back the democratic tide. It also captured the sense of humiliation, hopelessness and resentment experienced by millions of young Arabs” (Watkins, 2011).

This chapter has reviewed research that explains the failures of educational systems in the Arab region as directly tied to the political environment. Although the Arab region invested heavily in the educational sector, still the results were disappointing. Schools and universities are producing students that lack the skills needed and required within the job market, which itself is subjected to several economic shakes. Implications of the educational systems on the Arab world were viewed within the recent revolutions. These revolutions are rooted in problems that vary from country to another. Still, education has been noticed as one of the many common factors among them all.

While the Tunisian higher education system has been praised for its population coverage and regional sophistication, Ben Ali’s government significantly overstated its strengths. Significant gaps in the quality of curriculum, pedagogy, infrastructure and quality of instruction has been noticed by stakeholders in the

higher education sector. For example, the Bin Ali's regime produced oversupply of graduates in industries that can't absorb them. Besides, it prioritized theoretical pedagogy over practical one, in which graduates had little applied training upon graduation. Also, Bin Ali's regime had a heavy hand in university staffing decisions. Finally, Bin Ali's manipulated the university system, which represents a critical element in fostering social cohesion, through the disparities between interior and coastal regions educational facilities.

It is a matter of no debate that Tunisia was able successfully to create universal free education system, achieve high enrollment rate and improve literacy rate within the various segments of the society, but at the same time the quality of education and the link between education and labor was highly criticized. Indeed, most Tunisian students have access to education in its different levels, and are able to receive a higher education degree, but most of these university graduates have hard time to find a job that fits their studies. In other words, there is a huge mismatch between requirements of the job market and the skills acquired in schools and universities. Astonishingly, it is the university graduates that have the lowest opportunity to find a suitable job. Several studies showed that the job market is not able to provide enough jobs for the highly skilled and educated individuals. Therefore, there is an urgent need to reform the educational system to produce graduates with different skill sets (BIC, 2013).

After discussing explicitly the educational sector situation in Tunisia and emphasizing its role in the Jasmine revolution, the next chapter concludes this thesis with its overall findings. It provides an overview of the status of education in the Arab World, a summary of the investigations on Egypt and Tunisia, along with the

limitations and the scope of the study. Finally, it concludes with few recommendations and future aspirations.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.1- Introduction

Like a snowball rolling down a steep mountain, the Arab Spring initially seemed to be gathering more and more momentum. And the steeper the deterioration in the previous regimes' powers and policies, the greater the hope became for change and development. Education is one part of the story, but it is a crucial one. It is considered the salvation of the many poor people who suffered for years from poverty, unemployment and a proper educational system. It is the limited access to and low quality of education that helped in the Arab Spring. Through this thesis, we reviewed the challenges that have faced and are still facing the educational sectors in the Arab region as well as laid out recommendations that hopefully will set high standards for educational policies and reforms beyond the Arab spring era.

Like all notable social upheavals, the Arab Spring marked the establishment of a new era. Popular calls for the reform of the stagnant institutions, including educational ones, spread all over the region. Our main argument in the thesis stated that the “inadequate access to relevant quality education plays a major role in explaining the Arab spring”. Three factors should be looked at within this statement; inadequate access, relevancy, and quality education.

The MENA region witnessed within the last few years a popular movement that started in December 2010 in Tunisia, soon spread to Egypt and then to other countries within the region. The main calls of the citizens in these upheavals were

job opportunities and social cohesion. As a matter of fact, the aim of the citizens of the MENA region and especially youth was to integrate successfully into the global economy to improve their standards of living. And this goal can be only attained through quality education.

This thesis tackled education and its impact in provoking the Arab uprisings. In both Egypt and Tunisia, the history, structure and quality of education was studied, the role of the students and youth was emphasized and the importance of citizenship education was introduced. As a matter of fact, throughout this chapter, a summary of the cases of both Egypt and Tunisia is found, an overview on the characteristics of the Arab educational systems is mentioned, the scope and limitations of the study are recognized and a few recommendations and future aspirations are introduced.

