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Judith Cochran

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JUDITH COCHRAN

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For my parents

Joseph and Dorothy Cochran



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Preface

I arrived in Cairo in September of 1980 as the first Fulbright senior lecturer in education in over 15 years. I soon found myself involved in much more than teaching educational psychology and curriculum development on the graduate and undergraduate level at Ain Shams University. The Dean of the College of Education, Abdul Gaffar Abdul Salam, was also chairman of a national subcommittee in charge of assessing the competencies of 140,000 primary school teachers in Egypt, 139,000 of which were not certified. This assessment was part of the Ministry of Education's total reorganization plan which involved the restructuring of primary and secondary education. During 1980-81 school year, Dr. William Ebied, Dr. Mohammed Mofti and I developed a competency based observation instrument which was used by graduate students who visited the elementary classrooms in the twelve educational zones of Cairo. This observation system was expanded the following year to involve over sixty university professors throughout the country in addition to the original group of professors and graduate students who had conducted the Cairo study.

In order to continue participating in the primary teacher assessment, I accepted the directorship of the DPS English language program at American University in Cairo. Here, I worked with over 150 part-time teachers and 8,000 students, most of which were Egyptian. The English instructors taught in local elementary and secondary schools, worked as inspectors, school directors, college professors, Ministry of Education officials and then came to A.U.C. as a second or third job. As the director of a large educational program at American University in Cairo and member of the team of Egyptian educators conducting research for Dean Abdul Gaffar who soon became the Egyptian Minister of Education, I was in an advantageous position to participate, observe and research Egyptian education. But I had no intentions of writing this book.

It wasn't until I began meeting confused foreign investors and consultants that I began to understand the wealth of information and resources available to me. The book had to be written to increase the educational understanding of Egyptians and international investors. So at night, during the weekends and over vacations, I had began to

research the puzzle that I had found. As the educational leader in the Middle East, education received in Egypt and mostly in Cairo shaped present and future social, economic and religious movements in the area. This educational system with its enormous influence was difficult to understand, neglected by foreign scholars and comprehended by Egyptians. I had begun making observational notes as I went to elementary and secondary schools throughout Egypt. When I showed these notes to the director of the National Center for Educational Research, he informed me that I needed to read more about Egyptian education. As he brought books to my office, I began to learn the complexities of integrating resources in Arabic, French, English, existing mostly in private collections. After I checked out the four books on Egyptian education available at A.U.C. library, I began to ask my friends for books and articles on education in Egypt. Friends on the Supreme Council of Universities brought me reports they and their students had written, Ministry of Education officials gave their valuable time for interviews and supplied me with official reports, many of which had not been translated. The reports from the President's Council, the equivalent of a Presidential Advisory Board, were the gift of their friends who understood the importance of having relevant, accurate documentation. And once I began to put the resources together, they didn't agree.

Inconsistencies in the documentation became the basis for the further investigation which lead me to USAID and World Bank references. I had known participants on many of the USAID projects as they had either been a part of the international community, come to A.U.C., or contacted me through the Fulbright office. Through Dean Abdul Gaffar Abdul Salam, I had met the director of World Bank projects in Middle East, Europe, Far East and Asia. With his aid, I visited World Bank project sites, talked to participants and documented the development of World Bank projects. And I checked and re-checkedmy information with teachers, the Egyptian leaders of the Ministry of Education, students, fellow Fulbrighters, USAID officials, and visiting consultants. The list of those who aided me must include all of the teachers in the A.U.C. English language program, most especially the group which called themselves the "old hands," fellow professors at Ain Shams, Tanta, Minya, Assuit, and Cairo universities, Dr. Youssif Khalil and Dr. Salah

Kotb, both eminent and respected members of the President's Council and Supreme Council of Universities, and friends like Dr. Gammal Abdul Nasser, Mohammed Hassen, Dr. Carl and Judy Mills, Dr. Frank and Betty Blanning. Dr. Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., a Fulbright scholar and Middle East historian who along with Dr. Salah Kotb, and Dr. Charles Clark, spent many hours reading the manuscript and making suggestions about style and content. In final analysis, this work is to aid those who come to Egypt and the Middle East to study and work among her people. More than this, it is a testimony to the kindness and dedication of men and women like George Dawood, Ramsey Kamel, Latif Doss, Guirgis Rashidi, and Reda Salama who have provided leadership for over forty years in Egyptian schools. I hope this book reveals their concerns, accomplishments, and friendship. This is, after all, their story.



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CENTURY OF CONFLICT

EDUCATION IN CONTEMPORARY EGYPT

Introduction

Education is a critical force in contemporary Egyptian development. Egyptian education is the past and present architect of economic and social behavior in the Middle East and throughout the Muslim world. For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar University has been the center of Islamic scholarship, education, and thought. Muslims educated at Al-Azhar have extended Egypt's influence far beyond her borders. And early in the nineteenth century, Egypt forged ahead of the rest of the Muslim world in secular education, after Mohammed Ali set up the first modern medical, veterinary, engineering, and accounting schools in the area. During British colonial rule of Egypt, state-controlled education was structured to serve British interests while Egyptians and non-English foreigners worked to expand private and religious education. Following Britain's declaration of Egyptian independence in 1922, great advances took place in public education at all levels. Egypt's educational leadership expanded even more during the presidency of Gamal Abdel Nasser, who offered free secular and religious education, through the doctorate, for Egyptians and students from other Muslim countries. While importing students, Egypt exported teachers and administrators to the rest of the Arab world. They set up and staffed schools and universities on so large a scale that Egyptians can claim to have shaped the secular and religious leadership of most of the Arab countries. Today Egypt's educational system both reflects and augments the social unrest of its own people--and of those it has influenced. Historic conflicts between religious and secular leaders, between tradition and innovation, and between foreign and national interests, influence contemporary Egyptian education. And the education of her youth has and will set the course for Egypt's future economic and social development.

CHAPTER I

ROOTS OF MODERN EDUCATION

For the 5,000 years of recorded history and no doubt before, Egyptian civilization revolved around the Nile. Its waterway provided irrigation for nearby farms and transportation of produce to markets. Survival needs educated Egyptians about the Nile, farming and the sale of goods. And this knowledge, passed from father to son, enabled Egyptians to be secure and thrive in a country which was an agricultural and commerical center for thousands of years. But her geographic accessibility and natural resources also made Egypt a desirable acquisition. In ancient history, she was a part of the Hyksos, Assyrian, Persian, and Macedonian Empires. As a part of the Roman Empire, Christian Egyptians were persecuted and fled to the desert and Upper Egypt where they continued their farming and religion far from the commerical and agricultural centers. As an urban civilization flourished on the banks of the Nile, Egyptians developed such skills as writing, geometry, surveying, accounting, human and veterinary medicine, and administration. The formal education that existed took place in the temples. Thus, from earliest times, education and religion were inseparable. And while they may have been taxed and persecuted, most Egyptians did not find their lives or educational needs greatly altered regardless of the different ruling Empires. The foreign rulers continued as a society unto themselves, interested in the resources of the country but not the culture nor the people.

After several centuries under the Byzantine (East Roman) Empire, Egypt fell in 642 to Muslim troops from Arabia. In order to convert the Egyptians to Islam, mosques were begun in every village. Each mosque had a school, or Kuttab, where

young Egyptian boys were taught to read and write in order to learn the teachings of Islam, revealed to the Prophet Mohammad in the Koran. Thus, Arabic, the language of the Koran, became the language of the people and Islam became the religion of most Egyptians. Then the Arab caliphate power declined and between 868 and 969 two Turkish dynasties governed Egypt. In 969, the Turks were overcome by another Islamic dynasty, the Fatimids from North Africa. They founded a capital named Cairo and established the University of Al-Azhar, a major center of Islamic learning. Here, exceptional Kuttab students could further their knowledge of Islam and become the most highly educated Egyptians. During the 1160's the Fatimid caliph called upon Syria to supply troops for wars against the Christian crusaders. This action enabled Saladin, a successful Syrian officer, to take control of Egypt. The Ayyubid dynasty, founded by Saladin, ruled Egypt from 1171 to 1250.

In order to maintain military control of the country, the Fatimid and Ayyubid dynasties bought boy slaves from Circassia and Turkish Central Asia. These youths were educated in special schools where they were taught the Islamic faith, loyalty to the foreign rulers, methods of administration and warfare. Called Mameluks, warriors could marry Egyptian women, but their children could not be educated as Mameluks. The Ayyubid dynasty was overthrown by the Mamleluks, who proceeded to expand their power into Syria, Paurtine, and Western Arabia. The Mamleluks were trusted more than the Egyptians, and the Ottoman rulers gave them authority to rule the land, collect taxes from Egyptians and report to the Ottoman governor. The Mameluks organized cavalry squadrons and resisted Napoleon I when he invaded Egypt in 1798. After the French defeated the Mameluks in the Battle of the Pyramids, some joined the French army while others remained with the Ottomans to drive the French out of Egypt in 1801. After four years of conflict, Mehemet or Mohammed Ali, a Turkish soldier from Albania, seized control of the country. He drove out a British force occupying Alexandria and in 1811, massacred the remaining Mameluks leaders at a banquet in Cairo. Mohammed Ali now controlled Egyptian economic and military resources.

Since the Arab invasion 300 years earlier, there had been no significant change in the agrarian life of the Egyptian. Now Mohammed Ali introduced cotton and hemp farming. Irrigation was expanded

and a barrage or dam on the Nile was begun. Mohammed Ali nationalized and later redistributed the land thus creating a middle class of wealthy Turks though his encouragement of agricultural development. Mohammed Ali was most interested in building a modern army and navy to support his wars of conquest in Arabia, Greece, the Sudan and Syria. But he could not import enough foreign experts to increase and up-grade his armed forces, which depended on modern technology and weaponry. He needed, therefore, to train Egyptians.

Unfortunately, the Egyptian's religious education and agrarian background did not prepare them to comprehend technical military and secular curriculum. So Mohammed Ali sent missions of bright young Egyptians abroad to be educated. He also founded high schools to produce infantry, cavalry and artillery officers. Soon his army needed doctors, engineers, pharmacists, veterinarians and technicians capable of building and repairing weapons. He also needed an administrative structure loyal to him. To meet this demand, he established a school of accounting (1826) an engineering school (1829) and a school for administration (1834). (Szyliowicz, 1973, p.103) Because this emergent higher education had been established before primary and secondary schools, he was forced to use the existing religious education network as the source of students. Mohammed Ali thus found it necessary to add a system of public secondary and primary schools. By beginning with higher education and ending with elementary education, he implemented what has been called a reversed educational pyramid system. (Farag, 1976, p.43).

By the time of his death in 1849, Mohammed Ali had created a significant change in the Egyptian's life; he had educated an Egyptian middle class which was a source of rebellion for his heirs. Abbas, Mohammed Ali's successor, closed most of the secondary technical schools and Said, who followed Abbas, contributed to the decline of "modern" secular education by closing even more. A stagnation period for Egyptian education began which continued through the end of Said's rule in 1863. This is not to say that the foreigners did not have their own elite schools; most of these schools were set up after the reign of Said. Each had their own educational system which was conducted in their language and directed loyalties of students toward the "mother" country. After the reign of Said, French, British, German and American missionary

schools were added to the "ecoles libres gratuites et universelles," and schools for the Greek, Italian, Jewish and Armenian minorities also were added. Also several primary and secondary schools were founded by the Egyptian Christians (Copts), particularly the Coptic secondary school in Cairo, the Narcossia school in Alexandria and several other secondary schools in the governorates which were owned and run by Coptic notables and societies. All of these "foreign language" schools admitted and educated some Egyptians with the Copt schools solely educating young Egyptians.

While Mohammed Ali's secular schools were in decline these "language" or foreign schools greatly increased in number from 1840 onward. Foreign schools received financial support from the Ottoman governors, especially Ismail Pasha, Said's successor, who aimed to create a foreign educational system to complement his "westernization" of Egypt. The Riad program of 1874 was an attempt by Egyptians to place foreign schools under the control of the government. However, it was not put into effect, as it was not approved by the legislature. (Harby, 1960, p.46).

The growth of the foreign schools and their successful education of an Egyptian elite caused Gamel El Din El Afghani and his student Mohammad Abduh to address the educational needs of the Egyptian masses. The resulting Law of 19 Rajab 1284 (1867) provided for the total reorganization of education and recognized the necessity of spreading education among the people. Kuttab corrections and developments were implemented under the name of "domestic schools" to be integrated with surviving technical schools begun by Mohammed Ali. However, this law too was never fully implemented. (Harby, 1960,p.47). Education was not Ismail's only concern as he continued to "westernize" Egypt. He rebuilt parts of Cairo as a replica of Paris, and while the building of the Suez Canal was a co-operativeeffort between the French and Egyptians, a company administered by the French was allowed to operate the canal for 99 years. In 1875, Egypt's financial condition worsened. In 1876, the government appointed two British and French officials to manage its financial affairs. In 1881, Egyptians, many of whom had been educated abroad under Mohammed Ali and his successors, revolted against control by the Turkish rulers and the British and French advisors. After Egyptian riots broke out in Alexandria in 1882, British troops put down the revolt and

occupied Egypt maintaining the Ottoman khedive or king as puppet ruler.

Throughout history, Egyptian education had reflected the dichotomy of its society. Egypt had been ruled for centuries by a succession of foreigners educated in their own schools with loyalties to their "mother" countries. These ruling classes had little contact with the average Egyptian who, if educated, had attended Coptic or Islamic religious schools (kuttabs). A few educated Egyptians held religious ranks and represented the people to the rulers. A small group of secularly educated middle-class Egyptians had emerged from Mohammed Ali's educational system. But his intent had never been to educate the masses. As he wrote in a letter to his son, Ibrahim, "What Europe is suffering from is the result of generalizing the education among all levels of society so they're involved...they have no chance of avoiding what happened. So if this is an example in front of us, so our duty is to just teach them how to read and write to a certain limit in order to accomplish satisfied work and not to spread education beyond this point." (Moursi, 1974,p.12). Therefore, the majority of Egyptians were poor laborers without political and social power.

Two separate but equal elite educational systems had emerged--one for technological, practical, specialized training and the other for spiritual, cultural instruction. The masses continued to receive elementary religious education in the kuttabs. But the intellectual Egyptians were to be divided between those who had graduated from Al-Azhar and those who were products of Mohammed Ali's new technical institutions. In this manner, an institutional cleavage arose with fateful consequences for Egypt's future development. An elite-masses gap was perpetuated. Furthermore, the elite were to be divided between those having secular and religious education. (Doss, 1983, interview).

The secular elite had been trained in skills useful for professional and commercial endeavors of the present and the future while the religious elite had been trained in skills useful for interpreting the social and religious mandates of the past. The demonstrated expertise of foreign technicians and invaders had forced Egyptians into a cultural conflict. If Egypt was to develop economically and maintain itself as a commercial and agricultural center, both systems had to be integrated to provide

an appropriate education for all Egyptians.

But life for all Egyptians had changed. The Suez Canal and later the Aswan Dam (both on the Nile) reduced the significance of the Nile as the center of life for the Egyptian. Its water, polluted and carrying the debilitating belharzia, (a disease caused by snails) could not irrigate enough land to feed its population. While its waterways remained a source of transportation for a few, roads became the competitor as trucks, buses and carts carried far more produce to market. Technicians were needed to improve agricultural methods, develop transportation systems for a rapidly expanding population and move Egypt competitively into whatever high technology developments the future demanded. However, Egyptian emphasis upon technology and its concomitant commercial and economic leadership threatened religious leadership of the past providing Egyptians with either ambiguous choices for the future or obedience to the past. The problems facing Egypt, the challenging ones needing urgent attention, have become those of social change and modification to enable the agrarian Egyptian to adapt to and use the technology that arrives with and forms the basis of economic development. But such changes also involve a change of social values, skills and institutions which have operated successfully for thousands of years. The task of Egyptian education in the twentieth century has been to integrate two seemingly incompatible value systems; one secular and foreign, the other religious and Egyptian. The resolution of this conflict has been the history of education in Egypt for the past century and promises to dictate the future for years to come.

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CHAPTER II

BRITISH OCCUPATION, 1882-1919

The Egyptian government was almost bankrupt by 1876. Ismail Pasha was forced to appoint a European commission to supervise the collection of state revenues and the repayment of government debts. Two years later he even introduced English and French ministers into his cabinet. Pressed to settle with its European creditors, the Egyptian government put off paying its own officials and military officers, driving many into dire poverty. Some rebelled. The Western powers persuaded the Ottoman sultan to dismiss Ismail in favor of his son, Tawfiq, in 1879, but Egypt's economic problems persisted. A group of Egyptian officers and civil servants, many of them trained in government schools founded by Mohammed Ali or Ismail, rebelled against their privileged Turkish overlords and their European advisors. They gained the backing of nearly all classes of Egypt's society, took control of the government, and instituted constitutional reforms. After riots broke out in Alexandria in 1882, British troops entered the country to suppress the rebellion. While promising to leave as soon as order had been restored to Egypt, the British established a military occupation that was to last for 74 years. Westernizing reform thus led to Western rule.

In 1882, the British army and the British agent and counsel general became the actual governing forces behind the Turkish khedive, who remained as the titular head of Egypt. The British, like previous occupying powers, created a separate economic and social stratum for themselves which revolved around the exclusive Alexandria and Cairo Sporting Clubs. There, British officers and soldiers could enjoy horse-racing, golf, swimming, tennis, squash and dining facilities. And once

more, there was little effort on the part of foreign rulers to improve or alter the educational or economic life of most Egyptians.

In 1883, when Sir Evelyn Baring began his 20-year service as British agent and counsel general, the educational system had operated for more than 30 years with little government interference. Mandatory literacy had been decreed in 1867 requiring that within 18 years all members of the legislative council should be able to read and write and members of the electorate should achieve literacy within 30 years. The decree was abandoned in 1888 because of the lack of personnel to staff the schools. Proposals to reform education were made in 1867 and 1880 but not put into effect because of the political conflicts of those periods. In 1883, the elite secular education consisted of 270 primary schools and three specialized secondary schools, remnants of Mohammed Ali's technical educational system. In addition, there were 60 students in an Arabic teacher training school at Dar Al Ulum, 300 girls in female schools, and 48,664 students in the foreign or "language" schools. Most Egyptian males, however, were educated in the 9,647 religious kuttabs or one of the 4,664 elementary schools begun by the state at different times to provide free education for the poor. (Harby, 1960, p.4). Baring, faced with a fiscal crisis and not expecting the British occupation to last very long, slashed educational expenses. But what started as an emergency measure survived the government's financial crisis and became, in effect, Britain's educational policy in Egypt.

Facilities and curricula improvement required money, but the financial investment in education during the British occupation was minimal. The coffers of Egypt had been emptied by Mohammed Ali and the wars of Ismail Pasha. Little had been spent on education since the early 1846's. Prior to British occupation, education in kuttabs, modern technical, and elementary schools had been free. But, by 1907, free education was entirely prohibited by order of Baring. Even those educated in "modern" primary or elementary schools for the poor had to be at least middle class, while the poor Egyptians went to kuttabs which were funded at various levels by the endowment of each mosque or church. In 1889, the state budget showed a surplus of more than 200,000 pounds but still no money was invested in education. L.E.69,479 was allowed for education of which L.E.12,745 was recovered in school fees.

(Boktor, 1936, p.133). All schools which operated without government support continued to increase, indicating interest on the part of Egyptians in obtaining an education.

Foreign language and missionary schools flourished. On the other hand, the modern technical schools created by Mohammed Ali floundered with three specialized secondary schools continuing--two industrial workshops and one industrial school in Mansura. As late as 1911, all graduates of these schools were employed by the government. (Boktor, 1963, p.140). Modern technical schools still provided no cultural subjects such as history and the only requirements for admission were the ability to read and write and knowledge of simple rules of arithmetic. Both the workshops and the industrial school were self-supporting from the all of the students' products and their wages for work conducted. In 1906, the government established a department for vocational education with the object of supervising this much needed type of instruction. In 1911, an institute was begun in which commercial courses were taught at two levels, intermediate and secondary. But, until 1910, there was only one agricultural school in a largely agrarian country. A primary education certificate was required for admisssion, which meant that the candidates for the agricultural school came from the same applicant pool as those for secondary schools. Because the latter provided a better education, students often chose secondary schools, thus limiting the expansion of the agricultural school. (Harby, 1960, p.10).

Similarly, the vocational schools for women continued but were not encouraged financially by the British. The first foreign school for girls was opened by an American mission in 1856, followed in 1873 by the first Egyptian school for girls, founded by Tcheshme-Afet, third wife of Ismail Pasha. Only the very privileged girls had any educational opportunities at all; some Christian girls went to European or Missionary schools. In 1910, a vocational school for women was set up at Kobri El Koubra, providing specialized study of home economics, embroidery, and needlework. (Boktor, 1963,p.142). Admission to this school required the post-elementary education certificate, but the curriculum revealed little interest in educating women for occupations outside the home. The growth of schools for women was limited partially by the lack of teachers. It was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find native women teachers.

Apart from the fact that very few women were educated, it was considered shameful for a woman to earn a living and even more shameful to earn a living by teaching. Thus, Egyptian schools were forced to obtain their female teachers from Europe and from other Arabic-speaking countries, notably Syria. (Boktor, 1963, p.144). In the few government schools begun for girls, a male teacher was always accompanied in class by a European woman whose sole duty was to chaperon girls. The chief reason for few facilities for female education was the limited need for educated females. Government school enrollment and graduation were controlled by examinations which were no longer developed by the teachers but constructed by a British Board of Examiners. The questions were written by the board, and the answers were taken to the British Advisor himself to be submitted to the examiners for grading. In 1898 of the 1,381 candidates examined for the primary education certificate, only 427 passed. (Harby, 1960, p.14).

Furthermore, the goverment schools did not encourage independent thinking, as memorization was the means of preparing for the Civil Service exam.

> I understand that little is known about educational psychology and memorizing is the normal practice. In one school, I heard that a syllabus is prepared, and if a student successfully memorizes it he can pass the examinations of the school and the Civil Service without recourse to a single book. (Harris, 1925, p.69).

Courses in the government schools were influenced by the fact that there were very few job opportunities outside of the Civil Service and selection was based upon examination scores. The secondary education certificate examination was also a reflection of governmental need. From 1887 to 1890, there was a relaxation of examination standards, as there was a need for government workers. Students who failed merely took the exam the following year. (Tibawi, 1972, p.81). In 1891 only 28 out of 128 passed that examination; in 1892, only 36 passed out of 90 applicants. (Boktor, 1936, p.133). In addition to preventing students from continuing their education, the exams also controlled the number of candidates for specific

government positions, a process which paralleled Mohammed Ali's procedure of training only as many technicians as were needed for his military endeavors. The difference was that, while engaged in warfare Mohammed Ali expanded the number of schools, while under British rule, numbers were restricted through examinations, fees, and a lack of facilities.

The education of religious elite continued unaltered from the 500 years of Turkish rule, during which Mameluks were trained to become Amirs (someone who gives orders) and Egyptians were trained to become Ulamas, (someone who interprets the Koran and Hadith). The British did not alter the secular and religious elitist educational system. The only difference was that the British trained the secular elite to be English speaking governmental bureaucrats rather than members of a military machine. The curriculum of elite government schools encouraged submission to authority and passiveness which limited independent thought. Some subjects which could have helped build a socially intelligent graduate were excluded from the curricula. For example, the following were not taught in any school in Egypt: ethics; economics; philosophy, ancient or modern; and Arabic and European literature. (Wilson, 1928, p.76-77) The religious and secular educational systems had become such that the less individuality and initiative shown by the Egyptian, the more acceptable he was likely to be to the advisor whose duty it was to train him for bureaucratic station. (White, 1899, p.27). This curriculum was perhaps too successful, if Mufti Shaykh Nunammad Abduh (1898) is to be believed:

> As a rule one thing alone is exacted in a candidate for a public office and that is that he should possess a nature entirely passive. A man in the smallest degree independent will not be admitted or if by mistake he should be, he will not remain long. The Egyptian officials do not tell the truth, they take no initiative, approve all that is wanted and never oppose any measure. (Stevans, 1898, p.77).

No words can express the Egyptian official's ineptitude, his laziness, his helplessness, his

dread of responsibilitiy, his maddening red tape formalism. His panacea in every unexpected case is the same. It must be put in writing; he must ask for instructions. (Stevans, 1898, p.116). However, according to Cooper(1913): the graduates of the religious system which culminated with Al-Azhar University were not much better.

> The college student in Egypt, if he may already be called such, is a past master at imitation. He lacks mental resourcefulness. His mind is automatic rather than creative. Students in the secondary schools, as in other grades, will point with worthy pride to their drawings which are copies of originals and their Arabic maps, which are really wonders of calligraphy and systematic imitation. Centuries of memorizing have produced a condition of brain similar to that which we find today in China, where the students have been busied with the memorizing of Confucius and other ancient books as the chief activiy of education. Even the native teachers in these schools, when asked for original opinions will fumble for their catalogues of the schedules and rules which have been laid down for that school and which for them are as authoritative as the Koran itself. This lack of personal responsibility and adaptation, produced by centuries of serfdom, seems to be an inherent weakness in Egyptian character. (Cooper, 1913 p.134).