It is a matter of no debate that international community plays a critical role in enhancing educational quality. This can be done through providing continuous support, effective policies and sharing the lessons learnt from past experiences. A beam of hope appeared after the uprisings when Egypt and Tunisia started collaborating with the European Union toward the improvement and modernization of the MENA education systems (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012).

Since studying the educational situation in each and every country in the Arab world is beyond the capacity of this study, only Egypt and Tunisia were investigated closely. However, most of the educational systems in the Arab countries share in general several characteristics, most importantly; low quality, irrelevancy and inequity. The following section elaborates more on this topic.

5.2- Characteristics of Educational Systems in the Arab World

The Arab Spring revolutions were “not propagated by well-educated youth, rather spurred by the needs and demands of poorly educated youth whose knowledge and skills do not meet the demands of a promptly advancing world” (Adams and Winthrop, 2011). Despite the significant portion of the national income that is allocated to education in several Arab countries, the educational systems are still hindered by low quality, irrelevancy and inequity.

Several examples reflected the low quality of education within the Arab region. When comparing internationally the reading test scores, it was found that, in Kuwait, Morocco and Qatar, over 90 percent of the students scored lower than the threshold indicating that they did not acquire the basic reading comprehension skills after their fourth year in school. On the other hand, a test in math and science for grade 8 in Syria, Qatar, Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt showed results that were below the minimum benchmark. The students of these countries had deficiency in understanding basic equations, decimals and graphs. It was claimed by Kevin Watkins that the educational systems in the MENA region were plagued by; underestimation of the poorly trained teachers socially, preference of the memorizing route over critical thinking and the curriculum design that prepare students for public sector, in which jobs are diminishing, or for post-secondary education where most students are not able to continue for various reasons (Adams and Winthrop, 2011).

The irrelevancy of the content taught in most Arab educational systems is revealed through the mismatch between the skills acquired in schools and the job market requirements. This is why there is an increase in the number of Arab youth that spend a lot of time after graduation waiting to find a suitable job, this period is called “waithood”. On one hand, the problem lays in supply, since there is deficiency in the number of skilled jobs generated that require educated students. On the other

hand, students are not prepared with the skills for the jobs available in the employment market. Not only the quality of education should be of a certain level but also it should be relevant to the market demand; the type of sectors that are most efficient within the economy of the country. More research should be done that links education to employment in the Arab region to find the gaps in this correlation and try to fix it with least costly and most beneficiary processes (Adams and Winthrop, 2011).

Out of school is another problem that should be focused on in the educational domain in the Arab region. There is inequity between students of different regions or even within the same region but between both genders. For example, girls in the rural Upper Egypt who belong to poor families are doubly disadvantaged, once for living in a rural region and second for being a girl (Adams and Winthrop, 2011).

The Center for Universal Education's report "A Global Compact on Learning: Taking Action on Education in Developing Countries" (year) reveals that the Arab region with the support of the global community should focus on the quality, relevancy and equity of the Arab's educational systems. Concentrated focus and collective action is needed to improve educational quality and learning outcomes. The Global Compact aims to motivate the international community (including developing and developed country's governments, multilateral actors, private sector foundations and businesses, and local and international civil society) to prioritize learning within the global educational agenda. There should be commitment and courageous actions from the various groups mentioned above to collaborate together and follow these six principles; leadership from developing and developed countries, partnership among actors that aim to improve learning globally, financing in order to guarantee education for all without discrimination ,

measurement of learning achievements , advocacy to provoke the public opinion to send signals to their governments about the importance of learning and building evidence to answer questions on how to improve education and use evidences from past experiences as an example to follow (Adams and Winthrop, 2011).

5.3- A bird's view of Egypt and Tunisia

No one can deny the significance of the past achievements within the educational sectors within the MENA region, yet there is much still left to do. Two main signals show that the educational system in the Arab world is still incapable of equipping its graduates with the skills demanded by the labor market; the high unemployment rate and the importation of specialized foreign experts to the Arab world. Furthermore, the insufficient quality of education and high unemployment rate are linked directly to the absence of qualified teachers, lack of effective learning material, adequate classrooms, libraries, laboratories along with lack of autonomy and funding (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012).