DeGuerville also found religious education inadequate preparation for political and economic leadership.

> I asked the Muslem sheikh who accompanied me to Al-Azhar what would be the result of this learning upon the students. He replied: These men are becoming authorities upon the theology and the sacred laws of (Islam) Mohammedanism; they will be the priests and jurists of Islam;

> they will go out to various towns and rural communities of Egypt, as well as to other countries, to be expounders of the Sacred Law covering all matters of daily living. But of the outside world and of the relationship of learning to modern life, these men will be as ignorant as when they entered Al-Azhar. (DeGuerville, 1905, p.161).

Recognizing the foreign influence in the education of their young, the Egyptians demanded that Arabic be the main language of teaching in primary and secondary schools, although French and English could, and did, continue as additional languages of instruction. In government schools, English or French and Arabic became compulsory subjects. In private language schools, however, French or English continued to be the principal language of instruction. Thus, the demands of the people were met, but they demanded too little. The curricula, exams, purposes of education, and number and quality of graduates were not questioned.

The same year, in 1908, a group of Egyptian notables and leaders made subscriptions and began a university. Khedive Abbas II, the Turkish king of Egypt at that time, ordered that an annual grant in aid of L.E.2,000 should be paid to the university. Moreover, his personal influence encouraged others to contribute generously to this enterprise. His son, Prince Foad, was elected president of the Egyptian University, which was officially inaugurated on a small scale in December, 1908. Fewer than 10 courses were offered to the small, transient student body. (Tignor, 1966, p. 338). Its chief function consisted of providing lectures for general culture. Orientalists were invited from the European universities to lecture on literature, philosophy, sociology and history. Other lectures on higher mathematics, astronomy and physics were in the hands of the best Egyptian lecturers available. Twenty-four students were sent to Europe to specialize in various subjects and return to lecture at the university. Prince Foad, realizing the importance of a library, used his influence in Egypt and Europe to build one.

By 1910, there seemed to be a general movement toward some educational expansion under Saad Zaghlul, the Minister of Public Education. Nine new agricultural schools were opened between 1911

and 1921. In 1911, the Giza Agricultural School was converted into a higher school and an intermediate agricultural school was founded at Moushtohor to further educate graduates of the Giza elementary schools. The following year, another intermediate agricultural school was established at Damamhur. A third school was opened at Shebin El Kom (Menufia) in 1914. (Harby, 1960, p.15).

In addition, a committee was formed to encourage students to study abroad in European colleges at their parents' expense and under the indirect control of the Egyptian Ministry of Education. In 1914, 614 students left for Europe, 372 of whom studied in Great Britain, 139 in France and 36 in Switzerland. (Newman, 1928, p.230) But once more, only the wealthy Egyptians could afford to have their children educated abroad. Clearly, government schools provided an education suited to the needs of the British.

Sir Evelyn Barings' excuse for educational deficiencies was that a quarter of a century was too short a time to effect change in the unpromising nature of the material with which the English had to work: Egypt was a country of limited possibilities, limited finances, undisciplined minds, and Turkish pashas. The English neglected education, claiming that the time had not yet come, that there was a greater need for reforms of irrigation and justice, and the abolition of corruption and graft. "It would be childish to discuss the pattern of the carpet when the house in which it was laid was on fire." (Baring, 1967, p.534). Furthermore, a uniform level of education was viewed as the only possible safeguard against the rise of nationalists who might stir the people against their foreign rulers. (Rawadan, 1951, p.535). Instead of improving the education so that people might intelligently deal with occupational forces, the British kept the general quality of education low, thus preventing the education of potentially disruptive leaders. (Baring, 1967, p.535).

The defense that can be given British policy is that they may not have had bad intentions, but rather simply allowed matters to take their slow evolutionary course. The English claimed their control of education was not direct or complete, even from the beginning of the occupation. It is quite clear, however, that the slow evolutionary course limited the number of young Egyptians who attended school. By 1913, only 6.5 percent of the girls and 20.5 percent of the boys were actually

given the lowest level of education. In the same year, the number of students in schools of Egypt was 3 1/2 percent of the eligible population, compared to 15 percent in Italy and France, 16 percent in Austria, Germany and Japan, 17 percent in England and 24 percent in the U.S. (Boktor, 1936, p.146).

In 1913, a British visitor named Cooper (1913) subjectively described the difference that government funding made for elementary schools.

> I was ushered into a small room containing 20 little boys varying in ages from 7 to 10 years. The floor was covered with ragged straw matting. The decorations consisted of a blackboard, which the children sitting cross-legged on the floor were facing. A huge bottle of ink dangled from a nail on the wall. Three boys were totally blind, and exactly one half of the pupils possessed but one eye apiece. Indeed, the teacher himself, who was an utterly uneducated man, possessed but a single eye and this one so feeble and filmy that he could only discern an Arabic character by bringing the paper against his eye at a certain angle. There were no books save a few leaves from the Koran. There was no supervision from any board of education. The teacher was supported by the tuition fee of one piaster per week from each student. The school exercise was repeating together in a shrill sing-song manner certain words from one of the Surrahs of the Koran keeping time with a rhythmic swaying of their little bodies. Those words were repeated over and over again in what seemed to be an endless reiteration with the sole object of committing the words to memory, since the meaning of these theological and recondite phrases were far beyond the understanding, not only of the pupils but also of the teacher himself.
>
> The second elementary school received a small yearly grant from the

government and was inspected by officials from the Ministry of Education. I found here desks, some system of studies as required by the government and a general improvement in the character of the teacher. This official was also somewhat more liberally paid, receiving from each student 5 piasters a month. The school occupied a room which was originally the tomb of a Moslem sheik. The individual method of instruction was in vogue, the 20 or more students in the room were expected to study in a high voice in union with one pupil the well known words of the Koran.

The third school was entirely under government control and occupied a fine building with thorough sanitary arrangements, a room for the headmaster, with lockers for books and other modern conveniences. There were three teachers in this school receiving L.E.20.00 per month from the government in addition to a fee from 2 to 15 piasters a month from each student. This fee was exacted according to the financial ability of the boys. The torture instruments of the other "kuttabs" had disappeared and modern slates took the place of strips of tin used in other schools(19). While the British did little to improve the level of education in Egypt, many of their educational policies were culturally consistent with previous educational traditions. Limited governmental influence in traditional and private schools, little effort toward constructing schools for the masses, continuation of a curriculum which emphasized rote memory, and the secular education of a small number of elite Egyptians were policies which had been in effect from the beginning of Turkish occupation. Furthermore, British efforts were limited by financial constraints. As evidenced by the growth of private

> kuttabs and foreign language schools, the British did not restrict education when their financial support was not required. (p.154-155).

While giving attention to what was left of Mohammed Ali's system, the British didn't consider the personal development of the children or societal needs. They created an educational system mainly available to middle or higher class students by charging fees prohibitive to the lower-class children. In the 40 years of British occupation, only one exception or scholarship was awarded to an Egyptian child and that case resulted from the threatened resignation of Saad Zaoul, the Egyptian Minister of Education. That scholarship student was Ismail Cabani who became the Minister of Education and advocate of one school for all children of Egypt. He was granted a scholarship in 1908 for all of his education by Lord Dunlop "on the condition that it will never happen again." (Salah Kotb, 1983, personal interview).

Although the financial expenditure was small, the British gave some encouragement to the education of women. However, the lack of a cultural tradition to support this effort and the British policy of only hiring men for government positions limited its effectiveness. With a history of women's seclusion and separation from men, co-education in government schools was culturally incongruent. Futhermore, having girls enroll and pay for education which trained them for government positions available only to men made little sense either culturally or economically. The female schools which did succeed were segregated and focused on learning skills such as embroidery, needlepoint and home economics.

To summarize, Egyptian education under the British occupation was aimed at producing obedient clerks, not the technically or scientifically trained leaders badly needed to develop the country. Religious education flourished while moral and patriotic content was lacking in the secular state schools which were as ill-suited to Egypt's needs as the education offered in the missionary and foreign schools. British educational policy in Egypt was essentially conservative, and showed little progress beyond the reforms of Mohammed Ali and Ismail.

The British occupation of Egypt succeeded in introducing a new focus for education--government employment as the expected reward for the English-

speaking elite. The guarantee of a position with the Civil Service after graduation from a government school became firmly implanted in the people's minds. A population of technologically, commercially or scientifically trained leaders who could operate the country had not been a British aim. Thus, Baring's goal of not educating a population which could rebel against the British was met. Further, the neglect of religious education served to isolate Egyptians from governmental influence and occupational control. The British governmental schools were congruent in philosophy with that of the modern technical schools begun by Mohammed Ali, and hence made no significant change in Egyptian educational philosophy.

Until 1914, Egypt remained a privileged province of the Ottoman Empire, but when World War I pitted that country against the British, they quickly deposed Khedive Abbas in favor of a more malleable relative, declared a protectorate over Egypt, and severed its pro forma Ottoman ties. Although the Egyptians did not have to fight against their Turkish overlords, their lives were affected by the huge influence of British Empire troops, who used their country as a base of operations against the Ottoman Empire. Anti-British feelings grew, culminating in a nation-wide revolution of 1919, led by Saad Zaghlul. The British conceded independence in 1922, but kept their troops in Egypt. From then on they no longer tried to control Egypt's education or other internal policies, but many British officials, teachers and military personnel remained. In practice, the British still influenced Egyptian politics, which were chaotic because of the multiplicity of political parties, royal interference, and the lack of a clearly defined relationship with Great Britain. Even the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, which called for the withdrawal of British troups from all parts of Egypt except the Suez Canal Zone, did not bring about the complete independence that the nationalists had been demanding since 1919.

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CHAPTER III

NATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION

1920-1952

Education was a sensitive topic for Egyptian nationalists. Their heritage was an amalgamation of 500 years of Islamic and Coptic kuttabs, 300 years of missionary and language schools, 40 years of continuing British influence, and a variety of state institutions neither uniform nor adequate for the country's needs. So, rather than providing the Egyptians with a single direction for future education, history had provided her with a morass of conflicting educational directions. And, since education in Egypt was neither unified nor comprehensive, the task of nationalizing education had to be derived from this complex heritage.

Egypt's needs were enormous. First, she had to take a largely illiterate rural population and provide them with the rudimentary skills of reading, writing and arithmetic needed as bases for both cultural and technical education. Secondly, she needed to train secular leaders and technicians who could rebuild a country which had been invaded and occupied for 2,000 years and who could move Egypt competitively into the industrial, agricultural and commercial market-place.

The first national effort was toward eradicating illiteracy. In an agrarian society, rural family income was reduced when sons who could work in the fields went to school and paid for books, tuition, and transportation. Furthermore, the curriculum of the elementary schools was perceived as irrelevant when most men worked in the fields and virtually all the women worked in the homes. Schools had been directed by foreigners and had trained for urban occupations which met the needs of the controlling powers. Education had to be made practical, accessible and free in order to

encourage attendance.

The new Egyptian constitution of 1923 first mandated that primary education be free and compulsory for all children from 6 to 12. The Ministry of Education then established in the governorates 27 model compulsory schools which terminated at 4th grade level. By 1925, however, the model compulsory schools were abandoned, after the ministry decided to provide education for all by utilizing existing schools. Students in government schools which prepared them for Civil Service positions were then placed on two shifts, morning and afternoon. These schools were also called compulsory schools and in the academic year 1925-1926, 762 such schools remained, although they lacked qualified teachers, adequate facilities, and a unified syllabus. (Harby, 1960, p.21). By 1936, 600 additional compulsory schools had been started. It was determined, however, that compulsory education could not be accomplished in the four years of half-day attendance required. In 1937, all compulsory schools extended the school hours to a full day. The Ministry of Education then realized that any improvement or expansion would be at its own cost and the compulsory education scheme was abandoned. No plan existed which considered the country's conditions and its educational history, materials and population. (Harby, 1960, p.23).

Lack of financial resources further limited Egypt's ability to provide free accessible education. In addition to four-year compulsory schools, the government attempted to expand the number of existing practical schools which had been created for the poor. Called elementary schools, they had consisted of six years and had been considered a complete education. The fifth and sixth grades were to prepare the child for practical life, not through learning a trade, but rather through increasing his interest in practical subjects such as manual skills and farm work. These schools taught no foreign languages and were conducted for a half-day. Administered by both the Ministry of Education and the provincial councils, elementary schools were limited in facilities, curriculum and instruction. Further, they received from the government only 2 pounds per student, as compared to 20 pounds per student in the primary schools. (Boktor, 1936, p.285).

The object of elementary schools was to provide tuition-free education to the masses with great stress on religion, reading, writing and arithmetic.

However, expansion of elementary schools was restricted when the ministry found that the condition of the existing schools was not satisfactory and that the provincial councils did not have the financial resources to permit improvement. Though greater accessibility to schooling had been attempted, the education itself needed improvement. There seemed to be little point in crowding students into poor facilities for years when the end result of reducing illiteracy was not greatly affected. A large number of drop-outs was testimony to the difficulty educating the poor in elementary or compulsory schools.

A second educational need was to provide Egypt with secular leaders to meet her development needs. The primary school, another state system, had previously provided training for secular education. Primary schools had offered a four-year course in which males and females were educated separately, and a tuition fee was charged. Although the fee was abolished in 1943, the history of both governmental and tuition subsidies had provided a basis for this elitist education. Instruction in the primary schools was notably superior to instruction in elementary schools. Even then, the curriculum of primary school, as described by Boktor (1931), was unrelated to the development needs of the country.

> There is a large gap between school and life. The Egyptian school is primarily a place where certain syllabi are covered. Other economic, social, moral or spiritual values are quite secondary or non-existent at all. (p.285).

As they had adequate financial resources, Egyptians living in urban areas were the most likely to begin education in the primary schools.

> The ministry draws to its schools children of the well-to-do who can easily pay the school's, fees and who might have, in other countries, gone to private institutions. The people know that the ministry spends twice as much per child as it receives in payment, consequently those who have influence are sure to send their children to government schools. In other words,the public schools of

> Egypt open their doors to the priviliged citizens for a nominal fee and leave the poorer children to attend private schools. (p.199).

Private schools, which were also four years in length, charged tuition but could not charge more than government schools; otherwise, they would have no students. Also, private schools were denied support unless they followed the governmental curriculum. According to Boktor, (1936).

> They are constantly impoverished by the ministry, which both provides subsidies and charges tuition. Neither a sense of charity or of public responsibility on the part of individuals has been developed so as to endow these institutions with necessary funds. In Egypt it is only recently that private institutions have been recognized as having any value to the country. Many are still unfit and far behind the standards of government schools. (p.200).

As a result of government regulations, the private schools declined in quality and were limited in their ability to educate Egyptians for positions of secular leadership.

Because the primary school graduate had had a language included in his curriculum, he was able to pass English and French language sections on the entrance exam to secondary school, whereas those who had gone to compulsory elementary schools and kuttabs had to pay for outside tutoring in order to pass the language examinations. Clearly, the country's secular leaders were more likely to be educated in primary schools. However, even then the curriculum was not related to the country's technological or developmental needs. Educational inconsistency was even more apparent in secondary schools.

From 1923 through 1952, secondary education was expanded in order to increase Egypt's capability to train secular leaders. Commonly regarded as the road to the university and subsequently to government posts, high positions, and prestige, the secondary schools were subjected to great pressure. The subjects of study were constantly changed with regard to their number, the content and length of

study. The language of instruction was at all times Arabic, except for teaching the foreign languages, mainly French and English. Some secondary schools were turned into language schools where French, German, Greek, Italian, or English was the instructional language but "national subjects," such as mathematics, science, biology, history, geography, and civics, were and continue to be taught in Arabic. Examination requirements also followed political mandates. During certain administrations, the student had only one chance to pass, while at other times he was allowed several opportunities. Entry to these examinations was also determined by government need. For example, the period of study in secondary education began at three years, became four and then five, was reduced to three, four and, finally, five years in length. The number of required leaders was still dependent upon the number of available government positions. (Harby, 1960, p.48).

Instead of reconsidering the basic policy of secondary education, the ministry opened a large number of new secondary schools which followed a syllabus and system which were themselves in dire need of reform. (El-Hilali, 1935, p.40). Highly qualified, capable teachers were still working in Egypt since the loans to other Arab countries, which drained schools of many of the best teachers, had not reached as large proportions as they did under Nasser. The quality of instruction was very high indeed in some of the best secondary schools of that period, e.g., Saidia, Tewfikiah, Khediviah, Asyut, Abbassia (Alexandria), Ras-el-Tin (Alexandria), and Nokrashy (Cairo). These schools and many others had a distinguished group of eminent teachers and headmasters. Most Egyptian secondary school graduates aspired to enter a university, but in 1923 there was only one national university (The Egyptian University). Al-Azhar had not been reorganized as a university, in spite of its being a renowned seat of traditional Islamic instruction. Higher institutes, such as the French Law School, and the Muslim Judges School, existed, but their enrollment was small. If the graduates of these schools did not find suitable jobs (because very few were available then) this was not the fault of the schools. (Doss, personal interview 1982). It was, rather, the fault of government policy, reflecting the residue of British educational influence.

Furthermore, there was little agreement on how the secular elite should be educated on the

secondary level. The desire for a nationalized curriculum was accompanied by confusion in the Egyptian culture. Uncertainty existed about which subjects should be emphasized in the schools. Historically, most Egyptians had been educated in kuttabs whose curriculum had emphasized religion first and then other subjects. But which other subjects? Formerly, the masses were directed by Ulmas and Mameluks, both members of religiously educated ruling classes. Now the society had secular leaders in the form of lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists, government officials and engineers, each with different interests, tastes, dress, modes of entertainment and, consequently, different ways of thinking. The conflict between religious and secular goals became apparent in secondary schools, where the curriculum consisted of more and more secular subjects added to the already extensive religious instruction and vice versa. There had been two distinct currents of instruction running side by side: the secular, in government and language schools, and the religious, in the religious institutes affiliated to Al-Azhar. These latter were not solely religious, teaching some science, math and social subjects besides Islamic religion and the Arabic language.

The conflict between religious and secular trends in the secondary school curriculum reflected the divided attitudes and loyalities of the country as a whole--modern technology verses Islamic tradition. This dichotomy of the country's loyalities hampered the efforts toward social change and modification of life in the country. The selection of one subject indicated preference for that particular secular field. One curriculum decision could not be made without appearing to deny another part of the transitional Egyptian culture.

In order to nationalize the young Egyptian, both the past and the present had to be accounted for. This resulted in the ossification of the curriculum and methods of instruction. Memorization and formal exams were the most expedient means of covering such a vast amount of material in the short class periods allotted to each subject.

As a result, secondary education was reformed only on matters that did not confront either the secular or religious aspects of the culture. The changes dealt with age of admission to secondary school and procedures for standardizing other post primary studies. (Law 142, 1952). None of the reforms addressed the main concerns identified by

the minister of education's criticism of 1935. (El-Halali, 1935, p.45-50). This report cited weakness in school curricula based upon a shifting between general and specialized curricula, continual fluctuation in the examination system, inadequate methods used in language instruction, crowded classrooms, ineffective inspection systems, excessive centralization of administration, ineffective and inadequate teacher training, lack of balance between moral and social education, and reliance upon memorization of facts as a means of acquiring knowledge.

Foreign language schools exemplified the natonalization effort and the fluctuations in educational policy. In 1913, Law 12 prevented foreign language school students from entering institutions of higher education. All students who wanted to study at an Egyptian university had to have a government secondary certificate obtained by passing the "Thanawiya Amma," the graduation exam. However, in 1923, Law 40 allowed missionary, and/or foreign language school students to sit for government exams on the primary and secondary level. At the same time, university and higher institutions continued to admit students who had taken the British General Certificate Exam, provided they took an Arabic exam during their undergraduate years before graduation from university. (Iskandar, 1972, p.15) The numbers of students in these schools were great, as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN FOREIGN SCHOOLS
1927-28

Number of Schools		TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
American	78	6,914	2,792	4,122
Italian	91	9,809	4,734	5.075
British	74	4,322	1,953	2,369
French	279	32,812	16,717	16,095
Greek	88	11,396	6,093	5,303
Others	27	3,570	2,871	699
	637	68,823	35,160	33,663

(Boktor, 1963).

The foreign language schools were separate from religious kuttabs and private schools and administered by either embassies or religious missionary groups. Their curriculum and language of instruction directed graduates toward attending higher institutions in the country of their origin. This objective in foreign language education had a serious influence on Egyptian society and national unity. Sizeable groups of relatively well educated Egyptians had a sense of belonging more to the foreign country than to their own. (El-Softi, 1980, p.9).

In 1934, foreign language schools were nationalized. Law 40 mandated that all students in foreign schools, regardless of nationality, were required to learn Arabic, even if they were not preparing to take the government exams. Foreign schools were subject to government supervision; the Ministry of Education was to decide the syllabuses and examinations for all grade levels. And, finally, schools preparing students for government examinations were to follow the ministry's curriculum in civics, history, geography, and Arabic. Foreign language schools could, however, include other curricula if they wished. Also, the law did not specify the language which was to be the medium of instruction. (Salama, 1963, p.15). Finally, in 1955, Law 583 put all language schools under complete supervision of the government, with the country divided into educational zones which were given authority to supervise the Ministry of Education promotion examinations in all subjects. (Rizk, 1981, p.47).

As seen in the legislation directed toward the foreign schools, language instruction and curricula reflected the uncertainty of the Egyptian policies. Foreign language schools added government requirements to their curricula, but continued to offer courses that had existed previously. The curriculum could be either general, technical, or both. Changes in the entrance requirements for the national government exam and criteria for passing also affected these schools. After 1934, foreign schools had to meet Egyptian administration requirements, but they were still affiliated with parent organizations. Thus, while Arabic was taught in all language schools, French, English, German, Greek or Italian remained the language of instruction.

Once graduated from the language or goverment secondary schools, students could attend the

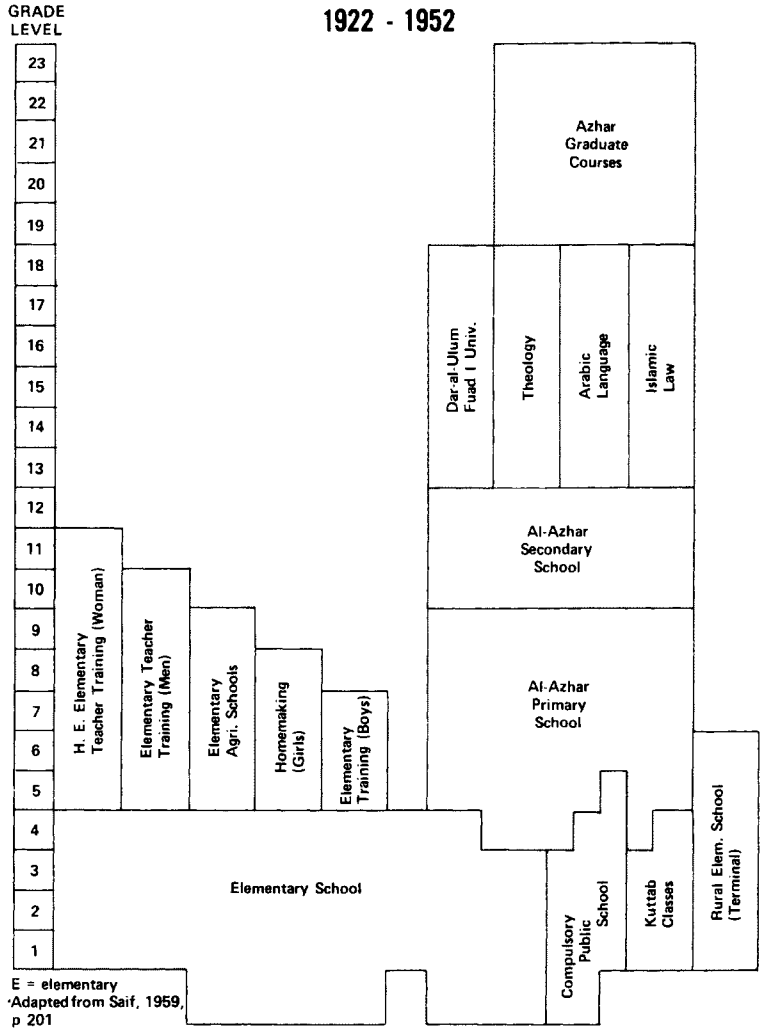
university. The National University was taken over by the government on March 11, 1925, and placed under separate administration because the Ministry of Education had not adequately financed the university and prevented it from expanding or meeting the requirements of scientific research. Thus, the university had been compelled to limit its activities to literary studies. The university had remained in existence due to the Ministry of Wakfs and donations from the population, which enabled it to employ a number of foreign professors acting as visiting lecturers rather than permanent faculty.

The decree establishing the Egyptian State University in 1925 provided for faculties of arts, science, medicine (including pharmacy) and law. The new university later incorporated the existing schools of medicine and of law and made the National University, into the Faculty of Arts. The law further obligated the university to encourage scientific research and to work for the promotion of arts and science in the country. Egypt now had two complete national educational systems.