Looking at Egypt, a clear and well-constructed reform plans have been put in place. Few improvements were viewed on the ground; reduced class sizes in public schools, improved teacher-student ratio, expansion of pre-primary school across the nation and enhanced equity of access to education among different regions. Besides, promotional campaigns were established in rural areas and school construction programmes were introduced in Upper Egypt. Finally, one can't simply ignore the few private, foreign and prestigious universities and schools that provide acceptable educational levels, even when compared with the international standards such as the American University in Cairo (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012).

Despite all the instability that overwhelmed Tunisia, where education is a pillar of development, still it displayed solid educational achievements at least through its literacy rates within young population. As a matter of fact, Tunisia shifted its economic focus from agriculture and manufacturing to the services sector. This sector not only depends on the educational system but also strengthens it. Within higher education, Tunisia provided on competition basis grants and subsidies to the universities. This also helped increase women enrollment in higher education.

Clearly, Tunisia's educational system is better than that of the Egyptian one. Thus, Egypt can learn from the Tunisian experience and its well established legal framework that supports the reform plans. Furthermore, Tunisia is well ahead of Egypt in "terms of enhancing university staff and teachers' qualifications, rewarding teachers in priority area schools with extra incentives, offering career advice to students in preparatory and secondary schools, and focusing on a comprehensive plan for school health care services" (Rezk and Kralikova, 2012).

5.4- Scope of Study and Limitations

The scope of this research covered only two Arab countries, Egypt and Tunisia. These two countries suffered recently from harsh upheavals that impacted the political structures, social contexts and economic constituents. Inevitably, the findings of this paper do not fit, in all its details, the various countries that suffered from such uprisings, but at least it provided a generalized overview about the educational impact in such situations. It is important to note that specific policies and reforms should take into consideration the diverse components of each country under study (economic, political, social, demographic, ethnic, religious, etc.) and use the most suitable reform mechanisms.

It has been noticed that both primary education, which promotes democratic social values and tertiary education, which develops the critical thinking feature are essential criteria for endorsing democracy. Furthermore, many studies have demonstrated that the impact of higher education on democratization is stronger than that of primary education. Also, states with better gender equality and states under conditions of poverty that are integrated in globalized economy are more prone to have their education impacting democratization (Sanborn and Thyne, 2014).

The above thesis can provide some information for researchers and policy makers. The former can benefit through confirming similar findings from other studies and researches concerned with the positive impact of education on democratization. Although we used merely theoretical research without any empirical one, but we mentioned data and statistics from credible resources that are known for their reliability. Thus, research can build on these findings the causal mechanisms behind education-democratization relationship (Sanborn and Thyne, 2014). While policy makers can benefit from several ramifications. Policy makers shouldn't expect an instant effect when improving public access to education, since the process of education affecting democratization and the process of democratization itself takes a lot of time and happens gradually. But at least, studies had shown that the efforts of improving education for the sake of democratization will payoff eventually. Besides, it is important to guarantee equal access for both males and females to education. This has an important effect on democratization. Furthermore, one of the most important aspects of education for democratization is the open access for unbiased information about their systems and the alternative forms of governance. Finally, policy makers should take into consideration that educated people don't necessarily require democratization when living in a wealthy

state, but wealthy states usually move to democracy due to foreign pressure (Sanborn and Thyne, 2014).

The author faced several limitations during this study, but the most important one was lack of country specific statistics, and even if available, different documents showed conflicting data. In fact, this absence of credible and reliable data can be highly correlated to the pre-revolutions authoritarian regimes. It is a matter of no debate that these regimes used to reveal only the data used for their benefit and mask any type of information that can be used against them. Indeed, this might be one of the reasons behind the overstatement of the Tunisian quality education under the fallen regime. Also, different research papers provided diametrically opposite opinions on the role of education in the Arab uprising. This can be linked to political affiliation of the authors along with the opinion of the institute funding their research.

5.5- Conclusions, Recommendations and Future Aspirations

In conclusion, this thesis has sought to demonstrate that inadequate access to relevant quality education in the Arab region was one factor that contributed to the uprisings of the Arab Spring. Inadequate access means the failure of all the youth of the Arab region to attend schools and universities due to the scarcity of the educational institutions or their inability to afford the fees associated with these education. Thus, more schools and universities should be established with the minimum fees possible. The relevancy criteria is associated with explaining the demand and supply mismatch within the Arab region; students study in specific domains that has no capacity to employ them all. There should studies and reports that reveal the most dynamic and efficient sectors within each country and encourage

and guide the students to study in domains that correlate to it. And finally, quality education and this is linked to three criteria, the teachers, the curricula and textbooks and the examinations. Teachers should be well trained and capable of teaching their students the required skills to prepare them for the job market. The curricula should be updated and revisited regularly to fit the global educational level and the examinations should be of a certain level that guarantee the graduation of a cohort of students who fit the minimum standards of the job skills required nowadays.

“Education is the key to unlock the golden door of freedom”, a proverb by George Washington Carver, emphasizes the importance of education in paving the way for freedom. The Arab region suffered for years and years from dictators and authoritarian regimes due to ignorance and poverty. Until now, the level of education acquired by the Arab youth allowed them only to instill the uprising, but such an educational reality can't build them the prosperous future they aspired to get after the revolutions. Islam being the overwhelming religion in the region, it should provoke education for democracy, instead of using it as the opium of the masses especially that many verses of Qur'an and several Islamic sayings emphasize the importance of education such as “seek knowledge from the Cradle to the Grave”. The future of each country is in the hands of its educated class, thus the wider this class is the wealthier, the more peaceful and the more civilized the state will be.

Bibliography

Abouzeid, R. (2011). Assad and Reform: Damned if He Does, Doomed if He Doesn't. Time.

<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2066970,00.html>

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., Robinson, J., & Yared, P. (2005). From Education to Democracy? *American Economic Review*, 95, (2), 44-49. DOI: 10.1257/000282805774669916

Adams, A., & Winthrop, R. (2011, June 10). The Role of Education in the Arab World Revolutions.

<http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2011/06/10-arab-world-education-winthrop>.

African Development Bank, Economic Brief. (2011).

[http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AEB%20VOL%202%20Issue%204%20May%202011.pdf](http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AEB%20VOL%202%20Issue%204%20May%202011_AEB%20VOL%202%20Issue%204%20May%202011.pdf)

Alesina, A., & Giuliano, P. (2011). Family Ties And Political Participation. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 9, (5), 817-839. DOI: 10.3386/w15415

Almond, G., & Verba, S. (Eds.). (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. New York: Sage Publication.

Al-Silini, N. (2013). Citizenship Education in Tunisia: Current Reality and Future Challenges.

http://carnegieendowment.org/files/summaries_final.pdf

Althof, W., & Berkowitz, M. (2006). Moral education and character education: their relationship and roles in citizenship education. *Journal of Moral Education*. 35, (4), 495-518. Retrieved from

<https://characterandcitizenship.org/PDF/MoralEducationandCharacterEducationAlthofBerkowitz.pdf>.

Anderson, L. (2011). Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. *Foreign Affairs* 90, (2), 2–7. Retrieved from

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/libya/2011-04-03/demystifying-arab-spring>

Asik, M. (2012). Contesting religious educational discourses and institutional in contemporary Egypt. *Social Compass*, 59, (1), 84-101. DOI: 10.1177/0037768611432119

Bank Information Center. (2013). The World Bank Group and Tunisia.

<http://www.bankinformationcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/The-World-Bank-Group-and-Tunisia-FINAL-May-10-2013.pdf>

Baraka, P. (2007). Citizenship Education in Egyptian Public Schools. *Journal of Education for International Development*, 3, (3). Retrieved from <http://www.equip123.net/jeid/articles/7/baraka-citizenshipeducation.pdf>

Barber, B. (1994). *An Aristocracy of Everyone: The Politics of Education and the Future of America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barro, R. (1999). Determinants of democracy. *Journal of Political Economy*, 107, (6), 158-183. Retrieved from http://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/3451297/Barro_DeterminantsDemocracy.pdf?sequence=2.

Bchir, M., Chemingui, M., & Hammouda, H. (2009). Ten years after implementing the Barcelona process: what can be learned from the Tunisian experience. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 14, (2), 123 -144. DOI: 10.1080/13629380701811002

Ben Hammouda, H. (2012). *Tunisie: L'économie Politique d'une Révolution*. Bruxelles: De Boeck Publications.