The poor Egyptians entered the elementary school or kuttab and could continue their education at Al-Azhar, or in vocational training schools. The richer student attended the primary schools or foreign language school and completed their education in the National University or abroad.

TABLE 2

ELEMENTARY LADDER
1922 - 1952

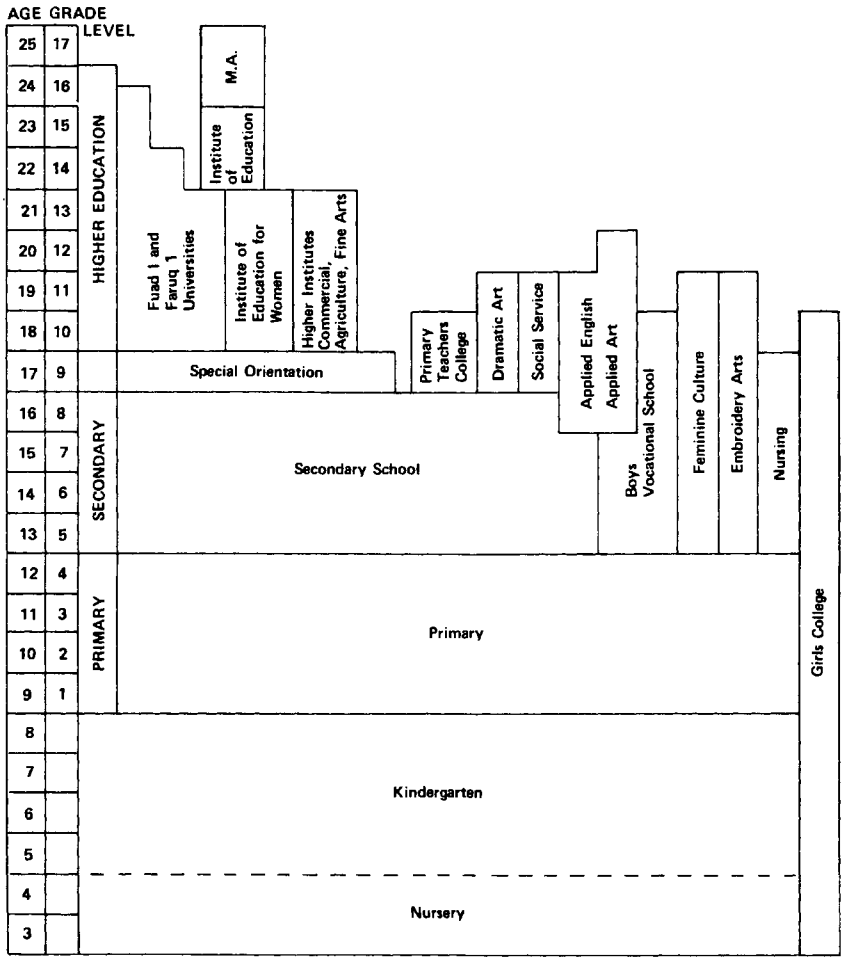


E = elementary

Adapted from Saif, 1959, p 201

TABLE 3

PRIMARY SCHOOL LADDER
1922 - 1952



Adapted from Saif, 1959, p. 202

Each primary, elementary, and secondary educational system was administered by random, adjunct or separate units which limited educational reform. Other complete systems were found in foreign language, religious and private schools, all separately administered. Opportunities for graduates to move up the educational ladder were much greater for primary students than for those who attended vocational, religious, compulsory or elementary schools. (Boktor, 1963, p.78). And each stage of the educational sequence had a pressing need for reform which could only be accomplished through a unified administrative structure.

The only form of co-operation that existed between the groups of primary and elementary institutions in Egypt was the annual financial aid granted by the Ministry of Education to those schools that conformed to certain standards and opened their doors to government inspectors. Other schools were not in any way related to government schools and there existed neither co-operation nor mutual exchange of ideas. (Boktor, 1963, p.79).

To unify the six types of elementary and primary schools, the elite primary graduates were required to pass an Arabic language exam, and in 1943 tuition fees were abolished. These changes were cosmetic, however, rather than substantive. In practice, both elementary and primary schools remained as divergent in facilities, utilities, and teachers as they had been before nationalization attempts were made. Egyptian parents still recognized the superior quality of primary schools. From 1940 to 1952, enrollment doubled for primary schools with no growth at all for elementary schools. (Harby, 1960, p.75).

Teacher training reflected negative aspects of government centralization. When the Ministry of Education wanted to extend the scope of education, it had to train teachers. By 1927, 25 training schools existed for men, and 18 for women. According to Boktor (1931), "For a girl of the poorest class it is more honorable to beg than to work. In upper Egypt, to be a school teacher is the last resort for any girl who is not the daughter of a pauper or a coachman." (Boktor 1931, p.75). In order to find enough teachers for the compulsory educational project, the ministry created evening classes for men which provided training on a provisional basis. A one-year course of study was offered in these classes for applicants who had passed the elementary courses in religious institutions or held primary

proficiency certificates. All applicants had to pass a test in the Koran, Arabic, calligraphy, arithmetic, and geography which paralleled the curriculum of the second year syllabus in the male teacher training schools. These classes were cancelled in 1927 after the teacher training institutes started graduating an adequate number of teachers. (Harby, 1960, p.54).

In 1929, the ministry tried to raise the standard of male teacher training institutes by setting up special schools to prepare entrants. This meant that a two-year course of study in teacher training followed the completion of six years of elementary education. However, the number of special schools decreased as a result of the ministry's prolonged delay in carrying out the plan. This delay resulted inthe over-production of less qualified graduates from elementary male and female teacher training schools. Thus, the number of special teacher training schools decreased from 25 to eight for men and from 18 to seven for women by 1938. (Harby,1960,p.55). During this time, no specific training was required for teaching in most schools, and graduates of higher institutes and universities taught in primary and secondary schools. Teacher training expanded and contracted based upon immediate needs as perceived by the Ministry of Education.

Finally, financial allocations for teacher training, salaries, curriculum development, and educational expansion were not very generous. The salaries of the high officials in all the 10 ministries, including the Ministry of Education, were extravagant for the time. (Boktor, 1963, p.53). However, considering that the country needed to quicken its pace of progress in literacy and development of leaders, the educational budget was too small relative to the general budget.

TABLE 4

PROPORTION OF THE EDUCATIONAL BUDGET TO THE TOTAL BUDGET IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

Country		Proportion of Educational Budget to Total Budget
Spain	(1927)	5.2 %
France	(1927)	5.49%
Czechoslovakia	(1926)	6.1 %
Belgium	(1926)	6.5 %
Italy	(1926)	6.66%
Great Britain	(1926)	7.00%
China	(1931)	10.00%
Rumania	(1926)	11.4 %
Bulgaria	(1926)	11.7 %
Norway	(1926)	13.7 %
Denmark	(1926)	14.2 %
Holland	(1926)	19.3 %
Geneva	(1928)	30.00%
Egypt	(1930)	7.3 %

Dr. Ed. Claparede's Report, p.100 (Arabic) and League of Nations' Report on China, p.50.

Egypt did not compare favourably with other countries when the financial resources of the other countries were taken into account. Even her small expenditures were not evenly proportioned. Annual cost per pupil, in round numbers, was two Egyptian pounds in the elementary, 20 in the primary, and 40 in the secondary school. This enormous difference between the money expended per pupil from elementary to secondary (1 to 20) or primary to secondary (1 to 2) was something unheard of, considering that in Europe the ratio of the cost per pupil in a primary school to that per student in a university was 1 to 8 or 1 to 10. (Khanky, 1958, p.141-3). The cost per pupil in elementary as compared to primary and secondary school stood in close relation to the difference in the scale of teachers' salaries. While the ratio between an elementary and primary school teacher salary ranged between 1 to 3 and 1 to 6, and that between the primary and the secondary ranged from 1 to 2 and 1 to 3. (Khanky, 1958, p.141-3).

In summary, nationalization of Egyptian education focused on the expansion of literacy, the development of secular leaders and the unification of the education system. In order to make education available to all, elementary schooling was mandated in 1922. The number of schools was increased and the length of the school day expanded. Tuition was abolished. However, each of these efforts was limited by inadequate allocation of financial resources, which indicated a lack of financial commitment on the part of the government toward education.

The development of secular leaders was conducted through the primary, secondary and university educational system, while religious leaders were educated in kuttabs and Al-Azhar University. The question remained as to which competencies and skills Egyptians needed. The result was that curriculum fluctuated with political policy. Length of study and criteria for entering or existing schools remained dependent upon government employment needs for secular occupations. Foreign language schools mirrored the confusion of the period as they continued to educate students to identify with two cultures and government schools attempted to instruct students in all areas. Hence, no clear sense of a national curriculum emerged during this period.

TABLE 5

Secondary School Exams
1922-1954

Years in School			
5			Secondary School Exam II
4	Secondary School Exam II	Secondary School Exam II	
3 Secondary School Exam II		Secondary School Exam I	
2 Secondary School Exam I	Secondary School Exam I		Secondary School Exam I
1 Secondary School Exam I			Secondary School Exam I
1922 3 years	1926-1926 4 years	1936-1954 4 years	1954 5 years

Personal Interview, Dr. Yousif Kotb

All educational systems--foreign, private, religious and public--needed to be unified with a single national purpose. While national control of examinations served to standardize instruction, the content of the courses and secular or religious emphasis continued to be in conflict. Teacher training was expanded or contracted based upon the changing emphasis of the Ministry of Education and reflecting government needs rather than educational pedagogy. Further, the co-operation of all schools within fluctuating policies determined financial allocations. The financial needs of the schools and the employment of the government contributed to an educational process in a constant state of flux. By 1952, the unification of the educational systems was complete, although an analysis of the national budget revealed insufficient financial allocations to meet most educational needs.

Perhaps the educational needs were too great during this period to be met adequately. By 1930, enrollment of the childeren in the government schools of Egypt had increased to 18 percent, including both elementary and primary institutions. Compared with China's 21 percent, Turkey's 25 percent, and Russia's 82 percent, this number appeared small. The number of girls in all government institutions was 40 percent that of boys. If elementary education was omitted from consideration, the proportion of females dropped to 13 percent. (Boktor, 1936, p.196). However, when compared with the 3 1/2 percent of primary age students enrolled in the late 1800's, the expansion was significant.

From 1882 to 1922, The British had claimed that too many other needs demanded attention before educational reform. It was evident that a great deal of attention had been directed toward education in the form of legislative and ministerial decrees. The educational changes occurring between 1922 and 1952 had taken place despite political and economic turmoil as full of conflict as the 1982-1922 period. British troops had never left Egypt and their presence and increased numbers infuriated the Egyptians. During World War II, British had trained Egyptians to be military officers. These young Egyptian officers, including Gamal Abdul Nasser and Anwar Sadat, formed clandestine groups of "Free Officers" who plotted and fomented internal disruption.

The British and conscripted Egyptians, on the other hand, spent much of World War II fighting the

North African Allied campaign in Egypt. Italian and German troops invaded Egypt attempting to capture the Suez Canal. The Italians fought in Egypt in 1940 and 1941 before they were driven out by the British, only to have the Germans invade in 1941. Anwar Sadat attempted to arrange a military coup with the Germans but the plot failed. British and German fighting continued through 1942 increasing the turmoil in the country. In an effort to align with both the Arab countries and Allied forces, Egypt became a charter member of both the United Nations, and the Arab League. When the U.N. voted in 1947 to divide Palestine into Jewish and Arab nations, the Arab League voted to invade Israel. Egypt was caught in the middle between U.N. and Arab League decisions and chose to invade Israel. The United Nations ended most of the fighting by 1949 and arranged for Egypt and Israel to sign an armistice. But a state of war continued between Egypt and Israel because no peace treaty was signed. In 1950, Egypt blocked Israeli ships from using the Suez Canal, escalating the terrorism and combat between the two countries. By 1952, Egypt and had been involved in two world wars, invaded by Germans, Italians, French and occupied by the British. Internally, the Turkish khedive or king had had little effect upon the government which remained unstable. And, through it all, the life of most Egyptians had continued much the same as it had been for the past 600 years. Farming, family, religion, and conscription into the army remained at the center of his life. His educational needs and his educational opportunities had been minimal. Considering how long Egypt had been under foreign rule, the growth of education was credible, but insufficient to the developing needs of the country.

Independence was still incomplete. Egyptians continued to live under British military occupation. Popular anger at a dissolute king, corrupt party politicians, and an ineffective parliament led to growing unrest, riots, demonstrations and the rise of a group of revolutionary army officers. The old order had proved itself unfit to govern Egypt, in educational policy and every other way. The final result was the 1952 revolution.

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CHAPTER IV

SOCIALIZATION OF EDUCATION

1952-1970

In 1952, the Egyptian army seized control of the country. Their first action was to oust King Farouk and dissolve parliament. The popular commander of and chief of the army, Mohammed Naguib, became president and head of Revolutionary Command Council. As the first Egyptian ruler in centuries, he demonstrated a concern for the masses. From 1952 to 1956 there was justification for the belief that the country's domestic problems of poverty, illiteracy and disease would become the government's primary concern.

The Free Officers who composed the Revolutionary Council and power of the government acted immediately to pass many reform laws, the most notable of which was the agrarian law of September 1952, giving confiscated land to the peasant families in lots of 2 to 5 feddans with each feddan equal to 1.038 acres. The right of all to own land reduced taxable revenue and diminished the economic and political power of the big landowners. Having money became dangerous, and those who were wealthy no longer displayed it in educational contributions, life styles, or habits. Children of the rich and poor alike flooded into the schools as education was the right of all Egyptians. Private schools, formerly a means of education for some of the wealthy, decreased in enrollments and in revenues.

Prior to the 1952 revolution, educational issues resulted from Egypt's cumbersome, disunited educational system and reflected the political, economic, and social conditions of the country. With the revolution, socialism became the framework for governing and was reflected in the educational philosophy. The implementation of this philosophy greatly altered the schools. Administration was

centralized, curriculum was standardized, enrollment escalated and technical education was emphasized. All were designed to promote the development of Egyptian patriotism through education of the masses.

Education of the masses expanded in 1953 when a new primary school system was legislated abolishing the former elementary school system. Like the elementary school legislated in 1922, the new primary school was supposed to eradicate illiteracy and was free and compulsory for boys and girls from 6 to 12. In 1952, one million pupils were enrolled in primary schools. A decade later found over three million students in the same schools. Unfortunately, the buidings and facilities had not increased or been improved at the same rate. (Boktor, 1963, p.204). In theory, everyone had a right to education, but the limited space available placed practical contraints on that right. In education as in other areas of state policy, the major changes came, not with the 1952 coup, but in the following years. This was the real Egyptian revolution, guided, not by Naguib, but by Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Nasser, though born in Alexandria, came from a family that retained its ties to Upper Egypt. Upper Egyptians, called Saidis, used to be scorned by their more sophisticated Cairo compatriots and even by the peasants from the Delta, although they also had a reputation for strength, courage, and close ties with the desert Arab tribesmen. Throughout his Presidency Nasser remained simple in his life style thus maintaining an affinity with his people. Educated in government schools, Nasser had been an ardent nationalist since his youth. As a result of the opening of the military academy in 1936 to young men who could pass a competitive examination, Nasser was able to become an officer in the Egyptian army. He quickly saw that Egypt's independence was a sham, since the British remained in effective control. But neither civilian politicians, Muslim Brothers, nor Communists had the cohesion needed to win Egypt's freedom and reform its society. Only a secret society of army officers whom Nasser called Free Officers could overthrow the corrupt regime and attain these patriotic goals. For ten years, Nasser gathered around him a group of young officers, including Anwar Sadat, until the time was ripe to strike. General Naguib served as a popular figure-head, but once the Revolutionary Command Council began to issue reform decrees, it proved to be Nasser who really controlled the Revolutionary Council. Finally, in February 1954, he challenged

Naguib and his backers openly, and managed, owing mainly to the loyalty of his fellow officers, to replace him as president.

By October of 1954, the Egyptian public realized that Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser had become the actual leader of the country. The same month, the British acceded to Egyptian demands and agreed to remove their troops by June 18, 1956. Foreign companies and schools became unpopular as the Egyptian educational system reflected the political philosophy of Nasser known as Arab socialism. Initially, the military government was viewed as temporary until the people could assume control. But by 1956, this expectation faded, as the military regime showed no signs of relinquishing its power, and Nasser was elected president supported by the Revolutionary Council. Wealthy Egyptians and foreigners who had previously managed the country watched as their companies and property were confiscated through the nationalization of industry and land. As companies were nationalized, previous business leaders retreated into inconsequential jobs, departed or refused to work altogether, many not wishing to be employees in their own companies. Military leaders moved into this leadership vacuum. Military officers served as ministers in all strategic departments and as second level administrators in technical ministeries headed by civilians, controlling the decision making in most state administrations. Thus, government, business, defense and, most significantly, education came under military leadership.

Military influence extended into the curriculum. Military training was added to the curriculum and the military became the career for many young Egyptians. The Arabic language was more important than any other subject on national exams. Students could fail in two subjects and still be promoted provided they passed their Arabic exam with a minimum of 50 percent. (Risk, 1981, p.30). Prior to that time, it was possible for Egyptians to attend foreign schools and universities within the country, enabling them to become proficient in the history, customs and language of another country without attaining proficiency in Arabic. Education in Arabic and military subjects became tools to unify the country.

> I sometimes consider the state of the average Egyptian family--one of thousands of families which live in the

> the capital of the country. The father, for example, is a turbanned fellah--a thoroughbred country fellow. The mother is a lady of Turkish descent. The sons and daughters attend schools respectively folowing English and French educational systems. With this is an atmosphere where the 13th century spirit and 20th century manifestations manifestations intermingle and interact. We live in a society not yet crystalized. It is still in a state of ferment and agitation. It is not yet stabilized in its gradual development compared with people who passed before on the same road. (Nasser, 1954, p.41).

The nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 reinforced the power of Nasser and of the military. Nasser had challenged the Western countries for leadership in the Arab world. His purchase of arms from communist Czechoslovakia in 1955, his nationalism of the Suez Canal Company and defiance of the tripartite invasion of Egypt by Britain, France and Israel in 1956, and his union with Syria to form the United Arab Republic in 1958, combined to make him a hero, not only to Egyptians, but to Arabs everywhere. While the nationalization of the Suez Canal was not an overwhelming military success, the military was able to take over the canal and keep it in operation. The concept of the Egyptian army as a force in Egypt and other Arab countries seemed viable. The ideal of Egyptian leadership and military power extended beyond Egyptian borders. Developing Egyptian influence now involved Nasser in regional quarrels, not only in the Arab-Israeli conflicts, but in many inter-Arab quarrels. Prestige factors sometimes proved more important than the Egyptian people who had pressing domestic needs. Rather than education, the Yemini war and other concerns related to patriotism dictated policy. Egypt was in a constant state of war, aiding other Arab countries in removing British or French rule.

Egypt as the most populous country in the Middle East, became the leading military and educational force in the area. In March of 1958, Yemen joined Egypt and Syria and the three countries became the United Arab States. All Arabs and Moslems could be educated in Egypt at Egyptian expense. In

1959-60, there were 14,349 foreign students representing 57 countries studying at different schools and colleges in Egypt. Of these, 2,259 students were studying at the expense of the Egyptian government; their board and other expenses cost the Ministry of Education L.E.241,000, an expense Egypt could not afford. Moreover, Egyptian teachers were loaned to 14 countries in Africa and Asia. In 1961-62, for example, 300 urgently needed teachers were loaned to foreign elementary and secondary schools and universities. Both the exporting of teachers and the education of Arabs from other countries involved the state in considerable expense with no visible material return. (Boktor, 1963, p.198). And the numbers kept growing; 349 foreign students in 1959-60 expanded to 20,878 by 1961. The country was already confronting serious economic problems stemming from lack of capital, inadequate planning and an ineffective bureaucratic structure. These problems were now reflected in the educational system.

Predictably, the emphasis on obtaining an education at a foreign school in Egypt declined. Before the British, French and Israelis invaded the Suez Canal, 97,000 students were enrolled in foreign language schools. After the invasion, the number declined by 17,000. British and French teachers left and foreign schools were closed from October 29, 1956, to January 10, 1957. All foreign schools were sequestered except for American schools and those which were under Vatican administration. The American University in Cairo remained open but was placed under close Egyptian governmental supervision. Egyptian teachers already employed had to take extra loads to meet the crisis. Others were hired who were not qualified to teach. Consequently, instruction in foreign language and government schools began to decline and continued to do so. (Iskander, 1972, p.11). Furthermore, the number of students in all private schools declined to a low of 46,800 by 1960. Because government schools were open to all and free of charge, they absorbed students from private and foreign schools into increasingly overcrowded conditions.

Although the nationalization of foreign schools tended to assure the uniformity of Egypt's educational system, its quality suffered because of the great expense of the Nasser government's foreign and military policies. The struggle to remove British and French colonialist influence from southern Arabia and northern Africa proved costly,

especially when Egypt got involved in a five-year civil war in Yemen. The cost of Soviet weapons and of maintaining Egyptian troops abroad drained the Egyptian government of resources, even as capital was scarce, planning was indaquate, and the bureaucracy was inefficient. The result was that Egypt's educational system was neglected.

One of the country's most urgent needs at this time was to train Egyptians to replace the foreign technicians expelled after nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956. Expansion of the primary schools continued, along with the immediate initiation of preparatory and secondary technical schools. Both the preparatory and secondary schools were three years in length and led to higher technical education. Five years after the Suez Canal take-over and the resulting political emphasis on the status of technical education, the number of students increased from 8,000 to 42,000 in preparatory school, from 22,000 to 75,000 in secondary schools, and from 1,400 to 15,000 in higher technical institutions. (Boktor, 1963, p.205). The graduates of these institutions formed an elite technocratic civilian element which increased in prominence after the socialist legislation in 1961 and 1962 which expanded the public sector and created a great need for qualified Egyptians to fill a wide variety of technical positions.

As preparation for these positions, science was emphasized in the secondary schools and universities. In the National Charter of 1962, Nasser described science as the weapon with which revolutionary triumph could be achieved. During the first year of secondary school, all students followed the same program; in the second year they branched out into either literary or scientific specialization. The majority were encouraged to join the scientific course in order to specialize in physics, mathematics, chemistry and biology. Secondary school was either academic or technical and professional. But of the ministry's total 1960-61 budget of L.E.58 million, less than three million, or 6.7 percent, went to secondary education--a reflection of a steady decrease of government expenditure on general secondary schools compared to the 1955 budget of 11.7 percent. (Boktor, 1963, p.206). The emphasis on technical education, however, necessitated the increase of support from 4.8 percent of the total educational budget to 9.5 percent. (Boktor, 1963, p.207). Technical education expanded, but it did so at the

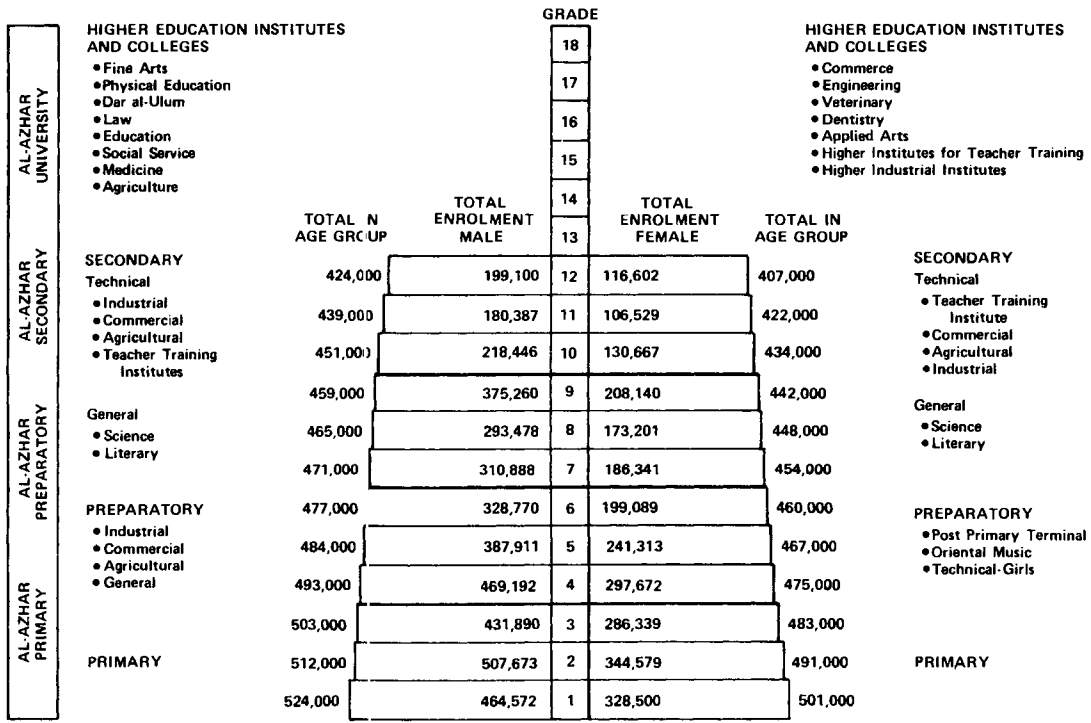
expense of general secondary education.

Unfortunately, the technical education provided did not adequately prepare students. Lack of qualified teachers was aggravated by the policy of exporting teachers and deporting foreign teachers. Secondly, technical education of any quality could not be initiated without laboratories, equipment and space. Furthermore, the issue of training technical experts to operate in a society that was agrarian in nature was not adequately addressed. While technical education was emphasized, the cost of implementing the necessary changes remained an impediment to the quality of the education. Capital needed for education was directed toward military efforts and defense.

Egypt's defeat in the June 1967 war set back progress in state educational development, as government funds had to be diverted to rebuilding the army and air force, much of which had been destroyed by the Israeli's or dissipated in the long Yemen Civil War. It is estimated that the government's direct military outlay reached five billion pounds between 1967 and 1974. (Hyde, 1978, p.213). Clearly military needs were given priority over domestic needs of education.

TABLE 6

UNIFIED EDUCATIONAL LADDER
1979



Adapted from World Bank report 21139
Amir Boktor, American University in Cairo Press, 1963, U.A.R.

Education was compulsory; yet, instead of more than 4 million primary school age children attending school, just over three million did so, of whom less than a million were girls. This was an increase of more than a million from 1952. However, this first step of the educational ladder was severely restricted by a lack of facilities and teachers, for only 20 percent of the primary graduates could be absorbed into preparatory schools. Teacher training programs for scientific and technical courses as well as classes for preparatory and secondary teachers were increased. From 1960 to 1965, L.E.4,320,000 was spent on training teachers for preparatory, general and technical education, a figure which represented 6.5 percent of total educational expenditure for that period. The emphasis in the educational expenditure was overwhelmingly on technical and primary education.

Despite various difficulties, the educational ladder was unified by 1970. At nearly every level, the student was required to pass a standardized state exam as a prerequisite for admission to the next level. Failure meant that occupational choice was restricted. Because of the numbers of applicants, few additional chances were provided for re-examination.

Unification on the primary level was achieved by the Ministry of Education, the curriculum and the textbooks. Instruction was further standardized by the sixth grade examination. Since there was continuity and standardization, costs were reduced. However, a negative aspect was the continuation of tendencies toward memorization of the textbook and a disinterest in any change toward improved teaching methods which did not directly help prepare for the exam. Another problem was the great demand for teachers, which meant that out of necessity, many unqualifed teachers with less than 14 years of education on the preparatory or intermediate level were hired.

Several paths were open to those who entered preparatory school. The highest scoring students were encouraged to attend preparatory schools which led to university and higher institute secondary schools. Other preparatory schools trained in industrial, commercial and technical areas. Still a third group of preparatory schools emphasized post-primary work, music, technical training for girls in home economics, public and private health administration, and physical education. It was estimated that about 45 percent of preparatory

students were allowed to continue their education in general, technical or specialized secondary programs.

Those who attended secondary schools had been encouraged to concentrate on science and technology. The government provided a greater number of openings and better pay to those secondary students who majored in science rather than literature. Since fewer students could actually handle the more difficult scientific and technical areas (as opposed to the social sciences), there was an over-abundance of social scientists who had fewer job opportunities to begin with. Consequently, a large cadre was formed of graduates who were dissatisfied with the results of their educational efforts, despite the fact that the socialized system guaranteed them a job.

Furthermore, the expansion of secondary programs aggravated an already serious unemployment problem, as general program graduates were not accepted to higher education and entered the socialized economy. Without further training, they had meager technical know-how which was difficult to utilize. However, as "educated" persons they would not do manual labor. Teaching became a last resort; instructors entered teaching who were trained in other areas and thus lacked motivation for teaching.

The Nasser regime had emphasized the right of education for all. The schools had expanded enrollment on all levels and particularly in scientific and technological education. Like Mohammed Ali, Nasser had needed technicians and scientists to support the military. But he had had a broader vision of the value of technologists and had seen them as leaders in the development of the country. After the 1957 war, he had expelled Western technicians and rejected their financial aid but found that he needed Soviet technologists and military financing to replace them.

Further, his reliance on the military had influenced not only the leadership of the country but also the curriculum of the schools. Military courses were taught along with the regular curriculum. The military was a tool to reinforce the concept of Egyptian patriotism. Common language, culture and religion underscored the fact that the Arab countries were all sufferers from occupation by Britian, France or Italy. Nasser's emphasis on nationalism was, in the first place, a reaction to Western influence and, at the same time, an expression of genuine faith in the potential of the

Egyptian people. "Young people will become the dominant factor in the Arab countries. Education is spreading everywhere and this will change things. There may be a leap--or a dialogue--no one knows." (Stephens, 1972, p.559). To emphasize Egyptian power, Nasser shared Egypt's resources. The loan of teachers to Arab countries was motivated by a sense of confidence in Egyptian education over Egypt's Arab sisters who were then just awakening to the need for spreading modern education. It was also due to a sense of Egypt's responsibility to enlighten them. Thus, the loan of teachers to Arab countries and the influx of Arab students began and continued. The schools were overwhelmed by the increasing number of native and foreign students, accompanied by the diminishing number and quality of teachers. The fact that the schools functioned at all under such conditions was a testimony to the commitment of Egyptian people and, most specifically, Egyptian educators.

In short, Egypt had been in a constant state of war from 1948 to 1970. As the most populous country in the Middle East, she provided armies for surrounding Moslem countries as they fought Israeli, French, British and Italian forces. Furthermore, Egypt had provided shelter and fought for the Palestinians including a major war against the Israelis in 1967. During that war, all her air force and most of her army except those who had been fighting in Yemen, were destroyed. The Egyptian soldiers returned from Yemen and became a cadre of terrorists and soldiers to battle the Israelis. Military efforts had destroyed the economy and stability of the country.

In theory, Arab socialism offered the possibility of badly needed improvements--land, housing, education and employment for all. Egyptian education should be free, available to everyone, unified in language, curriculum, administration and evaluation. These values were shared by many other countries--Western, oriental and Eastern. But the manner of implementing socialism theory at a time when Egypt lacked resources exacted great toll from the people.

Each year 600,000 new workers entered the labor force and were absorbed by artifically expanding positions and government subsidies necessary in order for the people to survive on their salaries. Instead of the family and landowners supporting the poor, the government became the supporter of everyone. And this support was extended to other

Arab neighbors.

So, while Nasser remained an idol to the rest of the Arab world, his use of military force and Arab nationalism to implement a unified philosophy overwhelmed Egyptian education. The elite-masses dichotomy had been destroyed in favor of mass secular education of questionable quality. Reduction of illiteracy in order to enable agrarian Egytians to adapt and use technology had been attempted but facilities and qualified instructors were lacking. One value, that of Arab unity had been implemented through manditory military courses, and service and Arabic language emphasis. The theory seemed humanitarian, but its implementation had proved unmanageable. Another philosophy, the Open Door Policy, with concurrent capitalism, was utilized by Sadat to improve Egypt's educational system.

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CHAPTER V

THE OPEN DOOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY

1970 - 1981

With Nasser's death in 1970, Anwar Sadat inherited a country in economical and educational crisis. Education for the masses remained a top priority, but there were financial difficulties. To increase Egypt's economical and educational base, Sadat challenged the newly established social equality. He adopted the open door policy of inviting foreign investors to stimulate development. The foreign investors were mostly Western, as there was an Arab consensus against Egypt and her pro-Israeli moves begun with the Camp David agreement. (Maddy-Weitzman, 1981, p.389) By inviting in foreign investors, Sadat brought back the foreign ruler-Egyptian poor dichotomy into the culture. Materially, most Egyptians lived on a much lower scale than foreigners. When the government reduced subsidies on food and fuel in 1977, the people rioted and the government acquiesced adopting a mixed economy--part socialistic, part capitalistic. History repeated itself. The poor Egyptians sought comfort in religious fundamentalism. Symbolic of the people's patriotism was the increase in the number of veiled women on the streets of Cairo and Alexandria. The pro-populous movements were split between the illegal communist party and the Muslim Brotherhood. Once again the religious and cultural heritage clashed with the lifestyle of wealthy Egyptian and foreign participants in the open door program who were for the most part American, German, French, and Japanese.

The educational system now reflected the mixed economy and divided culture. The Egyptians who were unable or unwilling to be educated in foreign schools attended the overcrowded government schools. Their education reflected the poverty of the masses

and although foreign investment was apparent, they received few benefits. Egyptian teachers needed better facilities and equipment. Graduates of these schools, regardless of skill, were guaranteed low-paying government jobs and placed wherever the government needed them. Cairo-trained doctors and dentists went to the Sinai or rural hospitals where their monthly salary of L.E.70 maintained them at a subsistence level. Graduates of foreign language schools with French, English, or German competency got high-paying jobs in the private sector. A beginning secretary in a government position made L.E.70 a month, while an English-speaking secretary in a foreign company could start as high as L.E.350. The foreign, private schools once again became the means of attaining higher economic and social status.

In September 1973, a full-scale war erupted between Arab countries - including Egypt - and Israel. Egypt regained some of her territory in the Sinai before an Egyptian-Israeli ceasefire was signed in November 1973. The war was viewed as a victory by the Egyptian people and Sadat was legitimized as the country's leader, even though his re-introduction of foreigners into the country and his personal lifestyle identified him as a representative of the rich Westerners. Foreign affiliated Egyptians became wealthy as attending a foreign school and speaking a foreign language became the ticket to increased income. But foreign schools had not educated these Egyptians to have a concern for the poor with whom they shared neither common values, language nor social status. So while there were more Mercedes in Cairo than in Dallas, completed telephone calls, sugar and potable water were luxuries for others. "The Egyptian economy has virtually collapsed; Cairo is physically disintegrating; the population's standard of living has declined while a small portion of businessmen and managerial elite prospers. There are, it is said, more millionaires today than ever before." (Pierre, 1978 p.155).

The Egyptian educational system was doing the very best it could to both solicit outside funding for facilities, equipment, training and to increase the enrollment of its youth, particularly in primary educational institutions. The following description never before published outside Egypt, reflects both the concern and the financial needs of primary education. In 1980, the National Council, an advisory board to the president of Egypt, reported

the following:

1) The annual total cost per pupil is L.E.28.8 per year (LE1 = approximately $1), of which L.E.20.5 is appropriated for wages with the pupil actually receiving approximately L.E. 9 per year.

2) There is an excess of 10,000 teachers of some specializations, most of whom have not received educational training and a "grave shortage" of classroom teachers.

3) 48.8 percent of the teachers have been trained in teacher-training institutes. The rest are not certified.

4) There is a discrepancy between the required 846 class periods and the 648 actually taught.

5) Of the total 8,027 primary buildings, only 4,453 or 56 percent are suitable for educational purposes. 907 (11 percent) need to be pulled down, while the remaining 2,667 buildings need basic repairs.

6) 1,903 or 24 percent of the primary school buildings need sanitary utilities, 560 require sources of potable water, and 4,837 (60 percent) need electricity.

7) 1,970 schools operate only in the afternoon and 1,972 schools are on double shift.

8) Failures in the second and fourth grades are about 15 percent in each grade. Drop-outs for the total primary school are about 20 percent The loss and wastage of failures and drop-outs are evaluated at 27 million pounds a year.

"As shown in each and every one of these cases, none of the allocated sums would really meet the pupils' requirements for this important stage of popular education." (Specialized National Council Magazine, 1982, pp62-64).

The Specialized National Council on Education also surveyed the preparatory schools. The curriculum was unified with some courses in technical education, home economics, and agriculture

for a total of 32 periods a week. There were approximately 150 modern preparatory schools emphasizing practical skills. "Education in such schools was supposed to depend on practical work alongside theoretical culture, but as a result of overcrowding, workshops and amenities that were transformed into classrooms, the teaching of practical subjects is done in an imaginary sort of way and does not realize the object of founding such schools." (Kotb, 1976, p.27). Education in the preparatory stage concentrated on preparing students for the preparatory examination in a number of theoretical subjects. Further, there existed a quantitative and qualitative shortage of staff. Most of the available teachers were educationally unqualified. In-service training provided by the ministry has been considered a failure due to the "limited proficiency" of the instructors and the necessarily short length of the training period. (Kotb, 1976, p.28).

Preparatory school buildings were in no better condition than those of the primary schools. Overcrowding increased the density of students in the classrooms and new classrooms had been built on the playgrounds using every available inch of space. Some buildings not originally intended as schools had to be used, and they lacked resources. Libraries were in need of modern books. In both primary and preparatory schools there was a concerted effort to implement compulsory education with a myriad of problems resulting from this effort.

The population explosion was the most obvious factor undermining Egypt's ability to provide adequate elementary and preparatory education. The 1966 census showed an annual growth rate of 2.54 percent, one of the highest in the world. By the 1970's, children born in the 1960's were ready to enter schools, causing increases in pupil-teacher and pupil-classroom ratios. (Helmy, 1979, p.6). Primary schools enrolled 75 percent of the 6 year olds in 1979, as compared to 46 percent in 1959. (Boktor, 1979, p. 7). This enrollment increase was achieved in spite of the growth in the number of 6 year-olds during that period. Preparatory schools also increased in student enrollment. In 1963, they enrolled 20 percent of the primary school graduates. By 1979, 50 percent of the primary school graduates were enrolled in preparatory schools. From 1978 to 1979, 200,000 additional students were enrolled, but the increase in population still kept the enrollment percentage at 50 percent for both years. (Boktor,

1979, p.7).

Women's educational level significantly contributed to the population explosion. In a society where women are economically dependent upon men, illiteracy further compounds reliance upon men for guidance and security. 1983 estimates of illiteracy among women in some governorates (Assuit, Fayoom) run as high as 90 percent compared to the national average of 71 percent. (Schwartz, 1983, interview). To some illiterate women, a feasible way of keeping a husband is to have children. The more children a women has, the less likely her husband is to divorce her or take a second or third wife. According to Islamic law, not having children is a valid cause for divorce. The women, responding to these conditions, have an average of 5.5 children. This high fertility average coupled with a reduction in the infant and child mortality rates has produced a population of which 42 percent is under the age of 15. Thus, for every 100 adults between the ages of 16 and 65, there are approximately 78 dependent children to be supported, reared, and educated. If the present fertility average continues, the population will double in the next 20 years, resulting in an even larger school-age population. (U.N. Fund for Population Activities, 1981, pp8-10). Thus, the economic and social survival needs of the illiterate woman support the population increase, which in turn limits the children's educational opportunities.

If the woman is educated, her training does not contradict the importance of having children, as education for women has historically reinforced domesticity. Ain Shams Faculty for Girls has four colleges - Science, Education, Arts, and Home Economics; while Al-Azhar College for Girls adds Religion and Languages to the offerings. The American University in Cairo, a private institution with 66 percent female enrollment, primarily graduates students in mass communications and economics. Still only 3 percent of the women ever get a university education, even though it is free through the doctorate. Egyptians view education for women as a stopgap until they marry, and many women once trained find little social encouragement from parents, spouses or peers to work outside their home. As a result, women, both literate and illiterate, learn that their function is to marry and have children, which further fuels the population explosion.

Furthermore, economics limited the quality of

primary and preparatory education. Although L.E.20 of the L.E.28 allocated for the primary school child goes for wages, teachers' salaries are inadequate considering inflation increases despite government subsidies of food, fuel, and transportation. For example, between 1960 and 1965, the price of eggs per unit increased 133.3 percent, meat 150 percent, and sugar 185.7 percent. (Wahba, 1977, p.12). The official inflation rate was estimated by the World Bank to be 30 percent in 1983. (Snaith, 1983, interview) Thus, teachers have a strong economic incentive to seek outside employment. The shortened school day enables them to have second jobs or tutor their students after class. Some teachers have been accused of providing unclear or incomplete classroom instuction in order to insure a student's need of tutoring to succeed on exams. Others might accept favors in order to raise test scores. While all of these accusations are difficult to verify, the enormous amount of family income and energy expended to get children tutored is evident. "The overspreading phenomenon of private lessons whether in schools or universities has become one of the major drawbacks in the education system," Dr. Mustafa Kamal Helmi, Minister of Education, said in 1983 in an interview with <<Musawar>> magazine. "Fixed monthly wages for tutors are currently allocated from the budget of each family especially for general certificate exams. Since private lessons are a burden to the parents who are taxpayers, the government should find solutions to this problem in order to serve the citizens in the best possible way, since this is the true meaning for socialism and democracy."

Much of the instruction does take place outside the classroom. If economically feasible, tutors are hired, thus supplementing teaching salaries. If not feasible, children do the best they can in overcrowded facilities which lack reference materials, equipment, laboratories, and trained teachers. Without the understanding these resources provide, the students memorize the textbooks in order to pass exams. Many are unable to pass, to endure overcrowded conditions, or, in short, to cope. These become the primary and preparatory drop-outs, and these failures added to the number of children who never enroll, comprise a large population of illiterate children.

Tables 7,8, and 9 show the number of students enrolled in grade 1, and the number of successes in 6th grade final exam. The calculation of the gross

value of primary education productivity is taken per 1000 students with the wastage in primary education as a result of deaths and failure.

TABLE 7

Total Primary School Wastage

Year	No enrolled in G 1	Wastage in Primary Education
70/71	742,888	42.3
71/72	722,193	41.2
72/73	727,273	41.8
73/74	578,322	34.1

TABLE 8

Number of drop-out boys from each of the six grades in primary education.

Year	G.1	G.2	G.3	G.4	G.5	G.6
70/71	10,250	8,530	15,130	23,590	16,610	38,500
71/72	10,200	2,720	14,880	14,800	18,180	35,090
72/73	8,780	8,930	12,430	23,310	14,600	25,390
73/74	4,580	6,400	10,410	24,300	13,760	15,170
74/75	7,390	9,320	5,640	21,710	22,560	25,650
75/76	4,670	12,170	9,630	20,030	27,110	7,650
76/77	11,880	7,220	10,000	17,700	35,310	23,450
77/78	11,270	11,340	11,190	19,620	40,210	23,290
78/79	11,550	11,660	12,100	20,080	48,500	18,360

TABLE 9

Number of drop-out girls from each of the six grades in primary education.

Year	G.1	G.2	G.3	G.4	G.5	G.6
70/71	14,450	11,700	16,470	23,840	14,300	24,230
71/72	14,580	13,360	17,440	23,390	14,340	22,640
72/73	12,160	10,720	14,160	20,550	11,400	15,830
73/74	7,860	4,470	12,290	21,870	11,550	13,070
74/75	15,780	7,540	7,860	18,070	17,000	14,270
75/76	13,190	12,040	10,020	16,080	17,080	6,940
76/77	16,090	9,970	9,160	12,900	20,760	13,170
77/78	18,650	8,850	10,340	14,000	27,620	13,510
78/79	19,380	9,650	10,880	15,180	33,300	10,150

Furthermore, those who never enroll are more likely to be female and to live in rural areas. Throughout primary, preparatory, and secondary education, the ratio of male to female enrollment is 60-40. (Ministry of Education, 1980, pp2-31). The resulting national illiteracy for females is 71 percent compared to 42 percent for males. School enrollment and drop-out figures do not reflect the geographic distribution. Forty-five percent of the total population live in urban areas where 90 percent of the elementary age children are initially enrolled in school. Fifty-five percent of the population live in rural areas where 69 percent of the elementary age population are initially enrolled in primary school.

From 1970 into the 1980's, enrollment was increased in elementary and preparatory education, greatly restricting the education provided. In the primary schools, increased class size combined with shortened school days reduced the amount of instruction that could be given. Teaching salaries which averaged L.E.50-60 a month did not attract quality teachers or motivate them to spend time on preparation. These were the conditions that existed for those who were able to enroll, attend, or pass exams. The failures,drop-outs, or those who never enrolled were not a part of the compulsory education system.

Expanding enrollment in secondary schools likewise resulted in severe problems with technical graduates, manpower shortages in critical technical areas, wastage, and the disillusionment of graduates.

Technical educational expansion was still crucial for the development of the country but the admission process discouraged talented students from selecting it. For the 60 percent of the preparatory school students who continued their secondary education, numerous technological educational avenues were open to them, based upon their scores on the final preparatory exam, personal preferences, and spaces available. Those with the highest scores (44 percent) attend general secondary school. The second highest group attend commercial, industrial, or agricultural high schools (53 percent). The lowest graduates (3 percent) go to teacher training institutes. (Kotb, 1976, p.29).

> It could be also said generally that education in the first form in the present secondary general is characterized by its verbosity and the attention it gives to theoretical studies without very much care to understanding or to acquiring mental, practical, or conductive aptitudes which develop personality and help in the integrated buildup of the pupils. (El Koussy, 1978, p.43).

Those who succeed in entering secondary schools (60,000) might be admitted into nursing/technical secondary schools or non-formal technical programs in the Ministries of Defense and Industry. These non-formal schools may provide training in such areas as weaving, carpentry, or welding. The training may vary from a few weeks to two years, depending on the complexity of the skill. Enrollment figures are not available on these non-formal schools, as they may be administered by agencies other than the Ministry of Education. (Nowier, 1983, interview). One obvious effect of the secondary selection process has been that the elite will attend general rather than technical or non-formal secondary schools. In addition to being a source of status and pride to oneself and family, success within the formal secondary system guarantees government employment.

Employment for all careers is determined by

exams which are critical social and educational obstacles for the students. National exams are the only feasible way to maintain objective standards for the millions of students who want to continue their free education. Test-taking skills often supersede learning how to apply knowledge, becoming the focus of instruction at all levels, particularly on the secondary exam (thanaweyya 'ama). But test scores do not necessarily measure competency or understanding -- especially in technical areas where application is a critical aspect of the content. Test scores have, however, provided a cut-off measure for those who are eligible for the security and status of a government position.

> The people have become used to the prevailing patterns of exams, just as they have become used to the notion of education merely as a means for obtaining a certificate which would lead to a job, a job which is associated with a specific certificate and preceded by a specific number of years in education which would mean a specific salary and a specific place on the social ladder. If, however, the job was connected with a different certificate, preceded by a different number of years, it would mean a different salary and a different place on the social ladder. People have become attached to these prevailing conditions. They suffer and complain, and yet they have become so conditioned to this suffering that they find it hard to rid themselves of it." (El Koussy, 1978, p.43).

> Reliance on the exams, the "a'dadeya" and the "thanaweyya 'ama", to determine students' educational potential has resulted in uneven access to educational opportunities, affecting both the teachers' and students' economic status. Prior to these critical exams, extensive tutoring by private teachers has become the norm for families who can afford the expensive investment.

> Children from poorer families do not receive this intensive one-on-one preparation and are therefore clearly less likely to achieve high marks on the exams -- tests that will, to a large extent, determine the future courses of their lives. (Katz, 1983).

The status of a high score on the thanaweyya 'ama exam enables one to go to medical school, one of the most prestigious of occupations even with a beginning government salary of L.E.70 per month. If one can afford to establish a clinic, he/she can, perhaps, after a couple of years, make as much as a plumber in the private sector. The Ministry of Education understands the importance of the status the people place on theoretical education. In a speech given to the People's Assembly, the Minister of Education said,

> The ministry is exerting effort to try and gap the difference in the view the people take of general secondary education as being the socially higher and the technical as being inferior and this by way of including some technical subjects in the general secondary education and by increasing the weight and raising the level of cultural subjects in technical schools and again by opening doors and entrances to technical school leavers... the ministry firmly believes that the ideal solution is the adoption of the inclusive school so that it would be possible to combine the theoretical, the scientific, the technical, and the technological, all in one frame. (Helmy, 1977, p.17).

Technical education, therefore, usually begins with the weaker student who receives instruction from a less qualified instructor, reflecting an acute shortage of technical and vocational instructors. The social status defined in the selection process places academic above technical education. And free education encourages those who can continue to do so despite employment in vocational or technical fields which do not require university education. For example, the butcher will

have a degree in economics, the taxi driver will have a degree in engineering. One can earn more money as a taxi driver or butcher in the private sector, but social status is enhanced by having an academic degree. It is neither prestigious nor economically rewarding to have a technical degree or a teaching diploma. As a result, the technical student is not likely to receive as effective instruction as the academic student. Further, many technical schools cannot afford the equipment or space necessary to provide practical training. Overcrowding in preparatory schools limit prerequisite practical experience. These conditions foster technical education based upon memorization of the textbook, the same process utilized in the academic secondary schools. Such training does not aid the technical student in solving problems on the job and he may find difficulty in producing, and aiding in the country's development.

Technological education must also prepare for the extreme shortage of manpower in critical areas of development. From 1971 to 1979, the number of graduates from three-year and newer five-year technical programs jumped from 56,000 to 120,000, while the graduates from commercial schools corresponded closely to the annual manpower needs and the industrial education graduates (35,000) constituted only half the estimated needs. Personnel for shipbuilding, petroleum production, naval and agricultural engineering, and hygiene have been in demand over the last decade, but as of 1979 no technical training programs have existed for these areas. (Katz, 1983, p.44).