Ben Mhenni, L. (2011). Tunisia: Lawyers Assaulted for their Sidi Bouzid Stand. <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2011/01/01/tunisia-lawyers-assaulted/>

Benavot, A. (1996). Education and Political Democratization: Cross-National and Longitudinal Findings. *Comparative Education Review* (377-403). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bougaada, T. (2011). Students Spark Tunisian Uprising.

<http://www.natureasia.com/en/nmiddleeast/article/10.1038/nmiddleeast.2011.3>

Bray, M. (1999). *The Shadow Education System: Private Tutoring and its Implications on Planners*. (2nd Ed.). UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning.

Brisson, Z., & Krontiris, K. (2012). *Tunisia: From Revolutions to Institutions*. Washington: The World Bank.

Brody, R. (1978). *The Puzzle of Political Participation in America*. Washington, D.C: American Enterprise Institute.

Campante, F., & Chor, D. (2011). Teaching rebels.

http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/23/opinion/23iht-edcampante23.html?_r=0

Campbell, D. (2005, March 1). What is education's impact on civic and social engagement?

<http://www.oecd.org/edu/innovation-education/37425694.pdf>

Cochran, M. (1986). *The parental empowerment process: Building on family strengths*. (J. Harris, Ed.). Brookline, MA: Croon Helm Publishers.

Converse, P. (1972). Change in the American Electorate. In *The Human Meaning of Social Change* (p. 324). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Croxford, L. (2014). The funding of higher education in Scotland, the UK and internationally.

http://www.centreonconstitutionalchange.ac.uk/sites/default/files/papers/thinkank1_briefingpaper_craig.pdf

Deane, S. (2013). Transforming Tunisia: The Role of Civil Society in Tunisia's Transition.

<http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/publications/Tunisia2013EN.pdf>

DeGeorge, B. (2002). The Modernization of Education: A Case Study of Tunisia and Morocco. *The European Legacy*, 7, (5), 579-596. DOI: 10.1080/1084877022000006780

Dewey, J. (1838). *Experience and Education*. New York: Macmillan.

Dewey, J. (1899). *The School and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and Education*. New York: Macmillan.

Driscoll, A., & Nagel, N. (2005). *Early childhood education birth*. Boston: Pearson.

El-Nagar, A., & Smolska, E. (2012). Citizenship Education and Liberal Democratic Change: The Egyptian Case. *Canadian and International Education*, 38, (2). Retrieved from
<http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1012&context=cie-eci>

Fahim, Y., & Sami, N. (2009). Access to and Equity in Financing Higher Education in Egypt. Galal, A., & Kanaan, T. (Ed.). *Financing Higher Education in Arab Countries*. (11-28). Cairo: ERF.

Fairouz. (2011). *Perceptions of Citizenship Education in Egypt: A case study of a Public Middle School*. University of Birmingham: School of Education.
<http://www.fordifp.org/NewsDetails/tabid/112/ContentItemID/425/language/en-US/Default.aspx>.

Faour, M. (2011, October 2). Education for Citizenship in the Arab World: Key to the Future. http://carnegieendowment.org/files/citizenship_education.pdf

Faour, M. (2012). The Arab World's Education Report Card: School Climate and Citizenship skills.
<http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/02/01/arab-world-s-education-report-card-school-climate-and-citizenship-skills>

Faour, M., & Muasher, M. (2011, October 1). Education for Citizenship in The Arab World.
http://carnegieendowment.org/files/citizenship_education.pdf

Faraj, Nabil. (1992). Luwis Awad amam mahakim al-taftish. *Al-Qahira*, 21, (3), 119.

Fortunato, P., & Panizza, U. (2011). Democracy, Education and the Quality of Government.
<http://polis.unipmn.it/pubbl/RePEc/uca/ucapdv/panizza182.pdf>

Fouda, Fatema, interviewed by Paula Larink, April 2013.

Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (30th Ed.)(M. B. Ramos, Trans.). New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Galston, W. (2001). Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, And Civic Education. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4, 217-234.
DOI: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.4.1.217

Ghazal, R. (2014). *The Arab Spring and beyond: Society, education, and the civic engagement of women in Egypt before, during, and after the January 25 uprising*. New York: State University of New York at Buffalo

Glaeser, E., La Porta, R., Lopez-de-Silanes, F., & Shleifer, A. (2004). Do Institutions Cause Growth? *Journal of Economic Growth*, 9, (3), 271-303. Retrieved from http://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/3451297/Barro_DeterminantsDemocracy.pdf?sequence=2.

Glaeser, E., Ponzetto, G., & Shleifer, A. (2007). Why Does Democracy Need Education? *Journal of Economic Growth*, 12, (2), 77-99. Retrieved from <http://down.cenet.org.cn/upfile/46/2008125211145131.pdf>.

Goldstone, J. (2011, May/June). Understanding the Revolutions of 2011: Weakness and Resilience in Middle Eastern Autocracies. *Foreign Affairs*, 8, 16. Retrieved from <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/north-africa/2011-04-14/understanding-revolutions-2011>

Goujon, A. (2014, February 18). The Arab Spring: The role of quality education and the consequences of its lack. http://www.oegfe.at/cms/uploads/media/OEGfE_Policy_Brief-2014.02.pdf

Gurr, T. (1970). *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Halliday, F. (1990). Tunisia's Uncertain Future. *North Africa Faces the 1990s*, (163), 25–27. DOI: 10.2307/3012554

Hamdy, A. (2007). High End of Studies in Basic Education. http://www.infodev.org/infodev-files/resource/InfodevDocuments_412.pdf

- Haouari, I.(2011). Ces chiffres qu'on ne nous a jamais révélés.
<http://www.lapresse.tn/06022011/21973/ces-chiffres-qu-on-ne-nous-a-jamaisreveles.htm>
- Hartmann, S. (2008). The Informal Education Sector in Egypt: Private Tutoring between State, Market, and Civil Society.
[http://www.ifeas.uni-mainz.de/workingpapers/AP88.pdf.](http://www.ifeas.uni-mainz.de/workingpapers/AP88.pdf)
- Herrera, L. (2012). Youth and Citizenship in the Digital Age: a View from Egypt.
Harvard Educational Review, 82, (3). Retrieved from
<https://svn.kwarc.info/repos/www/teaching/TDM/Herrera.pdf>
- Hess, R., & Torney, J. (1990). The Development of Political Attitudes in Children.
Peabody Journal of Education, Vol. 4, (No. 4), pp. 331-334.
<https://archive.org/details/TheDevelopmentOfPoliticalAttitudesInChildren>
- Hibou, B. (2004). *Fiscal Trajectories in Morocco and Tunisia* (S. Heydemann Ed.). New York: Networks of Privilege in the Middle East. The Politics of Economic Reform Revisited.
- Hibou, B. (2006). *La Force De L'Obeissance: Economie Politique de la Repression en Tunisie*. Paris: Editions La Decouverte.
- Hillygus, S. (2005). The Missing Link: Exploring the Relationship Between Higher Education and Political Engagement. *Political Behavior* (25-47). New York: Springer.
- Holmes, B. (1979). *International guide to education systems*. Paris : Unesco
- Honwana, A. (2011). Youth and the Tunisian Revolution.
http://webarchive.ssrc.org/pdfs/Alcinda_Honwana,_Youth_and_the_Tunisian_Revolution,_September_2011-CPPF_policy%20paper.pdf
- Human Rights Watch. (2005). Reading between the “Red Lines” The Repression of Academic Freedom in Egyptian Universities. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- INS. (2012). Tunisian National Institutes of Statistics.
<http://www.ins.nat.tn/>

Jefferson, T. (1939). *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy* (13th Printing edition) (S. Padover, Ed.). New York: The New American Library.