The manpower shortage problem had been identified earlier. A National Council of Manpower and Training was established in 1976 to address the utilization of human resources, co-ordinate education with long-and short-range economic and social goals, and work toward reducing unemployment. The problem was not so much one of lack of manpower but rather one of lack of skilled workers in specific areas. A standing commission to study the manpower situation started to work in 1963. Since then, yearly reports and studies have been made.

In spite of all the studies, the Ministry of Education had a shortage of 20,000 teachers in 1975. (Hyde, 1978, p.49). At the same time, the Egyptian government alleviated the unemployment problem by spending L.E.16 million to provide jobs for 1974 university graduates and 1973 graduates of intermediate technical schools. (Hyde, 1978, p.50).

The lack of co-ordination between education and manpower needs resulted in additional financial expenditure for the government as all graduates were guaranteed employment within two years after graduation. (National Council Magazine, 1981, p.62). In 1981, 23 percent of the primary school teachers needed further training. (National Councils Magazine, 1981, p.67). They held neither a diploma in education from one of the teachertraining institutions nor from another source such as a faculty of education at a university. The main training centers for primary school teachers were in the five-year teacher institutes which accepted graduates of preparatory schools. (Helmy, 1982, p.5). Only 1 percent of the primary school teachers were university graduates. Though some 25 to 30 percent of the teachers in the primary and preparatory schools had less than the desired professional preparation, there were no "para-professionals" employed as such. (Ministry of Education, 1979, p.52). The manpower shortage of skilled teachers and vocational and technical workers could not be quickly addressed within the centralized educational system.

> The Egyptian government has recently reaffirmed its commitment to providing public sector jobs to all graduates of technical secondary schools, post-secondary institutes and universities, insuring that increasing numbers of students will choose these academic routes. But because government jobs are assured, there is little impetus from students of academic institutions to introduce much-needed technical and practical training into their education. If the government guarantee was lifted, students would be more likely to seek skills marketable in the private sector. The government could eliminate large numbers of redundant personnel in its swollen ministries, and instead select government workers by merit, improving the quality and efficiency of its work. However, the job guarantee, combined with a general attitude that manual work is inferior, insures that most students will continue to choose the non-

> technical educational tracks. (Katz, 1983, p.44).

Egypt's future development is dependent upon the skills of technicians, skilled laborers, and innovative problem solvers. The educational system has produced a high percentage of graduates in fields such as medicine, engineering, architecture and law. Even in technical schools, the emphasis of education was on the theoretical rather than the practical--a result of borrowing needed technical instructors from higher institutes and a lack of equipment for practical training. Egyptian commercial and industrial expansion has been hampered by the lack of adequately trained personnel while theoretically trained university graduates are underemployed. This assessment was clearly made by the National Council for Education, Scientific Research and Technology.

> The assessment of the prevailing situation in the institutes and schools of technical education points to a number of basic observations, the most prominent of which is that of the large percentage of drop-outs among students enrolled in technical institutes. In general, it was observed that few students are interested in industrial education and there is a shortage in the number of new institutes for training technicians and for agricultural education. Again, there are shortcomings in the upgrading and diversification of these institutes in a manner that would enable them to cope with the needs and economic development of modern times. The assessment also showed the necessity of reinforcing various aspects of the teaching operation in technical education. (Higher Education Outside the Universities, 1980, p.56).

Aside from the low social status attached to technical labor, Egyptian society has not provided experience and exposure to technical training. Technicians historically have been imported Europeans or Russians. As an agrarian society with a surplus of manpower, mechanization has meant

unemployment for Egyptian workers. In a country where few people own cars much less tractors, knowledge of how to build vehicles or even the utilization of such technology as complicated as internal combustion engines are not common in the society. To then select training in mechanical or agricultural technology is not an obvious choice to the young Egyptian. Further, because jobs are assured, there is little motivation for students at academic institutions to introduce much practical training into their education. And as technical education is determined by so many different government agencies, long-range planning and responding to critical needs require co-ordination between educational and manpower agencies, a difficult, time-consuming task. For example, one school, established in 1980-1981 to train agricultural technicians, had yet to graduate students in 1984-reflecting the long periods involved in responding to emerging needs once identified.

Technical and vocational needs had been identified and reports written, but the necessarily slow implementation of changes contributed to the third major educational problem of the 1980's, wastage. Wastage is found in many aspects of the system. Enrollment increased at all levels and the drop-out rate has been reduced, but drop-out figures continued to reveal 18 percent of primary students did not pass the exit exam, and 68 percent of preparatory students could not be placed in secondary schools. The exams and difficulties in attending school, particularily in rural areas, resulted in 30-48 percent of the students dropping out of elementary school. (Basic Education Report, 1979, p.167). These drop-outs, added to the approximately 20 percent of the students nationally who never enroll, comprised a number of students not currently in primary school. The enrollment drops drastically after primary school. In 1980-1981, 4.5 million children were enrolled in primary school. Approximately 1.5 million were enrolled in preparatory school and approximately 1 million in secondary education. These drop-outs, added to the numbers that never enrolled, indicated a population which continued to exist with meager skills and/or illiteracy.

And, finally, there is the wastage and disillusionment of some graduates. Those who would like to be engineers do not get high enough marks and must go to commercial schools, or do not

continue their education. The government positions which are guaranteed sometimes are awarded two years after graduation and pay poorly or are unnecessary. The graduate finds he is paid little and/or is unneeded, and becomes angry. Perhaps the greatest disadvantage of the current system is the loss of work performance from disenchanted graduates--graduates waiting for jobs that befit their status, graduates trying to learn occupations for which they have no training, or graduates who are trained in agriculture, for example, but would rather be public relations officers. Most significant are the graduates who work abroad where they earn more money but must leave behind family and friends for years in countries, many of which view them as second class citizens. It is the unfortunate situation that workers in the technical and professional areas that Egypt needs desperately are also useful in other developing countries that do not have a socialized economy. Doctors, teachers, engineers, and technologists earn as much as 10 times the Egyptian salary in other Arab-speaking countries. For those who graduate and accept secure government postions, disenchantment also results in a negative work environment and low productivity.

The "educated" are the elite in the society and desire respect. Those who have been trained in higher status jobs for which there is no employment regardless of their actual competencies, sometimes have little interest in jobs which have lower status. Vast employment opportunities exist for vital jobs such as plumbers, carpenters, and electricians, but "educated" persons would not consider doing manual labor. Or, as educated people become taxi drivers and waiters, the work is viewed as temporary and filled accordingly. Rather than producing a well-trained labor force capable of meeting development needs, the educational process encourages avoidance of employment in areas not "suitable" in status. An enormous amount of Egyptian revenue is spent to produce graduates who cannot or will not meet the developmental needs of the country. Add to these the large number of men who have spent portions of their lives in the military and Egypt's current peacetime stability is threatened.

The Egyptian Gazette described the disillusionment and wastage in an article published in March of 1983.

A soresight to the downtown stroller

on a weekday morning is the vast army of able-bodied men on the streets. A visitor would assume they were unemployed, but we know better. They are, in large part, government officials who have too little to do, so they leave their offices on any small pretext and go shopping, or just walk around. One could say they were unemployed, in a sense. The fact is the government still guarantees to employ every Egyptian graduate, and lives up to its promises. This has existed for so long--dating to the reign of Abdul-Nasser--that it has become virtually a national tradition. Even posessors of the school-leaving certificate are guaranteed some sort of job. They accept the meager pay for the security, and the government accepts their poor output and the fact that most of them hardly have any work to do, rather than have dole-queues. Some people call this "masked unemployment," and in its defence we must say it at least spares the humiliation and degradation of the dole-queue.

However, if we take a look at the type of people who go in for government jobs in Egypt, we find nearly all of them have one thing in common. They are not very adventurous, preferring security and a pittance to the chance of earning more money where there is an element of risk. Worse still, most of them are, psychologically or because of the system, unable to work really hard or to shoulder responsibility. Decision making is completely beyond them, hence the abundance of red tape which, in the long run, means everybody passing the buck. Of course there are a few exceptions. The Passport Department officials are hard-working and employees of a number of public sector establishments are hard-working and

> occasionally have to make decisions. But they are in the minority. The whole government officials would appear to be unfit for anything other than a humdrum, mechanical sinecure where the routine never differs, year in and year out. (Government Workers, Egyptian Gazette, March 1983).

The reponsibility then, for Egypt's development rests not with the technical education but with the universities. Between 1970 and 1979, regional universities were opened in Mansura, Tanta, El Zagazig, Helwan (technical), Menia, Monofia, and Suez. Four hundred thousand university students were enrolled in 1976-77. By 1980, Ain Shams and Cairo University had combined enrollments of approximately 250,000. All education was free through the doctoral level, and until 1978 Nasser's policy of providing free education to Arab and African students who qualified was in effect. In 1983, the benefit of opening more universities without adequate staff, faculties, or facilities was examined as the university at Minofia existed only on paper. Resources for the university were not available.

The functioning of universities that are understaffed and overcrowded has resulted in situations which meet the economic survival needs of faculty and students, but not necessarily the educational requirements of the country. If a student desires to attend classes, sometimes as large as 5,000 in a lecture, he must fight for space. If he does not want to attend classes, he can buy the professor's lecture notes, the text, and only appear for the end-of-year exams which are constructed and graded by groups of professors and therefore must come from the text. Obviously there is not enough space for all the students to attend classes. When exams are given, tents are constructed in open campus areas in order to accommodate students. This system enables a student to have a full-time job while enrolled as a full-time student. Others may take extended vacations and pay friends to sign attendance sheets for them.

The professor, on the other hand, may be assigned to a university which may not be near where his family lives. As housing shortages are acute, he remains in his earlier location and commutes to his assignment. Because their salaries are low, some professors teach at two or three different

universities, commuting on unreliable trains, poor roads, or through congested traffic. They may not arrive for their classes, making the printing and selling of lecture notes an economic and educational necessity. Without the benefit of a desks, secretaries, or class space, professors find their jobs so frustrating that they search for jobs outside Egypt where they can earn much more. The professors will, if possible, leave for these teaching assignments whenever they become available.

If interested in research, both the students and faculty encounter difficulties in overcrowded Egyptian universities. The library at Ain Shams Faculty of Education was closed from 1978 to 1980 when it was discovered bugs had eaten the books. As the only recourse, committed professors develop their own libraries which are then loaned to graduate students. Economics and the unavailability of reference resources, often restrict research capabilities of graduate students. As described by Szyliowicz (1973), incentives for scientific research are limited.

> Confronted with inadequate facilities, a lack of recognition and support, heavy teaching loads, misemployment of skills, mediocre colleagues, uninterested superiors, and intellectual isolation, the able young scientist finds it extremely difficult to engage in productive research. (p.19).

Awareness of these difficulties has necessitated that post-graduate students be trained abroad. But this system also has its pitfalls. There is the refusal of some post-graduate students to return home, the incompatibility of certain studies with Egyptian requirements, the great difference in the scientific levels between one country and another, and the length of the preparatory stage in certain cases (National Council Magazine, 1977, p.17). The recourse is to strengthen the universities, staffing and facilities, and then alter educational processes - a difficult task given the enormous number of people involved.

The difficulties of education in the 1970's were assessed in an article entitled, "The Need for Change" by Dr. Abdel Aziz El Koussy (1978):

> Some of the outstanding hindrances are limited financial resources for

the construction of suitable buildings with the required facilities, as well as the appointment of needed teachers. Another obstruction is the population growth and their crowding in such a way that does not allow for the existence of necessary space required for essential services. The growth of the general awareness of the need for education, and, therefore, the demand for it, is another factor. What is more, it appears that although the necessary policies, plans, and goals are formulated on highly efficient levels, the execution and performance are not carried out with the same degree of efficiency and in all cases, an apparent gap between planning and performance is clear...A strong resistance to change is prevailing for it seems people have become accustomed to the existing patterns which in turn have become an indispensable part of their daily life...Our pupils are brought up on superficial, veneering selfishness and committing things to memory without comprehension, instead of being brought up as individuals--sociable and creative. We complain that despite the small percentage of the educated compared to the entire population, the labor market in its higher stratum is unable to absorb the graduates, whether on quantitative qualitative, or assorted lines. All this in addition to the scarcity in the middle labor market of professional labourers... All these are different examples of the existing imbalance. This imbalance persists despite the fact that its problems have been examined and looked upside-down to such an extent that we felt we were going in circles, examining and re-examining the same problems using the same technique over and over again. (p.45).

The educational conflict of the 1970's and 1980's reflected dichotomies between the rich and poor, Egyptian and foreign, government and secular interests. The problems were more acute than during Nasser's regime as the population had increased and school enrollment expanded. Wars and subsidies continued further depleting the country's resources. The government was unable to sustain the population and improve the quality of education. The dissatisfaction of students with the results of their educational efforts encouraged a resurgence of patriotic religious fundamentalism on one hand the the vigourous solicitation of foreign funds on the other. Either action was viewed as a means of addressing the collapsing economic and social environment. In 1981, the Moslem Brotherhood took action against the escalating foreign influence represented by Sadat. Had the accomplishments of the open door policy been as universally experienced as the inadequacies, the Muslim Brotherhood might not have felt the need to take matters into their own hands.

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CHAPTER VI

REORGANIZATION OF MASS EDUCATION

1970's - 1980's

History has set in motion two separate educational movements, the "open door" foreign investment in educational projects and programs and the Egyptian populist, reorganization of education. For the most part, the foreign movement directed itself toward the elite while the Egyptian reorganization directed itself toward the masses. The goals of Egyptian populist reform were clearly delineated in 1979 when the Ministry of Education prepared a "Working Paper of Development and Innovations of Egyptian Education." This paper was submitted for review to all the popular and political bodies, the trade unions, universities, local authorities, cultural and economic experts, and everyone concerned with education and its reform. The Ministry of Education then reviewed reports from all groups and integrated them into a comprehensive report entitled "Developing and Innovating Education in Egypt--Policy, Plans and Implementation Programs." The concepts about reform represented a comprehensive national action, the basic principles of which were sanctioned by the National Democratic Party Congress, approved by the Ministerial Committee on Services and by the executive cabinet in the November 2, 1980, session. The implementation began in 1981 to continue for five years as a joint responsibility of educational and governmental systems. In other words, the populist movement had the sanction of all power centers in the government and in the socialistic private sector. As can be noted in the following accounts of accomplishments as obtained from top ministry officials, expanding enrollment and reducing illiteracy continue as the primary goals of the educational reorganization plan.

In 1981, the legislature passed Law 139, comprehensive educational legislation. The priorities of the reorganization plan which are supported by legislation have made significant progress without substantial foreign investment. The accomplishments through 1983-84 have been confirmed through interviews with Ministry of Education officials.

The following principles were determined to direct the process of educational development--for deepening the roots of democracy, for comprehensive development and productive work in the context of cultural identity, and for a lifelong process. It was agreed to implement this educational reform as a multi-targeted, multi-dimensional strategy. All of these goals were to be achieved via several major and minor programs which jointly aimed to meet the principles of the new educational policy.

1. Expansion of pre-school child education.

The ultimate goal of this project is to provide increasing educational opportunities for pre-school children. Implementation of this program was scheduled to start as of the school-year 1980-1981.

First, there has been an expansion of the number of pre-schools affiliated with primary schools. In 1983-1984, 300 new classes were begun. Governorates were asked to expand pre-school education in order to aid working mothers. Further, in July 1978, the Ministry of Education started an Experimental Language School project by establishing 12 such schools. By 1981, forty schools existed. English language is introduced at the pre-primary stage in spite of the limited resources of the ministry and the shortage of trained teachers. "There have been many difficulties, problems and complaints from the parents of children in the pre-primary stage in these schools." (Yacoub, 1982, p. 2). The result has been a modification of the teacher training curricula for primary teachers to include English courses. (Khalil, Y., personal interview, May 1983).

The basis for the expansion and the specifications of location, buildings, capacity, utilities, equipment and sanitary requirements, school system, curricula, plans admission prerequests, staffing for supervision and teaching as well as cost for attendance are legislated in Law 139 of 1981, Article 8. All responsibility and power for the establishment of new pre-school is rested in

the Ministry of Education.

2. Basic education development.

Recognizing the deficiencies of the present primary and preparatory educational system, the Egyptian government reorganized and combined the first nine years of education into what was called Basic Education. The goals were to prevent a "backsliding into illiteracy and meaningful participation in practical life." It would also become a complete stage in itself, enabling its graduates to contribute to the various economic and social activities of their environment, pushing these activities towards progress and development. The pupil should be prepared for practical life within his own environment by bringing him to a standard of growth that would help him forge his working life, whether agricultural, industrial, or commercial, by providing him with the necessary training. It must also prepare some graduates for advanced studies. Compulsory education was extended to 15 rather than 12 years. The program for National Action issued in 1971 stipulated that Basic Education should be expanded by 1980 to absorb all those of obligatory age.

By 1983, the problem of facilities, teachers, equipment, increasing enrollment, and curriculum for Basic Education had been addressed. In 1981, the Ministry of Education allocated L.E.300 to every primary school for equipment. Every classroom in 5th and 6th grades were allocated L.E.40 and every preparatory classroom received L.E.60 for raw materials. This allocation was made in addition to the L.E.10 million annual expenditure of the USAID for maps, globes, and other instructional materials. UNICEF provided $1 million in 1980 and the U.S. expenditure which began in 1981 was to continue until 1985.

Basic education is one of the few projects obtaining foreign funding concerned with the elementary age child. USAID allocated $39 million for new Basic Education buildings and classrooms in five governorates based upon a school mapping assessment. The mapping identified geographic areas where schools could be built within walking distance for a large number of children. The Ministry of Education allocated L.E.70 million over five years beginning in 1983 to be spent for new schools, additional workshops, and building repair.

The curriculum added practical training

beginning in 1978 with 450 experimental schools. In 1980-81, all primary schools became Basic Education schools with the 7th grade to be added in 1982-83, 8th in 1983-84, and 9th in 1984-85.

Syllabuses were prepared in social sciences but not implemented because decisions had not been made regarding the textbooks. Cassel, MacMillan, Longman and Hineman publishers spent one year preparing books after visiting schools and piloting material. Each publisher supplied the ministry with a limited number of sample books.

Primary and preparatory schools were combined into 9 years of Basic Education in 1982-83. This combination was preceded by a National Conference on Basic Education conducted for teachers, school administrators and concerned persons in 1980-81. (Chairman, Basic Education Program, personal interview, 1983).

USAID supported Basic Education outputs will include 6,595 new classrooms 1,000 schools and approximately 140 person months of technical assistance and related activities. The grant covers 60 percent of the primary and preparatory schools and will be combined with L.E.70 million the Egyptian Ministry of Education will spend on buildings schools and equipment. The Academy for Educational Development initially funded at L.E.2 million began a four-stage project consisting of the establishment of advisory committees, needs assessments conducted by technical experts in all project areas, a computerized plan to collect data from the needs assessments and discussions of the results. Approval for approximately 200 Americans to spend 4 or 5 months rebuilding curricula was obtained and began in 1984. (Schwartz, K., personal interview, April 1983). Another USAID grant was awarded to Creative Services, an American academy to evaluate the expenditure of the USAID grant for classroom materials. Negotiations with the Egyptian officials began in March and April of 1983 but were not conclusive. (Creative Services Consultant, personal interview, April 1983).

3. Secondary education development.

The ultimate aim of the general secondary education development program was the up-grading of the efficiency of general secondary education, development of its programs, curricula and evaluation techniques as well as infusing it with certain vocational training skills. Implementation

was to extend though the middle of the 80's.

Chapter 3 of Law 139 of 1981 concerned length of study, reputation, exams requirements, and dismissal in secondary education. Curricula and the content of exams were to be defined by decrees of the Ministry of Education with the approval of the Higher Council of Education. Study was to include "major subjects for all students and optional subjects to be chosen from according to the students' aptitudes and abilities." (Law 139, 1981, p. 4).

A new curriculum extending basic education curricula was written. The focus was on practical activities to not only enable the graduate to join a university but also to enable her/him to find work in technical areas. In order to increase the enrollment in technical secondary schools, the entrance requirements for general secondary education were raised in 1983-84.(Under-secretary Ministry of Education, personal interview, April 1983).

One school in Tanta and one in Sohag implemented a comprehensive secondary curriculum. These schools offered a number of compulsory subjects and a group of optional subjects within a flexible curriculum. They also offered one or two of the vocational areas which the students had been involved in through the Basic Education experiment. (Comprehensive School Report, 1980, p. 15).

4. Development of technical education.

Technical education aims at training a class of skilled workers in the 3-year technical schools and a class of technicians in the 5-year technical schools in commercial agricultural and industrial fields. Implementation started in the 1980-1981 school year.

In 1980-1981, objectives, courses and schedules were developed for 3 years and 5 years of commercial agricultural, industrial and technical schools. All were approved by the Ministry of Education, Labor and Industry. (Director, National Center for Educational Rearch, personal interview, May 1983).

5. Promoting education in regions of a special nature.

Educational expansion in regions of a special nature focused on one-classroom schools in "environments where illiteracy, poverty, and disease

prevail" and areas such as the Sinai. In 1975-76, one-classroom schools were re-examined with the aim of providing elementary skills in reading, writing, Arabic, religion, social science, and science education in order to reduce poverty, illiteracy, and disease (These schools had increased in number, especially after the Israeli invasion in 1976 when Egyptian schools located in dangerous areas were relocated in safer villages and towns). At the end of the 1979-80 school year, the five-year experiment was evaluated regarding the success of the material, the level of student achievement, and the students enrolled. (World Bank, 1981, pp. 1-59).

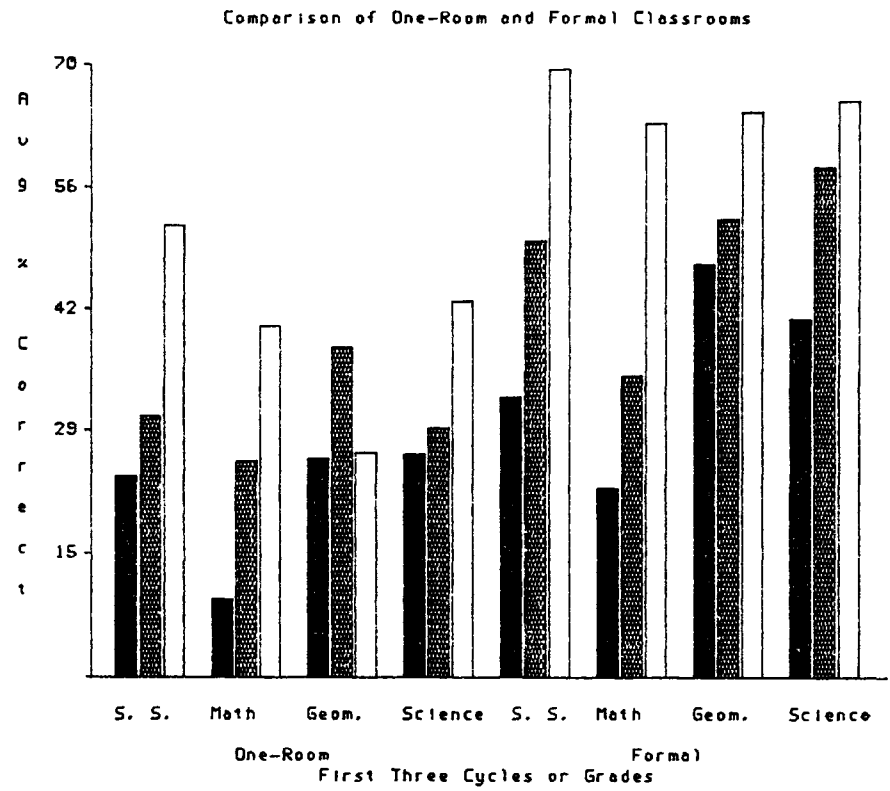
The one-classroom schools were established in existing buildings with the bulk located in mosques. The academic year was that of the ministry with anywhere from 3 to 12 hours of instruction per week. Each classroom was among 50 assigned to an educational supervisor located at a mother school. Each of these conditions limited the effectiveness of the classroom. The activities of the mosque restricted the attendance of women and hours of usage--even though one-classroom schools might begin anytime between 8 a.m. and 2 p.m. Rural communication systems and roads made it difficult for supervisors to adequately monitor educational processes, especially with 50 remote classrooms assigned for visitation. Furthermore, the academic schedule was often incompatible with harvest periods when teachers and students were needed in the fields.

Secondly, the curricula were the same as that of the government primary schools. Six textbooks were needed for each of the six classes taught, contributing to educational confusion as the one-classroom school was conducted only half the length of time as the government primary schools. So while the curriculum was extensive, absences made keeping pace even more difficult. And absences were influenced by a number of factors--fieldwork, weather when there was no school roof, sickness, irregularity of teachers' attendance, inadequate clothing, and the fact that no meals were served. The excessive number of texts required for each course, the shortened school day, and increased absences made completion of coursework most difficult. The teachers hired for one-classroom schools all had second jobs.

In 1979-80, 30 percent of the teachers were qualified and waiting for placement in a school compatible with their qualifications. Fifty-seven

percent had immediate qualifications and 22 percent had no qualifications and viewed teaching as a means of increasing income. All teachers were paid approximately 20 piasters per class and, with a maximum of 16 classes a week, they received a maximum of L.E.14 per month. It is obvious that the quality of instruction was affected by the amount of energy and competency of the teacher. In all areas of student learning, the better qualified teacher produced students with higher achievement levels.

The basic question was how much the students learned in one-classroom schools compared to formal schools. Based on special exams designed to evaluate one-classroom schools, learning in all subjects was measured. Arabic achievement was considered satisfactory and religious training superior to that of students in formal primary schools, revealing a similarity to kuttabs of the past. Seventy percent was a general average on the exam.



The improved performance in the second and third cycles was attributed to the transfer of students from formal schools to one-classroom schools and drop-outs from the first cycle.

It seems apparent that students in one-classroom schools were acquiring some basic skills in reading, writing, mathematics, science, social science, and Arabic. Given the level of teaching competencies, the educational conditions, and the background of the students, the acquisition of knowledge was considered adequate. (World Bank, 1981, pp. 1-59).

However, the level and type of skills were not functional-- either in the village environment or within the academic context. Academically, the competency achieved was not high enough to allow the average student to pass the Primary School Exams, acquire a certificate, and continue his education, even if allowed to take the exam. Secondly, minimal skills were not integrated appropriately into village life and did not enable students to significantly affect the level of disease, illiteracy, and poverty in their environment. As briefly mentioned in the evaluation report, if subjects were integrated around concepts such as "up-grading the local environment," reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, science, and ethics, they could be directed toward meeting environmental needs. As it was, the subjects presented in isolation did not emphasize their transfer into life skills. Furthermore, instruction was not provided in subjects which would improve local economic conditions, such as cottage industries or agriculture. Given the extreme needs of the village areas, transplanting one half of the urban curriculum with minimal resources was a less than satisfactory solution. On the other hand, the one-classroom school project was a major effort in size and variety of locations and the student achievement level was adequate, given the curriculum and constraints.

Despite the evaluation report, expansion of one-classroom schools has continued. A total of 151 classroom schools were added in Belharia and Sohag provinces. Implementation of curriculum recommendations in the World Bank report of 1980 has not been apparent. As of 1983, Fayoom had 60-70 percent of the one-classroom schools. (USAID Project Consultant, personal interview, July 1983). Further changes in one-classroom schools could be effected by the Minister of Education. He was empowered in

Law 139 of 1981 to establish experimental schools and to determine conditions and regulations of admission as well as examination systems. The goal of experimental schools is to allow field applications of educational experiments moving toward "generalization" (Article 9). While the number of one-classroom schools might prevent them from being considered experimental, there is enough flexibility in this legislation to allow experimentation for schools of a special nature.

Recent efforts to increase enrollment have been supported by Law 139 of 1981 which fines parents when children do not attend school. The 1983 enrollment figures estimate that 80 percent of 6-year olds are in school, but population increases, drop-outs, failures, and difficulties in attendance for females in certain geographical locations have counteracted the national effort to provide elementary numeracy and literacy for the elementary-age population.

The ultimate aim of this program is to offer up-to-date educational services in regions of a special nature (i.e. areas of land reclamation, Sinai and the northern coast.) Implementation took place in 1980-1981.

6. Consolidation of non-formal education.

This program aims at consolidating non-formal education. It includes local communities' development, vocational training, agricultural extension, labor, culture and public information, education of the young, education, and adult-oriented training programs whether pre-service and in-service programs or programs organized prior to initiation into a new job. Implementation started with the school year of 1980-1981. Non-formal education was more closely linked with formal education through the introduction of 4,500 one-classroom schools. These schools were conducted for those who had previous access to formal education. (Ministry of Education, Developing and Innovating Education in Egypt 1980-81).

7. Student educational welfare.

The ultimate aim is to establish religious and moral values, deepen the roots of democracy in the hearts of the young, and provide nutrition, health care and educational, vocational and psychological guidance as well as educational activities at an

improved level.

Student educational welfare has mostly focused on nutrition and health care for eight million students in rural areas and some districts of Cairo and Alexandria. A meal a day basically consisting of bread was provided. A cooperative program between the Egyptian government the U.S.-sponsored Catholic Relief Association, World Bank, and initially the U.N., has been operating for eight years with the gradual reduction of U.S. and World Bank money toward the goal of Egypt eventually carrying all expenses of the program (Catholic Relief Officer, personal interview, March 1983).

8. Welfare of handicapped and distinguished students.

Education for the special and handicapped student is conducted in three settings, residential schools, classrooms adjacent to regular schools and hospitals. Every governorate has one or more special education schools. Special education for those with stays of three monthsor more in the hospital is provided either in classrooms in the hospital or by tutors who visit the hospital rooms. Classrooms for rheumatic and polio patients are located in hospitals and financed by the Ministry of Education.

The curriculum is especially adapted for the blind or partially sighted, deaf, or mentally retarded. Classes in most cases are no larger than six children. The need for special sensory training and the curricula adaptations have required that the years of compulsory education be extended from six to nine years for the blind and mentally retarded and from nine to eleven years for the deaf. The last three years of instruction in all schools prepare the students for vocational careers. Special instruction for the deaf is in lip reading and for the blind in speech, physical therapy and Braille. Textbooks are translated into Braille for the blind, and the deaf are aided with group and individual hearing aids, thermophones and audio-typing. The language of instruction is Arabic with English available in residential schools.

Teachers for the special and handicapped students are graduates of the teacher training institutes and have three years of teaching experience with an additional year of training at a special center at Abou Seya. More than 100 teachers are trained each year and they earn 30 percent higher salaries than regular teachers. The new plan

for training has added psychology of handicapped, student teaching and observation. There is an interest in providing more instruction for the teachers in order to further raise their level of competency.

Schooling is provided for the mentally retarded. Educable students are selected from those with IQ's between 50 and 70 as determined in a psychological clinic in the Ministry of Health.

Further, two schools for delinquents in Cairo are providing psychological services, social care and education, one for boys in Giza and one for girls in Dokki. The minister of education has stated that he wants to give special education all the money they want and expansion planned for handicapped and special education indicates this is so. New classes will be added to increase the enrollment of 10,000 students enrolled in 1983.

9. Evaluation and Examinations techniques and systems.

The ultimate aim is the development of systems and techniques of evaluation and examinations. Objective testing and some problem-solving were added to the testing procedure. (Khalil, Y., personal interview). As of April 1983, $33,000 of L.E.50,000 USAID of the English Language Testing and Evaluation grant was not spent. The grant, which was to end February 28, 1982, was extended for training and equipment. Training consisted of a four-day workshop/seminar in testing for English language inspectors in 1982 and the establishment of a professional diploma scholarship program at American University in Cairo. Thirty Egyptians applied and four met A.U.C admission standards and were accepted. As of the spring of 1983, two students were enrolled. A micro-processor, printer and software were purchased to meet the training needs of the two diploma candidates. Further projected English Language Testing and Evaluation goals will be to continue the diploma scholarships program. (Henning, G., Mid-Term AID English Language Training Report, March 1983).

10. Up-grading the efficiency of the educational system through improving student inflow rates, rectification of private education and taking action to step up its level.

The ultimate aim has been to improve the

efficiency level of the educational system through increased student inflow rates, reform of private education and action to up-grade its level.

The goal of all educational reorganization has been to increase enrollment. The accomplishments are demonstrated in the expansion of primary, general secondary and technical education. The mandated fining of parents for students' failure to attend and the efforts to integrate non-formal education and education in regions of a special natures illustrate the emphasis on increasing school enrollments. (Law 139, 1981).

11. Program for teaching and training, together with unifying the source of teacher education.

Law 139 of 1981 recognized the lack of university trained primary teachers and empowered the 5-year teacher training institutes to prepare teachers for the first grades of basic education. Teacher training for Basic Education has begun along with an assessment of teacher training institutes.

12. Buildings, equipment, and educational aids program.

The aim is to supply the appropriate number and type of educational buildings and equipment for various types and stages of education.

13. Educational administration.

The aim of this program is to develop the educational administration bodies, both central and non-central, with a view to increasing the efficiency of administrative and educational work.

14. Communication and data systems.

The objectives of this proposed system lie in getting up a network communication channels between center of performance and execution of education services on the one hand and the ministry on the other.

A project in communication and data collection was begun in 1982 but not completed until 1984. Fifteen people are to be trained in computers and data analysis in the United States. L.E.10,000 of a retention study went into the production of magnetic tapes. (Khalil, Y., personal interview, May 1983).

15. Educational research and innovation systems.

The general aim of this program is the development of the educational research and innovation staffs and processes in accordance with the demands of the comprehensive development plan.

16. Funding education.

The ultimate aim of this program is to supply the financial resources needed for the various aspects of education.

Internal budget allocations are made according to the expansion needs of the system. When increase percentage of students is expected or desired in a particular area, the cost for educating a student is multiplied by the projected enrollment to determine the financial allocation. No significant change in allocation has occurred in this process. (Khalil, Y., personal interview, May 1983).

17. Up-grading the competencies of primary school teachers.

The competencies of primary schools teachers in Cairo were assessed in 1980-81 by three professors of education--including the author. Ten graduate students from Ain Shams University used a nine-area observation instrument to observe and evaluate primary school teachers in nine educational zones of Cairo. (Mofti, Cochran, 1981, pp. 1-5). The Canadian International Development and Research Center provided $200,000 for extension of the research beyond Cairo. Primary school teachers throughout Egypt were surveyed on economic, social, and educational backgrounds in 60 different categories. (Report of Primary School Teachers, 1983,pp. 1-258). University training was begun for 5,000 primary school teachers at Ain Shams University in 1983-84. (Salama, A., personal interview, 1983).

The reorganization plan took existing programs and sharpened the educational goals. The difficulty in obtaining summative data on these projects resulted from the formative nature of data collection in the Ministry of Education. Only ministry officials in centralized administrative posts had documentation of results of projects thus far. The dissemination of this information was a laborious process executed by already overworked

officials. Many of the concerns such as increasing enrollment and improving the quality of primary and secondary education had been long-term educational goals. What was apparent was that educational programs without the legislative support of Law 139 did not make significant accomplishments. But in all of those areas reinforced by legislation, significant accomplishments were made despite the lack of financial resources.

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CHAPTER VII

FOREIGN INVESTMENT: U.S. AND WORLD BANK

Sadat's Open Door Policy encouraged investment in secular education from external sources. Foreign assistance, mainly from USAID and World Bank, has resulted in the allocation of millions of dollars to education in Egypt. The proposals and plans documented here are available in Egypt at the USAID library, accessible to Americans and English-speaking Egyptians who know of the library's existence. Wherever summary or evaluation reports were found, they were included. Of the 16 USAID projectsproposed between 1974 and 1980, summary documentation exists on the completions of only two projects, the loan of one law professor to Cairo University for two years and the textbook materials project, both of which are described in the funded proposals discussed below.

The influx of Western and specifically American aid from 1974 to 1980 did not make any significant or even noticeable educational improvements in Egypt. Political concerns prevented the effectiveness of the approximately $400 million USAID allocation for education during this period. In order to avoid another Iran where American presence had been visible, USAID maintained a low profile, further obscuring the evidence of the few completed projects. And as Egypt was considered in the developmental assistance category of U.S. government assistance, each grant had to meet both Egyptian and American governmental requirements. The first major American effort in 1974, was the joint Egyptian-U.S. Working Group on Education and Culture, which focused on educational exchange, review of textbook materials and the training of Egyptian teachers of English. The following points were agreed upon by a committee of high ranking American and Egyptian

governmental officials.

1. The U.S. was to invite qualified Egyptian leaders to the U.S. in each of the following areas: curriculum development, techniques of evaluation (especially examinations), concepts of technical education, and general co-operation between Egyptian and American universities.

2. The U.S. was to consult with UNESCO regarding a center for teacher education.

3. The U.S. was to assist the English Language Training Program at Ain Shams University.

*4. There was to be a study of each country's primary and secondary schooling, involving a review of textbook materials. A limited number of primary and secondary school teachers might also be exchanged.

5. The U.S. was to invite three Egyptian professors to lecture at American colleges.

6. Post-doctoral research grants were to go to two outstanding Egyptian senior scholars.

7. A special grant in archive management and museum was to be offered.

8. 3 American professors were to teach at Egyptian universities.

*9. 2 American professors were to come to Egypt to the International Law Center to lecture on international economic law.

10. Ten members of the Egyptian parliament were to visit the U.S. in 1975.

11. The U.S. was to offer grants to four or five Egyptians to study at recently established American cultural centers--in the fields of management, programming, skills related to community service, etc.

12. The U.S. was to provide experts in American drama.

13. Additional exchanges in technical education

and educational equipment were projected. (Working Papers, 1976, pp. 14-15).

*Documentated as completed projects.

The Egyptian-U.S. Working Group on Education and Culture project recommended that efforts of the university community of Egypt be directed towards developing sister-to-sister institutional relationships with U.S. universities of higher learning which would result in a mutually beneficial association. A plan was devised by representatives of the joint working committees and the Egyptian Bureau of Culture and Education to determine the feasibility of establishing a program for Ain Shams University and Alexandria University to visit Egypt to determine areas ofpossible co-operation. The conclusion of the initial visit (May 1975) subsequently resulted in a pre-proposed grant to EPI which included Cairo Ain Shams and Alexandria universities. The grant award was for the purpose of further exploring the feasibility of establishing a co-operative assistance program compatible with national needs, which would insure relevant educational experiences capable of producing the requisite manpower and research capability to support the national plan for economic, social and environmental development.

In an effort to develop a more viable program, and separate from the terms of this grant, 12 short-term consultants covering the physical and life sciences and engineering were recruited by EPI from its consortium and placed on assignment in Egypt from October 10 through December 31, 1975. These consultants, retained at the suggestion of the Egyptian government, were financially supported by the American government and the EPI consortium universities.

The specific areas of concentrated assistance were science, engineering, agriculture and medicine. It was recognized that although specific assistance was being requested for the separate disciplines, each program would require a multi-disciplinary approach addressing the economical, social and cultural implications inherent in the introduction of new technologies. These would be implemented in a manner relevant to the needs of Egyptian society and not devoted solely to academic and scholarly achievements, as is all too common in some countries where such assistance is being provided or is

contemplated.

A. Ain Shams University would seek to strengthen its faculties of science and engineering to serve industry and government.

B. Alexandria University would concentrate on developing a first-class national science research center--with some development in engineering--to serve the regional industry which comprises 30 percent of the total industry in Egypt.

C. Cairo University would strive for excellence in establishing an institute for agriculture, with some development in medicine and the physical and life sciences.

It was further agreed that the character of the program of co-operative assistance would be designed to include the following components:

A. Visiting Consultants -- short- and long-term.
The primary responsibilities of the U.S. visiting consultants will be to assist the Egyptian faculties in:

a. Up-grading and-or developing curricula

b. Conducting joint research programs under joint supervision

c. Identifying needed laboratory equipment and library materials in support of curricula and research

d. Participating in the selection process for graduate fellowships abroad and local, that is, for study both in the U.S. and Egypt

e. Teaching or offering faculty seminars (maximum of six credit hours) either in the faculty members major professional area or in new teaching methodologies such as self-paced learning, use of audio-visual aids, etc.

f. Faculty exchange

The short-term exchange of Egyptian and U.S. professor-rank personnel for the purpose of offering lectures where appropriate and co-ordinating ongoing research programs.

g. Fellowships abroad
The selection of qualified Egyptian junior faculty for advanced degree training (Ph.D) in the U.S. and the provision of opportunities for both junior and senior faculty to participate in short-term refresher courses and in furthering joint research programs.

h. Fellowships locally
The granting of leaves of absence for qualified faculty to pursue advanced degree training and-or relevant research at Egyptian institutions.

i. Equipment and library materials
The equipment and library materials deemed necessary to support curricula and research would be selected jointly and acquired locally where possible using Egyptian currency. The balance to be procured in the U.S. and shipped to Egypt.

j. EPI administrative support.

The total management of the program was be the responsibility of the permanent EPI staff. This would include financial and programmatic reporting, procurement, and all the program needs. An EPI field office was to be established or a subcontractual arrangement made with an existing organization. (The total investment in this component was to be $9,849,262.).

14. In 1978, a project proposal for improving the efficiency and relevancy of primary and secondary education and requiring approximately $200,000 was requested from AID ($80,654 + $132,000). Four major types of pilot programs were envisioned:

A. Programs which would change the style of lecturing from those consisting of

lecture-assign -- study-recite to those emphasizing learning to think-solve problems-apply to real-life situations. These programs also aimed to change teaching styles from one that used those textbooks only to those that used wide range of sources.

B. Program which would draw upon available resources of community to improve schools and vice versa (i.e. community schools).

C. Rescheduling of the schools year to get maximum use of facilities (all-year schools).

D. Comprehensive schools encompassing both general and technical programs. Schools were selected by a leadership task force proposed in the projects. (Mehain, 1978, pp. 1-15).

15. By 1980, the textbook portion of the 1974 decisions had expanded into a $36,000,000 project. An additional $2,500,000 was to go to the Central Agency for Books. The goals included:

A. The study and improvement of programs already running, including donation of textboks to university faculties in medicine, science, math, engineering, technology, and agriculture.

B. Long-range publishing in the form of USAID subsidy support for selling prices for American textbooks.

C. To provide educational and reference materials beyond the university level, to bring professionals up to date in public health, family planning, community development, agriculture, and technical-vocational education. Bibliography preparation to be the first focus.

D. Special surveys.

E. The project might add the training of

librarians and development of modern library facilities. (Molenda, M., 1976).

Summary documentation of the completion of this project reported that a permanent textbook display was placed in the American Center in Cairo in 1977 and U.S. publishers participated at the Cairo International Book Fair. The expenditure was $350,000 for ordering and delivering 14,000 copies of 3,000 U.S. titles which were then donated to the university.(Childs, W., 1978, p. 1). The evaluation report stated the needs of the students had not been considered when ordering the textbooks. Adequate bibliographic information did not exist. Moreover, American publishers held back more current books in order to sell off the older titles and the attendants at the fair were unfamiliar with the books. (Childs, p.3, 1978).

The projection of exchanges in technical education had been modified as a vocational training center in Cairo for skilled bus and truck maintenance workers costing a total of $682,115 (with USAID support of $195,000). (Syndicate for Land Transport,p.10). Although no summary report was available in the USAID library in Cairo personal interviews with four of the U.S. consultants working on the project indicate that 30 bus mechanics were enrolled in Heliopolis in 1984. The final report, available in the USAID library in Washington D. C. in 1985, stated the following; "One of the basis for criticizing the curricula was that the vocabulary level was for a literate population when 50-65% of the target population are estimated to be illiterate. Furthermore, the curricula was not performance based, was written without the involvement of the target population and it was off-the-shelf material." Since the curricula writers and translator were Americans, paid handsome salaries by any standard, it appeared that this project served as employment for American professional and Egyptian managers but did not necessarily meet Egyptian training needs. Foreign (American) consultants, publishers and equipment manufacturers benefited from this project with little or no impact on the mass educational system. . .especially when the project was not open after three years of funding.

16. In 1979 another Joint Egyptian and American team made plans to develop elementary education (Basic Education). The goals of the program were to:

A. Increase enrollment and spread educational opportunities equitably across Egypt.

B. Adapt education to regional needs.

C. Respond to growing needs for skilled workers and technicians.

D. To make young people be"responsible" citizens in Egypt.

General program areas suggested in this agreement included:

A. Piloting school building designs and construction for basic education schools, with attention to local design criteria, local participation, and local materials.

B. Development of a number of prototype pilot Basic Education instructional models, one or more for each governorate with particular attention to teacher utilization and effectiveness.

C. Strengthening of instructional materials, productions and distribution capacities, financial management, budget planning.

D. Development of a new education assessment-measurement system, and development and testing of procedures and instruments to facilitate this.

E. Expansion of planning, management training, and internal organization to become tasks of central MOE, as part of decentralization efforts.

F. Expansion and diversification of technical education options for students completing Basic Education.

G. Co-ordination of Basic Education schooling alternatives with non-formal skills training and adult education

> opportunities. (Basic Education, 1979, p. 10).

In a memorandum dated March 4, 1980, Bernard Wilder wrote about the Basic Education in Egypt Survey stating, "During the first half of 1979 a contract team compiled a report for USAID/Cairo which provided an overview of basic education in Egypt and analyzed the weaknesses and potential of the educational system at this level. The report was accepted by both the Mission and the Egyptian Government and was given distribution in Egypt and in AID/W." This report, costing an estimated $300,000, was delivered to the Ministry of Education but never disseminated to ministry officials. (John Hofftenrichter, U. S. AID consultant, Gammal Nowier, National Center for Educational Research, 1983). The report was written by a Washington grant writer who never participated in the project and an American cultural anthropologist who was hired at the end of the project. (Andrea Rhue, Basic Education consultants, Byron Massialias, Basic Education consultant). The nature of the data contained in the report and the questionability of its accuracy made the report suspect to Egyptian officials. And yet, the U.S. government officials in Washington considered the project completed.

The17 projects proposed from 1977 to1980 by USAID did not mesh with the educational priorities established in the reorganizational plans for primary and secondary education or legislation enacted in 1981. Each of the projects was supposedly decided by a joint committee of American and Egyptian government officials and yet the projects funded were scattered in emphasis and not closely related to Ministry of Education or Supreme Council of Universities' goals. From 1976 to 1980, feasibility studies and programs were funded for training bus mechanics, textbook development, improving primary and secondary educational curriculum, and conducting all-year-round schools. Visible results from any of these programs funded between 1974 and 1980 are not easily found nor are there any evaluation reports readily available in Egypt. The USAID proposals then, served the function of obtaining money but not necessarily as a basis for execution. Interestingly enough, many of the feasibility studies were conducted by the same Americans--William Childs and Group 7. The exception seems to be the Basic Education Report which was neither recognized nor disseminated by the Ministry

of Education. (USAID officer, Basic Education Report Consultants, personal interviews, 1982-83). Furthermore, when physical evidence of expenditure for proposed projects is sought, that, too, is difficult to find. For example, there is no evidence of the multi-media educational center developed by a 1982 Fulbright scholar. But, as he has never returned to Egypt, neither he nor the Washington officials who read his report realized that the fond memory of the students was all that remained of his 10 month "exchange."

Granted, it is difficult to locate reports which frequently disappear in a country that has an acute shortage of books. But the vocational training of some 30 bus mechanics in Heliopolis, a suburb of Cairo, would hardly be a highly visible project even though $37 million was to be spent on the project through 1983. However, bus mechanics do not form a central concern of the educational system. Furthermore, summary documentation is not available in Washington, D.C. in 1985 on the $2 million USAID in English language teacher training at Ain Shams with even though the U.S. withdrew participation in 1983. After the proposed allocation of millions of dollars, more significant results could be expected to be visible to both Americans and Egyptians. The major investment seemed to be the undocumented arrival and financing of teams of experts from America followed by the departures and financing of teams of Egyptian experts to the U.S. and the funding of myriads of joint American-Egyptian educational committees. Such tours and committees must have had an individual or perhaps potential importance, but the single description of the exchange of one law professor seemed to be neither significant nor valuable.

> Professor X arrived in Cairo in September 1978 under a host country contract with Cairo University. Almost immediately a conflict developed between those members of the law faculty who supported the activity and those who opposed it. Because of this conflict, the teaching role during the first year was minimal. He was only allowed to teach non-credit courses. In the two-year period, he ordered books, and designed one seminar on international contracts and one on international

> arbitration. Two principal problems existed, both of which provide lessons for the future. First, the problem of lukewarm support form the law faculty stemmed in part from the Mission's reliance on a single person, the then dean of the law faculty. When that person departed, it became clear that most of the law faculty (generally French-oriented) had not been consulted and, indeed, may have feared an American legal invasion. Thus, the opposition which Professor X faced in his first year seems at least understandable. The second problem was the inordinate amount of time (both Professor X's and USAID Mission staff time) devoted to managing and monitoring the host country contract. Indeed, the contract should be Exhibit A to any brief advocating direct contracts for individuals, particulary where the host government organization is inexperienced in international contracting and has no need to develop a continuing expertise. The many problems involved with the furnishing of Professor X's flat and customs duties on his household effects largely fill two thick files on the modest activity. Finally, the host country nature (salary) of the contract exposed both Cairo University and Professor X to public criticism as to the contract amount. That is, the university had to identify with the compensation figures which, of course, included funds for commodities and short-term consultants as well as Professor X's salary and benefits.

The impact upon Egyptian education of USAID funding was not significant in view of the accomplishments--3,000 books which disappeared, an unsuccessful Book Fair, the training of 30 bus mechanics. Each of these completed projects reflects the political basis of USAID funding to Egypt which requires meeting both Egyptian and American governmental guidelines. While political

agreements have been necessary it is questionable if politics should receive priority over achievements in an educational crisis which threatens the economic and social stability of the country.