Jones, M. (1980). Education of Girls in Tunisia: Policy Implications of the Drive for Universal Enrollment. *Comparative Education Review* 24, (2), 106–123. Retrieved from
http://www.jstor.org/stable/1187557?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Jules, T., & Barton, T. (2014). Educational governance activities and the rise of educational contagion in the Islamic Maghreb The case of Tunisia.
https://www.google.com.lb/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CB0QFjAAhUKEwiVIJ_GzvPGAhVHVSwKHc86BBo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.inter-disciplines.org%2Findex.php%2Findi%2Farticle%2Fdownload%2F121%2F97&ei=wRqyVdWvMceqsQHP9ZDQAQ&usg=AFQjCNGgoKkK589NPduo1PDAgflMjgQ89w&bvm=bv.98476267,d.bGg

Kallander, A. (2011). Tunisia's Post-Ben Ali Challenge: A Primer, MERIP.
<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero012611.html>

Kinsman, J. (2011). Democracy Rising: Tunisia and Egypt, When Idealists Got it Right.
<http://policyoptions.irpp.org/issues/budget-2011/democracy-rising-tunisia-and-egypt-when-idealists-got-it-right/>

Kohstall, F. (2014). Groundhog Day: Electoral Processes from Mubarak to Morsi.
https://www.academia.edu/9829065/Groundhog_Day_Electoral_Processes_fro_m_Mubarak_to_Morsi

Langsten, R. (2009). Education Transition in Egypt: The Effects of Gender and Wealth.
<http://paa2009.princeton.edu/papers/90236>

Larink, F. (2013). Education in Egypt: Access, Gender, and Disability – Part 3 Disability.
<http://sites.miis.edu/educationinegypt/>

Levine, P., & Lopez, M. (Feb, 2004). Themes Emphasized in Social Studies and Civics Classes: New Evidence.
http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/fact_sheet_civic_ed.pdf

Lipset, S. (1959). Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy. *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 53, No. 1, pp. 69-150. DOI: 10.2307/1951731

Lipset, S. (1960). Political man: The social bases of politics. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 75 (No. 2), pp. 265-267.

Loveluck, L. (2012, March 1). Education in Egypt: Key Challenges.
http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Middle%20East/0312egyptedu_background.pdf.

Luskin, R. (1990). Explaining Political Sophistication. *Political Behavior*, Vol. 12 (No. 4), pp. 331-361.
<http://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/beee204e-a112-4c8e-a571-6474424a4b3e.pdf>

Mahjoub, A. (2010). Labour Markets Performance and Migration Flows in Tunisia. *European Commission Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs, Labour Markets Performance and Migration, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, Occasional Papers*, 2, (60). Retrieved from
http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/occasional_paper/2010/pdf/ocp60_1_en.pdf

Masri, M., Jemni, M., Al-Ghassani, A.M., & Badawi, A.A. (2010). Entrepreneurship Education in the Arab States.
http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/FIELD/Beirut/pdf/EPE_Component_One_English_14_May_2010_01.pdf

Matthews, D. (2012). Revolutionary Road.
<https://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/features/revolutionary-road/419736.article>

Miller, W., & Shanks, M. (1996). *The New American Voter*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Murray, C., & Herrnstein, R. (1994). *The Bell Curve*. Free Press. New York.

Neuman, W. Russel (1986). *The Paradox of Mass Politics: Knowledge and Opinion in the American Electorate*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nie, N., Junn, J., & Stehlik-Barry, K. (1995). Education and Democratic Citizenship in America. *Political Psychology*, Vol. 20 (No. 4), pp. 911-914.

Niemi, R., & Junn, J. (1999). Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn. *American Journal of Education*, 107, (3), 256-260. Retrieved from
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2F208_61A9CA8486E6136802B296658A862229_journals_GOV_GOV35_01_S0017257X00004012a.pdf&cover=Y&code=70948f8c38479056b38b329bcd41b762

Osman, T. (2011). *Egypt on the Brink: From Nasser to Mubarak*. (Revised Ed.). Yale University Press. New Haven.

Paciello, M. (2010). The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Euro-Mediterranean Relations. *International Spectator* 45, (3), 51–69. DOI: 10.1080/03932729.2010.504622

Paciello, M. (2011). Tunisia: Changes and Challenges of Political Transition MEDPRO (Mediterranean Prospects).
http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/129844/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/613dfb0b-d7ef-492e-9713-f7838f741a3c/en/MEDPRO+TR+No+3+Paciello+on+Tunisia.pdf

Papaioannou, E., & Siourounis, G. (2008). Economic and social factors driving the third wave of democratization. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 36, 365-387. Retrieved from
https://www.dartmouth.edu/~elias/greg-elias_JCE.pdf

Plato. (2013). *The Works of Plato: Analysis of Plato and the Republic* (B. Jowett, Trans.). New York: Cosimo, Inc.