In the early 1980's, the USAID leadership changed, and with that change, the proposals became more integrated with the Egyptian educational goals and some accomplishments began to emerge. Those proposals which meshed with the Ministry of Education goals received greater support. For example, a priority of increasing enrollment parallelled the U.S. proposal for construction of buildings for Basic Education. However, once again, political constraints prevented implementation of these projects. Basic Education buildings must be constructed with skilled Egyptian workers who do not exist in rural areas which meet the "low profile" American political requirement. Furthermore, negotiations regarding the manner of evaluating Basic Education material dissemination has not been completed despite months of joint U.S.-Egyptian negotiation. Those USAID proposals concerned with developing the infrastructure of the educational system such as developing curriculum materials and innovative teaching strategies were not implemented. And since each expenditure must have the approval of an Egyptian governmental official, the governmental or personal priorities of the men in power determined the proportion of expenditure. The result was that money was allocated but exact expenditure was determined by the political constraint of both American USAID and Egyptian administrators. Needs of the students and teachers, and implementation proposals were less important to the funding process.

By 1980, several five-year plans were made for over $250 million to be spent on Egyptian education. Major allocations were $10 million for for Basic Education facilities, $56 million for graduate education of Peace Fellowships for master's and Ph.D candidates and $26 million in University Linkages between American and Egyptian universities in areas of Egyptian developmental needs. In addition, there were individual grants to universities through such agencies as the Fulbright Commission, AmidEast, Catholic Relief Society, and the American Research Association, for research projects and technical and nutritional aid to schools. Egypt became one of the primary beneficiaries of U.S. development aid programs because of the Camp David Accords, making her the single largest aid recipient in the world.

And Egypt has been second only to Israel as a recipient of total U.S. foreign aid, which includes both economic and military assistance. According to a report issued by the American Embassy in Cairo, the U.S. invested over $51.5 million in joint research in Egypt through March 1981. (Katz, 1983, p. 2). Compared to the total $1 billion yearly U.S. expenditure in aid to Egypt, the $250 million allocation for education was small. (USAID official, personal interview, April 1983). However, expectations of Egyptian and American participants provides a profile of the process the U.S. followed in foreign aid to education.

The USAID expectation for each expenditure was based upon contracts whose provisions were mutually defined by Egyptian and American participants. The University Linkages allocation, for example, had to be a proposal instigated by an Egyptian university in an area of developmental need. The assumption was that the Egyptian institution not only knew its greatest areas of need but would also be able to identify appropriate people to initiate, organize and implementthe projects with co-operating U.S. universities. The financial allotment was restricted by the fact that grants categorized as developmental assistance had to be in developmental need areas designated by the Egyptian government.

Foreign aid is categorized in one of three ways; military assistance, multilateral aid (such as international banks like the World Bank), and bilateral assistance made between the U.S. and the government of the other country. USAID to education in Egypt is bilateral assistance and, as such, political in nature. The political complexity of implementing projects from USAID perspective is overwhelming. Due to Egyptian emigration to other countries, lack of necessary expertise, and lack of educated staffing, the Egyptian government cannot be expected to provide staffing assistance. Projects must follow the intent of U.S. Congress, the laws of Egypt and international agreements, all within the tensions and sensitivities existing in a politically strategic country. The administration of political USAID grants requires grant writing, documentation, project development, and monitoring for adherence to U.S. laws and regulations for 650 projects expending $1 billion yearly. If the director's office, management office, legal division, planning and comptroller's offices are deleted, the 125 USAID officials available to monitor projects numbers between 60 and 70 persons. The education division of

USAID suffers from the same general lack of infrastructure. The result has been descriptions of AID projects which parallel the descriptions of Egyptian education projects as being slow in implementation, overstudied as potential projects and saturated with American contractors who do not provide expertise if it is not available locally. In addition, the "scattergram" approach to projects appears to be poorly integratedand co-ordinated, demonstrating a lack of knowledge of the Egyptian educational system and a lack of long-range planning.

For example, the $10 million allocated to building facilities or renovating of existing elementary and secondary schools is targeted for geographic areas with no nearby schools or to high density urban areas. "The expectation on the American part was that the expenditure would in no way significantly affect facility deficits but rather was a small contribution to a major need. It is hoped that building facilities within reasonable walking distance from villages will increase the female enrollment in schools which has been disproportionately low." However, this is considered "low absorption" of money as there are not enough skilled workers in the country to construct buildings even when money is allocated. (USAID offical, personal interview, April 1983).

The largest appropriation of money is for graduate training of Egyptians in U.S. institutions. One program, called Peace Fellowships, has $57 million allocated. The candidate must first enroll in an Egyptian University and then return to graduate from the same institution. One of the pre-requisites is the ability to understand English which involves expenditures on English language instruction. In 1981, 30 English teachers selected by the Ministry of Education were sent to the U.S. for a summer of training. The assumption is that government school English language teachers will train more proficient English language speakers. These instructors were proceeded by 996 other Egyptians trained in English language instruction between 1975 and 1979 and another 850 in 1980. (USAID document, 1980, p. 3). In addition, 500 potential Peace Fellow have been enrolled in English Language Program at the American University in Cairo. Tuition for all has been paid by American aid. In 1984, 14 foreign faculty members were hired to implement English Language Centers in rural universities. (Bowers, personal interview, March,

1984). The predecessor of this program existed in the Princeton in Asia program begun in 1980. Recent American college graduates were placed in rural areas with a maximum of one week training in teaching English and two weeks training in Arabic. After two years of implementation, from 1980-1982, the program was abandoned as instructional materials and student atendance and progress were negligible. In the spring of 1982, the volunteers were brought back to Cairo and the programs were terminated. (Costa, M., Crump, P., personal interview, December 1982). The current plan is to replicate this Princeton in Asia failure with higher paid and better educated American instructors.

Another English language training investment was made from 1976 to 1985 at Ain Shams University. Called CEDELT, the Center for Educational Development of English Language Training, the project had ambitious goals. U.S. trained doctorate and master's personnel were hired to "interphase" with British and Egyptian counterparts in developing materials and training Egyptian teachers of English. The project continues to be funded by the British Council but the Americans withdrew in 1982, having spent $2,000,000 and having obtained negligible support from the Egyptian government. (CEDELT director, personal interview, 1982). The British continue to work on the development of material and host visiting USAID-sponsored consultants.

Emphasis on the English proficiency for graduate training has meant the selection of candidates for Peace Fellowships are made from elite Egyptians who already speak English; thus, persons not central to areas of developmental needs may be selected. For example, one can travel to Tanta, an industrial and agricultural city of 2 million and find only limited English spoken, thus restricting the opportunity people in rural areas from obtaining Peace Fellowships. And yet English proficiency is critical. Arabic and French are the languages most commonly spoken by younger Egyptians as Nasser discouraged the teaching of English and Peace Fellowships are not given to those over 35.

The rationale for the Basic Education, University Linkages, and Peace Fellowship programs seems to be interaction with the Egyptian educational system without dictation of control. Financing of graduate study, construction of facilities in low visibility areas, and obtaining U.S. institutional expertise from universities fill a vacuum that would not be filled without U.S.

support. The Egyptians decide on their areas of need, then the American representatives conduct needs assessments, set selection procedures and identify monitoring agents. In this way, the control of the project remains in the hands of the Egyptians. (USAID official, personal interview, April 1983).

Unfortunately, many Egyptians do not realize the degree of control that they have over the projects conducted in their country. Al Ahram Al Iktisidi, a major Egyptian political and economical magazine, published a series of articles "exposing" American "infiltration" in Egypt. (October and November 1982). In these articles, a variety of critics, the majority academics, commented on American involvement in research which is perceived as a serious threat to Egypt's territorial and cultural integrity.

Research projects illustrate the manner in which Americans retain the right to influence if not decide how their financial resources are spread out over various developmental projects in Egypt. Each research project which is "jointly funded" includes at least one American researcher co-operating with an Egyptian professor and a number of Egyptian data collectors. Often Egyptian and American researchers are paid on different salary scales, as reported in the law professor exchange. This further limits the co-operation between Egyptian and American researchers. It is difficult for an Egyptian researcher who may have earned his doctorate in England or the U.S. to perceive how his or her skills could be less valuable just because he or she happens to be Egyptian. However tolerant the financing agency is with the researcher, it necessarily restricts him or her by the selection of the topic, the points on which the researcher should focus and in many cases the way of handling them. (Al Ahram Al Iktisidi, p.3). University Linkages are a case in point, as they must address an area of developmental need and must be initiated by an Egyptian university. Delegations from American universities with ready-made proposals arrive in Egypt. Satisfying USAID standards is difficult for native-speaking Americans, much less for officials at Egyptian Universities, which are understaffed and have limited English typing facilities. The result is that some American universities design and write the projects, allocating themselves substantial control of the project if they desire.

Egyptians have been especially sensitive to the

AID developmental assistance funding with "strings" attached, since Israel receives a monthly AID check categorized as direct assistance which it can use at its own discretion without the accompaning AID bureaucracy. The U.S. could give Egypt cash, as it does Israel, but fears corruption. (Reed, 1981, p. 178). Furthermore, the dangerous point is not so much related to the process of collecting data in itself as it is to allowing the Americans to use the data in a way which might be contrary to the good of the country. (Al Ahram El Iktisidi, October 18, 1982, p.8). In fact, Egyptians have little or no control over how the information is obtained in Egypt itself. This could be due to inadequate libraries or translation abilities of the universities. It must be pointed out that Egyptian data gathering, and information storage and retrieval capabilities are such that information gathered in these research projects could not be expected to reach personnel who need it rapidly. But the Balkanization of university research (and the proprietary attitude toward information exchange) restricts knowledge of and exchange of research. There can be little institutional co-operation at the level of research practitioners. USAID funding, partly because it finances overly restricted and focused research projects, and partly because it puts money into the existing system, contributes to the competition between universities. For example, Ain Shams was the location of the CEDELT project, not Cairo University. Therefore, any project material developed at Ain Shams was not easily utilized at Cairo University.

Whether or not the information gathered through research is available in Egypt, the lack of centralization and communication regarding research findings and their use constitutes a vulnerability to the country. The topics discussed in Al Ahram Al Iktisidi were so sensitive that eight pages were deleted before it was published. In a country in which newspapers, books, television and films are censored this open investigation definitely constitutes a threat to the status quo.

On the other hand, examples of unrestricted American technical aid in higher education have been funded in the Fulbright Senior Lectureships. Reinstated in 1978, the lectureships have increased in number and cost each year. Each senior Fulbright is selected by the U.S. President's Board of Foreign Scholars and the participating country. In Egypt, U.S. funds pay for transportation of the grantees

and their spouses, education for their children and their salary comparable to what they would earn in the States. This includes reduced-cost housing at approximately $220 a month, and $600 to be spent on books. In 1982-83, the Egyptian universities were asked to share in the cost of the grantees by paying part of the stipend. But by even paying just a portion of the salary, Egyptian universities are paying more than twice the base salary of an Egyptian full professor. The locations of the assignment and selection of grantee specialization are established by the Binational Fulbright Commission, while responsibilities and assignments are decided by the host institution. Because the Egyptian institution determines the specialization desired, the actual assignment to be completed, and the manner in which it is carried out, the Fulbright program qualifies as unrestricted aid of the kind desired by Egyptians.

Assessments of the value of their technical assistance documented in Fulbright reports have been mixed. Generally, the experience depends upon the university and the Egyptian colleagues. Field researchers and those who were given large assignments, even as much as 26 course hours, felt the experience benefited both themselves and Egypt. (Brunag, personal interview,1981). However, in the departments in which the majority of the professors resided elsewhere, the Fulbright Scholars regretted the limits on professional exchange. Other professors taught only one class, found their expertise under-utilized, and searched for activities to make themselves useful. (Kranston, 1979, Kramer, 1980, Benton, 1983, Newell, 1983).

Even a reasonable assignment cannot necessarily be accomplished in a 10-month residence. American professors with limited prior experience abroad must learn to operate in educational processes which are unfamiliar, such as evaluation differences and unexpected class schedule changes. "Physical conditions are so bad that, quite frankly, I dreaded going out to the university and felt all the symptoms of incipient panic whenever I was there. Conditions were more than uncomfortable; they were positively threatening." (King, Fulbright report 1981). Thus, the provision of technical assistance requires a longer period for the grantee to become effective. In fact, students from undergraduate to beginning graduate levels have complained to senior lecturers about the lack of continuity in experience, even with 10-month grantees. By the time

students get used to the Americans and appreciate them, they are gone. Egyptian colleagues, including department chairpersons, have expressed the same sentiments. From the American perspective, the more people who come to Egypt and experience the exchange, the more egalitarian the program seems. In other countries where Fulbright Scholars have been institutionalized, universities are accustomed to having a Fulbright professor teach certain courses. What is not recognized is that Americans are used to institutional continuity. They don't realize that institutional bases aren't as prominent in Egypt and that, in fact, the culture argues against it. For example, there is no Egyptian institutional record of Fulbright contributions other than the book purchases at any university once the grantees have departed. The reports which grantees are required to write are sent out to government officials in the States, but there is no mechanism for sending them to Egyptian officials. Therefore, the significance of the assignment is basically built on the personal relationships that are established. If language barriers or social isolation or marginal assignments prevent these relationships from being formed, the instructional contribution is difficult to measure. This is especially true because exams and grades are a collective faculty effort, and thus grantees may not compose or grade their students' final work, or assign grades given after their departure. The preference of the Binational Fulbright Commission, and, as far as can be determined, of the Egyptian educational establishment for relatively short-term Fulbright lectureship assignments, works against the development of technical assistance continuity in this relatively successful example of unrestricted American aid.

While results are difficult to verify, the exact expenditure in each of the USAID projects is even more difficult to determine. It is certain that the U.S. policy has been to keep a low profile. This policy, compounded by lack of USAID officials to staff and monitor programs, may have contributed to the lack of visible results from USAID expenditures. Also, there are individual Egyptian-American institutional connections which are not categorized under USAID aid to education such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology project at Cairo University and National Science Foundation projects which increase the amount of U.S. funding but are not considered USAID education projects. In 1979, the USAID was the "foremost source of

assistance" for research grants as it approved 253 projects for various ministries and organizations to be funded from PL480 (surplus wheat funds) to the approximate amount of $44 million. The agreement of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) includes seven projects for the Ministry of Agriculture valued at $22.5 million. The U.S. Scientific and Technological the Cooperation agreement provides for the implementation of research activities and projects by the Academy of Scientific Research and Technology within a sum of $8.1 million for the first stage. (Scientific Research and Technology Group,p. 54). The projects between 1977 and 1980 had the money allocated, but summary documentation existed in the Cairo-based USAID library on two projects which emerged from the proposals--the Cairo Book Fair, and the exchange of one law professor. The Book Fair was not succesful, according to the evaluation report. The bus mechanics project began training in 1983 but no summary report was in the USAID library in Cairo. RCA, the bus mechanics contractor, hired four Americans' to write the bus mechanics curriculum, which was completed without having been piloted on Egyptian students and there was difficulty in conducting an initial needs assessment. (Evaluation Report Project 263-0114, p. 51). American English language training with CEDELT completed the development of training materials despite the lack of students to be trained. The materials were published in 1982 but unfortunately require people knowledgable in the innovative approaches used in them in order to utilize the material. (Sayers, B., Thornton, L., Strain, J., personal interview, 1982). Of the two completed projects, neither had educational significance or number of participants as a criteria for execution. One USAID official described all other projects as excuses for Egyptain officials to go to the U.S. and U.S educators to come to Egypt. But as documentation was not available on the programmatic benefits of these exchanges, verification is not easily made. Personal interviews with American consultants working on funded projects indicate general dissatisfaction with the results and utilization of their products. But the USAID allocations continue to arrive, even though results are questionable. Table 11 reveals USAID financial expenditure as of March 1983.

TABLE 11

Project Title	Oblig.	Total Expend.	Unexpended Balance
HUMAN RESOURCES & DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION (HRDC)			
Office of Education & Training (EDU)			
Programs (Projects)			
Tec. Trans. & Manpower Dev.	34,500	22,082	12,418
Dev. Plann. Studies	15,795	11,475	4,320
Vocational Trg. for Product.	17,500	42	17,458
Peace Fellowships	54,000	14,352	39,648
Vehicle Maint. Trg.	4,500	2,437	2,063
University Linkages	27,500	1,729	25,771
Basic Education	39,000	4,079	34,921
Sub-Total HRDC/EDU	192,795	56,196	136,599
Office of Science & Technology (ST)			
Programs (Projects)			
Applied Science/Tech. Res.	24,400	9,507	14,393
Manag. Develop. for Product.	8,500	1,256	7,244
Indust. Tech. Applications	10,000	445	9,555
Mini.,Petro., & Gr. Assess.	20,700	1,113	19,587
Energy Policy & Renew.	7,800	-0-	7,300
Sub-Total HRDC/ST	71,400	12,321	59,079
Office of Health (H)			
Programs (Projects)			
Str. Rural Health Del. Ser.	7,300	5,369	2,431
Urban Low Cost Health	37,253	6,580	30,673
Suez Comm. Health Pers. Trg.	8,100	3,062	5,038
Diarrheal Diseases	26,000	227	25,773
Sub-Total HRDC/H	79,153	15,238	63,915
Office of Population (P)			
Programs (Projects)			
Family Planning	67,400	35,995	31,405
Sub-Total HRDC/P	67,400	35,995	31,405

The bulk of USAID expediture has been on exchange programs for Egyptian and American university students and faculty. The benefits of these exchanges are again difficult to measure on a national basis. The skills or knowledge acquired and its applicability to the Egyptian educational system cannot be determined. "The Peace Fellowship program is moving well toward the upwardly revised target of 1,900 graduate level participants in U.S. universities by the end of 1986. Intensive interviewing of returned Peace Fellows in Cairo and Alexandria indicates that Peace Fellows are of high caliber and in general are already making contributions to Egyptian development." This is true of those participants who return to research institutes or private sector positions. But those who return to Egyptian government ministries and agencies are frustrated and disappointed. "They are chagrined at such situations as unimaginative supervisors, skimpy operating budgets, lack of computers and other equipment, and the perceived long, undue wait to receive promotions and other benefits." It is evident to the Egyptian people that the U.S. is supplying aid to Egypt, some Egyptians are getting richer and going to the States and Americans are becoming more visible in Egypt. Foreigners spend money, but the educational benefit of their presence has not been apparent. The beneficiaries of capital inflow are small in number and are clustered at the urban-elite end of the socio-political continuum--a consequence, in part, of the structure of the Egyptian political economy.

Moreover, rampant corruption only further frustrates the effective use of incoming capital. Innumerable Egyptian professionals and bureaucrats have climbed aboard the USAID gravy train and are riding it for all they're worth, which, in an increasing number of cases, is quite a lot. Enjoying high disposable incomes, they of course are in search of purchases and pleasures, further discrediting themselves, their government, and American assistance in the process. (Springborg, 1981, p. 311).

> No doubt much of the blame for the writing of unproductive dry linkage agreements rests squarely on American academic entrepreneurs who gouge a round-trip excursion ticket out of their own university development

> office, visit Egypt during the mid-year break when the weather in Cairo beats that in Chicago, and have to have some document in hand, to prove the candle was worth the cost, when they return home. Some do stop by the AID-Cairo office just before dashing for the airport, believing in all innocence that such good works will be rewarded by a bundle of cash. In even greater innocence, some may be unaware that AID has an entire factory devoted to the generation of its own projects and hardly needs their journeyman labor. (Reed, 1981, p. 45).

Among the numerous AID activities in addition to its participant training program is that for what are called "Strengthening Grants" for American land grant institutions. These derive from the Title XII amendment to the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975 and provide matching funds up to $300,000 annually to strengthen capacities of these institutions in teaching, research, extension and advisory services in the fields of agriculture (including fisheries), food, nutrition, and rural development.

At present there are five of these with Egypt, involving Auburn University, California State University at Fresno, Colorado State University, Iowa State University, and the University of Nebraska, though in addition Montana State University has signed a memorandum of understanding with the agriculture faculty of Alexandria University in anticipation of a "Strengthening Grant."

While all have exchange potential and U.S. funding, it does not follow that all of them tie in with Egyptian universities' needs. That of Colorado State relates to the Ministry of Irrigation as a water use and management project, and is intended during five years to provide short courses for 20 Egyptians, on-the-job training for 80 to 100, and higher studies in the United States for four. Begun in 1977 at a projected total cost of $1.86 million, this project further illustrates how difficult it is to peg such enterprises as university "linkages," for in truth Colorado State is but the lead university for the Consortium for International Development based in Tucson. In turn, Colorado

State views the work in Egypt as part of its larger concern with "Arid and Semi-Arid Areas" embracing Nigeria, Kenya, Brazil, Venezuela, Peru, and Lesotho, and has had a long-standing project of similar nature in Pakistan, also AID funded. (Boewe, 1981, p. 89,90).

Such grants demonstrate why Egyptians find it personally difficult to implement American programs or to give credit to American funding and expertise. Historically, foreigners have occupied the country and have constructed educational projects for their own occupational or nationalistic needs. For example, Mohammed Ali did begin the first schools for administrators, veterinarians, accountants, doctors, and technicians. These schools did not survive after his death in 1849 as his successors were not as interested in military conflict and did not need such schools. Lord Cromer, the British agent general, constructed English language instruction institutions which prepared Egyptians to conduct the British occupational policies. During these periods of occupation, the Egyptians were educated in religious schools and the select, wealthy Egyptians attended secular foreign schools. With the surge of nationalism under Nasser, the dichotomy between the rich, secular and foreign-sponsored Egyptians and poor Egyptians was reduced. Sadat re-instituted this dichotomy with the encouragement of foreign investors, specifically foreign developmental assistance in education. The Egyptian educator then, who supports elite secular educational projects of the foreigners finds himself, as a result of history, aligned with the foreign occupier. Egyptians are experiencing a deterioration in the mass educational system and foreigners become a target for their frustrations. For example, one vocal anti-American English language student was not even aware his tuition was being paid by USAID. (Kassabgy, personal interview, 1983). Furthermore, when enormous amounts of money are supposedly spent and there is no significant or noticeable result, Egyptians have reason to suspect foreign interests are receiving top priority.

If the opinions stated in Al Iktisidi were a genuine reflection of the attitude toward Western funding (and there is a question about this), the acquisition is seen as yet another form of foreign occupation. The memory of the British manipulation of education for their own country's needs does not seem that different from the American aid. American organizations and universities and technicans

administer grants to meet their own needs and enhance their own individual and institutional finances. American money is sent to Egypt and spent on American companies, American consultants and select Egyptians. The presence of Americans increases and the conditions in primary, secondary and higher education deteriorate. And for some, American or western presence provided a convenient scapegoat for the problems of the country. But more than that, the statement for American generosity, expertise and support was not well made.

Not only America but also other countries and international groups such as UNESCO and World Bank are contributing to Egyptian educational development. The World Bank projects provide a different model of foreign investment. In order to acquire money, Egypt must belong to the International Monetary Fund organization and must qualify for International Development Association (IDA) money by having a per capita yearly average below $690. World Bank members representing 146 countries appoint governors who sit on the Board of Directors. This board approves loans once documentation has been made of development plans, and of appraisal team feasibiltity studies. The bank provides technical assistance and administration and monitoring units but Egyptians are assumed to have the capability, manpower and resources to evaluate their own programs. The bank has a mission which visits the country but the primary responsibility for implementation rests with the Egyptians.

The World Bank conducted three educational projects for Egypt beginning in 1976. The cost of the first project was estimated at $54.2 million with a foreign exchange component of $22.2 million. The money has been completely disbursed, accomplishing the following goals:

1. expand, diversify, improve training of technicians, skilled and semi-skilled workers;

2. introduce comprehensive preparatory and secondary schooling to provide more instruction in practical courses;

3. increase and upgrade training of technical teachers and workshop instructors;

Components included:

a. construction, furniture, equipment and technical assistance for twenty building trades vocational centers, three building trades instructor training centers, two technical training institutes

b. furniture and-or equipment and technical assistance for one lower secondary and two upper secondary diversified pilot schools, four technical training schools, three technical training institutes, one technical teacher training school, ten industrial-vocational training centers, one industrial instructor training center

c. pre-investment engineering design and-or technical assistance for three lower secondary and two upper secondary diversified pilot schools, three primary teacher training colleges, six technical training schools, four technical training institutes, five industrial-vocational training centers;

d. technical assistance for educational planning studies.

The program projected an annual output of 17,000 semi-skilled and building trade workers, 64,000 technicians and instructors, and 2,300 skilled industrial workers. There were pre-investment designs of additional comprehensive lower and upper secondary schools, primary teacher training colleges, and vocational-technical training institutes, with a possible second World Bank project to improve formal education. The planned date of execution was July 1977. (World Bank Document, 1977).

The second educational project expanded the goals of the first project in technical training. The following goals stipulated expansion and improvement of educational manpower, research and planning, management training in the industry and construction sector, population education in public schools, and training opportunities for the urban poor.

Construction trades and handicraft components would cater exclusively to the urban poor, train approximately 7,200 skilled workers annually and

jointly comprise 30 percent ($25.5 million) of the $58.8 million project costs using 20 percent of the foreign currency required. The United Kingdom agreed to provide technical assistance input of approximately $1 million. The second project was to begin January 26, 1977. As of 1983, $22.9 million or over half the money had been disbursed.