Putnam, R. (1993). What makes democracy work? *National Civic Review*, 82, (2), 101-107. DOI: 10.1002/ncr.4100820204 Retrieved from
http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1015&context=asc_papers

Reuters, A. (2010). Witnesses report rioting in Tunisian town.
<http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/12/19/ozatp-tunisia-riot-idAFJOE6BI06U20101219>

Rezk, H., & Kralikova, K. (2012). *Ideas to Actions*. Brussels. Science Historical Publications.

Rosenstone, S., & Hansen, J. (1995). Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 59 (No. 2), pp. 313-316.

Sack, R. (1973). The Impact of Education on Individual Modernity in Tunisia. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 14, (3–4), 245–272.
DOI: 10.1177/002071527301400306

Sanborn, H., & Thyne, C. (2014). Learning Democracy: Education and the Fall of Authoritarian Regimes. *British Journal of Political Science*, 44, (4), 773 - 797
DOI: 10.1017/S0007123413000082

Schneider, M. (2002). Do School Facilities Affect Educational Outcomes?.
<http://www.ncef.org/pubs/outcomes.pdf>

Schoeman, M. (2010). Education for democracy. South African Journal of Philosophy. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 17, (1), pp. 1-16. Retrieved from [http://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/14666/Schoeman_Education\(2010\).pdf?sequence=1](http://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/14666/Schoeman_Education(2010).pdf?sequence=1)

Sobhy, H. (2012).The De-Facto Privatization of Secondary Education in Egypt: a Study of Private Tutoring in Technical and General Schools, Compare. A *Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 42, (1), 47-67. DOI: 10.1080/03057925.2011.629042

Tarrow, S. (1994). *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thayer-Bacon, B. (2008). Democracies-Always-in-the-Making: Maxine Greene's Influence. *Educational Studies*, 44, (3), 256-269. DOI: 10.1080/00131940802511492

The United Nations. (1948). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.
<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>

Thomas, V., Yan W., & Xibo F. (2001). Measuring Education Inequality: Gini Coefficients of Education.

https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/19738/multi_page.pdf?sequence=1

Torney-Purta, J. (2002). Patterns in the civic knowledge, engagement, and attitudes of European adolescents: the IEA civic education study. *European Journal of Education*, 37, (2), 129– 141. Retrieved from http://www.researchgate.net/publication/239849941_Patterns_in_the_Civic_Knowldege_Engagement_and_Attitudes_of_European_Adolescents_TheIEACivic_Education_Study

Turney-Purta, J., Amadeo, J., & Schwille, J. (Ed.). (1999). *Civic Education Across Countries: Twenty-Four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. Ann Arbor. Michigan: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.

Waddell, M. (2013). Citizenship Education in Egypt. *Summer Research*. Paper 171. http://soundideas.pugetsound.edu/summer_research/171

Wahba, K. (2011). The Egyptian Revolution 2011: The Fall of the Virtual Wall-The Revolution Systems Thinking Archetype. <http://www.systemdynamics.org/conferences/2011/proceed/papers/P1436.pdf>

Watkins, K. (2011). Education Failures fan the flames in the Arab World. <https://efareport.wordpress.com/2011/02/23/education-failures-fan-the-flames-in-the-arab-world/>

Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2004). What Kind of Citizen? *American Educational Research Journal*, 41, (2), 237-269. Retrieved from <http://democraticdialogue.com/DDpdfs/WhatKindOfCitizenAERJ.pdf>

Wolfinger, R., & Rosenstone, S. (1980). *Who Votes?* Yale: Yale University Press.

Youniss, J., B., B., & B., Rhett. (2013). Children In the Garden of Democracy: The Meaning of Civic Engagement in Today's Egypt. *Journal of Social Science Education*, 12, (1). DOI: 10.2390/jsse-v12-i1-1224. http://www.researchgate.net/publication/236134621_Children_In_the_Garden_of_Democracy_The_Meaning_of_Civic_Engagement_in_Today's_Egypt