The third project, scheduled to begin March 2, 1981, was preceded by 11 months of preparation. The total grant was for $38 million and as of 1983 had not been disbursed. The goals included:

1. Expansion, diversification, and improvement of the training of technicians and skilled and semi-skilled workers in order to meet urgent manpower needs.

2. Assistance to and improvement of the quality of lower and upper secondary education through provision of diversified practical training to all students.

3. Increase and improvement of the training of primary, secondary, and technical teachers and instructors.

4. Improvement of educational and manpower research and planning.

5. Increase and improvement of management training in industry and construction sectors.

6. Expansion and improvement of population education in public schools to achieve these objectives, the capital and technical assistance provides for 25 new and 35 existing vocational, agricultural and handicraft skills. Training centers and agricultural information centers were to add 1,200 managers and 4,400 skilled and semi-skilled workers to the work-force, up-grade capabilities of 1,200 managers, 750 extension personnel, and 750 skilled workers for agriculture; train 6,000 farmers and through an educational materials center reach approximately 40,000 farmers. A health science resources center was to improve services provided by rural and district health centers. 60 percent of the program's credit proceeds were aimed at low-income

groups.

The total cost of the third program was $56.9 million with $2.4 million to go to Assuit and Cairo universities for the implementation of related programs.

The first project ended December 31, 1980; and was considered "satisfactory." Virtually all technical assistance was completed. Approximately 90 percent of all equipment was procured and nearly all installed. Of the 23 institutions to be constructed, 17 were completed and operational, while five more were expected to be operational by October 1980, the other by December 1980. All the existing institutions which had been re-equipped were operational. By December 1980, approximately 80 percent of the credit amount was disbursed and all the remainder was committed.

The second project which began in 1979 and will finish in 1984 was considered proceeding "very well." Of the 23 institutions to be constructed, 10 were completed by 1981 and three Ministry of Higher Education Institutes were finished in 1983. All equipment was under procurement with contracts signed for approximately 50 percent of budget as of 1983. All technical assistance was contracted and implementation was nine months ahead of schedule.

In 1983, a third vocational technological training grant for approximately $38 million was signed by the World Bank in co-operation with the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Industry. While concerned with training, this grant is not related to the Ministry of Education and hence is outside the "educational" administrative category. All the proposals cited were of necessity modified in both expenditure and even location during the implementation process. Overall directions and approximate allocations are accurate with the emphasis upon technological training and supportive services.

A major difference between USAID and World Bank proposals is the classification of information and focus of projects. The World Bank proposals are readily available but documentation is classified. Although World Bank assistance has been primarily in vocational technical training, conducted independently of the formal educational system, it is interesting to note their projects integrate with both the developmental needs and goals of the society and the priorities of the reorganization plan. The World Bank has integrated development

assistance into the educational and cultural needs of Egypt. The World Bank projects are evaluated by officials who come to the country for a short period and then write their report. This system does not increase the visibility of World Bank investors.

But the long-term effect of externally funded projects as described by El Koussy provide reason to suspect the "satisfactory" nature of any foreign investment.

> We can, therefore, state that any partial amelioration within the existing pattern will temporarily lead to an ostensible improvement, but will soon revert to the general run of things. It should be noted that numerous ameliorations were introduced in Egypt, but were all finished and done with by the hubbub of the existing system. Modern apparatuses were provided to be neglected and kept in storerooms, model schools were constructed only to fall back within the familiar school pattern, the laboratories were made available only to be closed and school libraries were provided, but not used by teacher or pupil, and school papers were introduced but never amounted to anything. There are, therefore, two essential factors on which we must agree. Firstly, we must think for the future of a radical change, dispensing with the present system, putting up with it only temporarily. Secondly is to formulate an overall comprehensive plan and give no thought to partial issues unless they are perfectly clear in the overall comprehensive plan. (El Koussy, 1977, p. 45).

The educational success of the projects, however, is not the primary concern of the World Bank. Their focus is that money is disbursed and the loan is repaid. The difficulty with examining developmental assistance is that USAID, World Bank, and Egypt have different criteria for determining success. In simplistic terms, the U.S. goal is political: to maintain economic and social stability in a pro-Western country. And since the signing of

the Camp David Accords in 1979 and the concomitant influx of USAID, Egypt has not participated in a war. This peace agreement solidified Egypt's relationship with the U.S. but alienated other Arab countries. In March 1979, the Arab League voted to exclude Egypt from membership. The country, which had only recently been indentified with Arab unity under Nasser, had just so quickly lost its Arab identity when Sadat spoke for all "Arabs" and peace. In the political sense, USAID criteria for success have been met by the reluctance of Egypt thus far to participate in Middle Eastern conflicts.

Egypt's criteria for successful foreign investment differs from that of the World Bank and USAID. The existing educational system is one which emphasizes religion as the cultural basis of the country. This basis must be supported if new technology is to be assimilated or accommodated into the current educational system. Both USAID and World Bank funding have been structured so as to avoid influencing the cultural education of the Egyptian masses. The World Bank contributions have been administered by the Ministries of Housing and Industry and thus do not threaten the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, World Bank training differs from education in that it does not propose to teach values along with the procedures of training in such areas as welding, plumbing, and electrical wiring. USAID educational financing focused on the accommodation or assimilation of expenditures in programs which have a low visibility in society. The Peace Fellowship candidates and those targeted for English language training are selected by the Egyptian ministries. The Basic Education grant will spend the bulk of its money on buildings in regions where population density is not high, with $10 million being spent on instructional materials, such as maps, which do not interphase with the cultural basis. And finally, the University Linkages expenditures are administrative arrangements which may not be readily apparent to the average Egyptian and certainly not altering the cultural emphasis of the country as both Linkages and Peace Fellowships are concerned with university level students. The result is a concerted effort to assimilate into the existing educational system in areas which do not affect the cultural basis. However, the lack of visibility of the American expenditure in particular has led to suspicions of graft and confusion regarding the actual expenditure of the money when little benefit results. This confusion is also

shared by the American public as they read in the Wall Street Journal and elsewhere that the U.S. aid to Egypt is disappearing in bureaucratic mazes.

The failure of USAID to make a significant contribution to Egyptian education, despite increased expenditure, does not detract from the success of gaining peace in the Middle East which is a major tenet of U.S. political strategy. The cost of investing a few million dollars in education in Egypt with no return costs far less than the deployment of troops. (Educational Director, USAID, personal interview, 1983). The long range benefits of educating a society to address its domestic needs seems lost in this short-term militaristic perspective. However, the continued U.S. financial support in Egypt aids the economic base of the country and hence improves the World Bank's probability of repayment. Egyptians on the other hand, have an immediate need for expanding educational facilities and improving the capabilities of the graduates to address acute economic, social, and political problems. There is a need to alleviate imbalances and integrate a society divided by a history of religious education for the masses and secular education for the elite. Unfortunately USAID and World Bank investments have increased rather than reduced this division. The Egyptian criteria of successful educational projects differ significantly from that of USAID and World Bank. They want the equipment, facilities, and technical training but not necessarily the potential cultural impact from educational projects which alter the existing power and societal infrastructure.

Foreign aid to education, as it is currently constituted, poses a severe threat to the delicate imbalances in Egyptian society. The Egyptian ambition is to retain the economic aid from Western countries such as the U.S., Germany, Japan, and France and continue to maintain the Egyptian culture. Successful American educational aid projects, if completed, could further divide society--and perhaps increase secular power. The more money provided to westernized Egyptian administrators, politicians, and technologists, the greater the polarization becomes between the religious and secular factions in the country. It was this increasing gap which Sadat was unable to bridge.

Egypt's political alienation from other Arab countries as a result of the Camp David agreement

increased the activity of the Muslim Brotherhood. In August and September of 1981, the government began to arrest Islamic and Coptic fundamentalists. On October 6, 1981, Sadat was assassinated by a group of 22 men representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood. The statement seemed to be one which reinforced the return to religious and cultural values of the past and against the foreign development and directorship of the country. Vice-President Hosni Mubarak succeeded Sadat as president and as a former general in the army, he provided a continuity of military leadership begun by Nasser and Sadat... men of the people educated by the British when there was a need for Egyptian military leadership. As of 1985, Mubarak had begun a gradual reduction of foreign imports and investments and the subtle closing of Sadat's "open door" policy.

CHAPTER VII REFERENCES

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CHAPTER VIII

GUIDELINE FOR FOREIGN DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE 1970 - 1983

If stability and economic and social development are the desired products of foreign investment, then the educational institution must be given priority. Lack of knowledge or interest in the established educational organization and culture results in financial expenditure without significant and appreciated results. Involved personnel, for a period of time, receive additional salary, and machinery is purchased. But change on the part of the personnel or utilization of equipment within the existing system is not guaranteed. It is essential, therefore, for foreign aid projects to be either assimilated or accommodated within the existing educational system.

Accommodation, meaning an addition to the present system, occurs when a component of the proposed program already exists. The university textbook program at Cairo University and CEDELT at Ain Shams University are two examples of externally supported projects which supplemented and required accommodation into already existing educational components. As the goals of the materials project state, the project's goal was to study and improve existing programs, such as the donation of textbooks to university faculties in medicine, science, math and engineering, technology, and agriculture. (Childs, 1978, p. 1). One of the projects prepared an American exhibit at the Cairo International Book Fair, an annual event which is not a component of the formal educational system. The summary report of the success of that exhibit stated that needs of the students had not been identified nor taken into account when ordering the textbooks. Adequate bibliographic information, which was another component of the textbook project, had not been

conducted. Moreover, it was found that publishers met their own needs and held back more current books in order to sell off the older titles and attendants at the fair were not familiar with the books. (Childs, 1978, p. 2). Neither the established educational organization nor the culture were considered in this unsuccessful project. CEDELT project repeated the same mistakes and also had less than expected results. The initial intention was to offer a master's degree in English language teaching at Ain Shams University. But rather than build the project as an addition to the existing Egyptian English language program, the CEDELT project established a separate reference library and duplicating center, and teaching materials taught by predominately British or American staff. The result was that after five years of operation, students who had graduated from the center were required by the Egyptian Ministry of Education to take additional courses and write a mini-thesis if they wished to continue for a doctorate in a university or to be given credit for a master's within the Egyptian system. (CEDELT graduates, personal interviews) The material developed at Ain Shams was not even used at the university itself, but rather was piloted in other universities. (CEDELT American and British staff, personal interviews, 1980-1982) Furthermore, no students were sent by the Ministry of Education to take courses, as the program was not accommodated into the existing educational framework. The results of both the Book Project and CEDELT, representing U.S. expenditures of over $2.5 million, were not as significant as expected because they attempted to create new or parallel functions independent of ongoing Egyptian components.

One means of accommodating a foreign aid project into the existing system is to begin with recommendations and reports already compiled by earlier committees or needs-assessment teams. Reports describing development needs and interphasing of educational programs exist in archives, ministries, and research centers. The General Administration of Statistics has the responsibility for the collection of statistical data for the entire Ministry of Education. Data collection is also conducted by a number of offices and generally of a formative nature. (Wink, 1982, p. 304) . For example, The Specialized National Councils for Education, which reports to the president, has been identifying needs and solutions, making recommendations, and writing definitive

reports since 1974. The significance of these reports is that they clearly identify needs and, when the nature of the data collection is considered, they provide a sound basis from which to begin the accommodation of a foreign aid project into the educational system. The Specialized Council reports precede legislation because they have the support of the executive office. But sometimes foreign investors are not aware of these earlier reports or they are not considered in follow-up projects. For example, the American Project 4 reports, begun in Egypt with U.S. funding in the 1950's, involved the Instructional Technology Center at Manshiet el Bakri. Visiting the facilities that are still operating, one sees the necessity for providing a follow-up budget for developing and maintaining programs once began. Reports on Project 4 are not available in Egypt, but Egyptians who participated 25 years earlier in program implementation have less than optimistic views of USAID as they witness planned expenditures for projects which replicate earlier American efforts.

Another example of failure to read other reports is found in the "Initial Project of USAID/E Assistance--Recommendations in 1978 Vocational Industrial Training in Egypt" which suggested the design and implementation of a planning, evaluation, research, and information office (like the Educational Development Office of Project 4) at the under-secretariat level, to conduct studies and research and co-ordinate information-data needed for managerial and operational decisions. This report also included a fifth project which planned the establishment of an Instructional Materials Production Center (IMPC) like the Instructional Center at Manshiet el Bakri of the 1950's. At the proposed IMPC, the center would adapt instructional materials validated in other countries and develop new indigenous materials to accompany new instructional methodologies and technologies. A new center might not be constructed if Americans had considered reports from the Point 4 programs or if projects begun in the 1950's had been integrated into later plans.

A second means of accommodating foreign aid is to consider the administrative structure of the host country. Committees and advisory councils make recommendations to the ministers through a structure which is hierarchical and vertical in its communication. Policy making, planning and evaluation occur at the ministry level with

decentralization in the area of plan execution or implementation. (Wink, 1982, p. 200) Although the regions do make some planning decisions, regional decision making is defined by ministry guidelines and by resource limitations, as local jurisdictions have no regular source of revenue independent of the national government. (Wink, 1982, p. 201).

> It should be remembered that Egypt is a country with a long history of centralized control and a tradition of "top down" decision making. There has, in the past, been little encouragement or reward for either initiative or decision making at the local level. In order to integrate the rural areas more actively into the process of national development, the present regime has embarked on a series of decentralization measures and has mandated the establishment of local councils which are to have a voice in matters concerning their own particular localities. (Wink, 1982, p. 203).

But for current formal administrative purposes, foreign aid projects are negotiated and decided upon by the central administrators who consult with others not necessarily a part of the formal organization.

As with many other administrative structures, the top administrator is a man who often has an even greater informal administrative system. His informal power is established through a network of personal relationships not clearly discernible. "The view of a man's self respect depends primarily on the respect others have for him." (Patai, 1976, p.310). This cultural value means that everyone is treated with the greatest respect. All projects must be cleared through many committees and administrators. Not to do so limits the respect accorded to each individual and makes the one in power appear to have poor character. For example, the request for a textbook change must be considered by all involved. A great many people might read and review the books. The common assumption might be that the books need to be changed and probably better books exist. But the disagreement of one person, regardless of the reasons, is unacceptable in the informal

administrative system. The committees change and the resolved arguments are brought up by new members. The adoption procedure is lengthened considerably by this very important informal administrative consideration. Committee members can make a recommendation even though they have no more authority than other members of the committee. But, ultimately, only the top administrator makes the final decision.

Both the reward and the limitation of this centralized administration are that the top administrator is critical to all functioning and is the approval granting agent for the greatest number of people. The administrators find themselves involved in all personal and professional disagreements, in addition to policy making, planning and evaluative decisions. They are the center of all events and receive a great deal of reward from significant personal contributions to the country. The limitation is that they are often greatly overworked, dealing with both the routine and the formal and informal requirements of the office.

This personal power base is completely understandable within the existing system. Institutions and policies change with the rapid rise and fall of single individuals. When he was replaced by Dr. Abdul Gaffar, in 1984, the Minister of Education had held that post for 8 years, longer than any other Minister of Education in recent history. In order to establish personal power, successors must alter or limit programs and plans their predecessor began. Much of Sadat's popularity was based upon destroying Nasser's police state. Egyptian leaders are not always loyal to their predecessors. Sadat, although Nasser's heir spent much of his presidency dismantling Nasser's legacy. (Reed, 1981, p. 184). But changing institutional and political leadership cannot touch the power and status of the family or friendships which rest on a history of moral responsibility. Therefore, in order to maintain stability in operations, personal rather than institutional power is most reliable.

The resulting confusion to foreign investors is observable. They sometimes have difficulty locating people of informal influence as everyone is treated with utmost respect. Their conferences are interrupted by people who to their perception should not be received for efficiency's sake. And, unknowingly, they may offend someone because they are unaware of the informal communication patterns

which alter the reception of information. For example, perhaps the foreign agent is not himself the top administrator in a project and though he has certain delegated responsibilties, he may not, as a result of youth or rank, be perceived as the appropriate man to be conducting negotiations. Or coming from a less formal culture, he may behave appropriately for his country but not in the host country. And finally, coming on short visits does not allow the time necessary to relate to the Egyptians by developing a trusting friendship rather than institutional representative relationships. If Egyptians are to place commitment in a project, they are more confident when the representative has a personal relationship with them.

Knowledge about both the formal and informal administrative systems is a critical element in the accommodation of a program. Foreign aid programs which have operated outside of the educational administrative structure may differ in degree of centralization, and communication patterns. And certainly, as each country has its own cultural values, a difference in accepted informal communication patterns will exist. When a project is dominated by foreign project directors, technical assistants and support staff, the foreigners will communicate comfortably, accomplish tasks quickly and marvel at their own efficiency. And while they may be quickly established outside the centralized Egyptian educational system, they frequently disappear just as quickly. It seems necessary to the success of foreign aid programs for participants from different cultures to understand areas of difference which effect interphasing in both formal and informal administration.

One central area in which foreign aid is accommodated into the already existing system is the specialized training received in a foreign country. The difficulties posed to understaffed schools and universities when they must release personnel for overseas training are obvious. Many excellent candidates find themselves too central to their institutions to be given leave. However, specialized training has historically been both a reward for high achievement and an expedient manner of getting skilled workers. Problems of going to a foreign country, improving language skills if necessary and learning how to succeed in a different educational system are secondary to the

accommodation difficulties the grantee faces upon return. The training has been completed many times at the sacrifice of separation from family and loss of professional advancement in terms of seniority in the native country, as the training period may vary from six months to several years. Young newly trained experts often return to the same job where they find newly acquired skills unnecessary or inappropriate and they must await promotion based upon the seniority system to place them in a position of authority. Thus, immediate rewards for personal sacrifice and increased knowledge may not materialize. Or, grantees may understand the accommodation difficulties they face upon returning to the system. In Egypt's socialistic economy, they cannot be fired and the training period is then perceived as a paid vacation and is treated as such. These conditions reduce the contribution of specialized training when accommodated and should instead be assimilated into the existing system.

The second integration option, assimilation of foreign aid projects, means a modification of, rather than an addition to processes and procedures which currently exist. Assimilation necessitates a significant investment in the infrastructure. For example, all innovation projects in the Ministry of Education are currently administered by committees which function apart from the hierarchical formal educational structures. (Wink, 1982, p. 305). In order for successful innovations to continue, they must be assimilated into the main administrative unit, which means in this case a redefinition of the existing Ministry of Education administrative guidelines.

In this more complex option, philosophical problems must be resolved before an innovation can be considered. Different is not necessarily better. In the last 10 years, the U.S. has emphasized science education, new math, bilingual education, women's equality, career education and more recently basic education and computer-assisted instruction. While computer assisted instruction is different, the appropriateness of implementing it in Egyptian schools, many of which have no electricity, is hardly feasible, let alone better. The lack of permanence of these trends in America and the increased funding for Egypt reflected in her political relationships rather than educational needs create resistence on the part of Egyptian education toward assimilating radically different approaches. A new leader more than likely will

bring a new philosophy. Furthermore, given the environmental context, many innovations are not feasible. For example, what primary school teacher educated in a Western country could teach 50 children with no blackboards, textbooks, references or teaching supplies. And yet some Egyptian primary teachers are doing an excellent job under just such conditions. To assimilate a significantly different change into a functioning system is a risk. Success must be guaranteed in order to reject native-local experience efforts and culture. For the sake of stability, an innovation must be demonstrably better than the present process.

And the present process has been recognized as exceptional in the Middle East. Most of her 50 Middle Eastern universities were begun by Egyptians and some initially had Egyptian presidents. Sixty and sometimes as much as 90 percent of the teachers in the Gulf areas are Egyptian and they are in demand. (Masellus, B., Jarrar, S., personal interview 1983). In 1978 alone, 30,000 Egyptian teachers and professors were employed in Arab and African countries. And over 50,000 Arabs, Africans and Asians were receiving an education in Egypt. (Jarrar, S., personal interview 1984). Both these factors demonstrate the success of methodologies employed in the present educational system. Therefore, providing funding for educational projects that differ significantly from the current processes do not recognize the effectiveness of the existing system.

Assimilating a different procedure, whether producing a product, training, or altering the entire system, involve phases of acceptance and implementation. Orientation, preparation, use, refinement, integration and renewal are components in the assimilation process. (Hall,1975, p. 52). Instruction can be provided as preparation but it must also include instruction in the resulting changes in the total system. For example, a teacher can be told how to utilize problem-solving in the classroom. But she must also be made aware of the discrepancies between the philosophy behind problem solving and the beliefs which reinforce continued use of former teaching strategies. Perhaps her culture has placed higher status upon the theoretical than practical aspects of education and as a result, she possesses a belief system which reinforces the lecture format. If she is lecturing a large portion of the time, she must understand the relationship between lecturing and

problem-solving teaching techniques, the necessary changes in her role, and the participation process of the students. Furthermore, if she is to change, she must be given the resources and facilities to make the adoption of the new technique economical, less difficult and educationally rewarding to the students and to herself.

The context, the change and the need for change are factors to be understood and resolved in the orientation and preparation stages. Most proposals stop at this point. Little support is provided for monitoring the mechanical usage of the new technique, developing a routine, refinement of the process and finally integration and renewal. On a very small scale, the purchase of equipment and instruction in its usage do not ensure that it will be used, that later personnel will be trained or that equipment will be repaired when inoperative. These maintenance and follow-up components are critical aspects of the delivery system. Each assimilation phase profiles a different decision point that the participants must understand in order to thoroughly assimilate the innovation or change into the existing system. When larger projects such as Basic Education or technical education interphase with the existing systems, the stages of assimilation become even more critical if continued utilization is to be ensured.

Foreign aid to education must either be accommodated or assimilated into the existing educational system. And because of the centralization of the Egyptian administrative structure, beginning stages of policy-making and planning and report writing are more easily accomplished than implementation, maintenance, and follow-up which take place on site. More substantial emphasis must be placed upon developing an infrastructure--especially at the lower admin-levels. This is not easily accomplished in Egypt as a history of delegation of authority has not predominated within both formal and informal administrative structures. The successful accomplishments of foreign aid projects must consider the accommodation or assimilation of the project components within the existing educational system. Not to do so is to risk that the financial aid becomes the end and not the means of developing the existing educational systems.

The importance of these considerations have been clearly lacking in English language instruction in Egypt. In 1980, a proposal was

written by Group 7, an American needs assessment team, visiting Egypt to determine how American developmental assistance could improve English competency of Egyptians. The short-range goal from the American perspective was to prepare participants to meet USAID language requirements for Peace Fellowships and other American sponsored exchange programs. The focus was to provide adults with English skills rather than accommodating or assimilating the training into the existing educational system. Selected participants would have to be a product of that educational system, but its infrastructure of teachers, inspectors, curriculum, and materials would not be altered.

The Egyptians, while recognizing the need for English language training, had a history of the British to consider. With British occupation, large numbers of British teachers came to Egypt and developed a strong English program in the governmental and specialized English language schools. Under Nasser, the British teachers left and a concerted effort was made to translate English textbooks into Arabic. In fact, from 1960 to 1968, the translation of English technical books into Arabic was supported by American PL480 funds. (Garrison, 1969 p.3). University tests and textbooks remain in English in many professional schools, but classroom instruction in medicine, science, agriculture, engineering, and some social sciences is in Arabic. The result is university graduates can read and write English, but do not necessarily demonstrate fluency in speaking or understanding spoken English.

With President Sadat's open door policy, the demand for English in both public and private sector jobs reasserted itself. Some Egyptian government positions, such as postal service and customs, made English competency a prerequisite for placement. And if one wanted to leave government jobs and get positions in the better paying private sector, English was generally required. Egyptian businessmen and government officials found English was the language of the international community. By the end of the 1970's, English had again become useful in both academic and professional life.

The need was established and universities, secondary schools, and even pre-schools felt the pressure. According to the director of the English Language Center at Cairo University, of the 75,000 students enrolled in 1975, 25,000 needed English language training. But the university system was

restricted by a Supreme Council of Universities policy that placed language instruction under the jurisdiction of the English departments, which have a traditional emphasis on literature. Therefore, instructors in language classes have training in literature, but not necessarily in linguistics and teaching English as a foreign language. (USAID Proposal, 1980, p.4). To alleviate this problem, the Supreme Council of Universities intends to establish five model language centers in Cairo, Assuit, Ain Shams, Alexandria, and Tanta universities. (Member of Supreme Council of Universities, personal interview, 1982). The Cairo University program is in place and Tanta University provides both a university sponsored English language program and an additional tuition charging program in the Faculty of Commerce conducted in co-operation with the Department of Public Service at American University in Cairo.

On the secondary level, foreign language schools, many of which provide more hours of English language instruction, are in demand. Conversely, schools whose curriculum includes one or two hours of English instruction per week cannot prepare students for university work. Students in secondary schools do not have a strong English background because Law 123, enacted in 1956, abolished English from the subjects taught at the primary stage. The law was prompted by the lack of English language teachers, anti-British feelings, and the pedagogical assumption that language instruction was more appropriate at the preparatory level. The final secondary thanawaya ama exam does not reflect the need for English language as a student may fail the English component and still not significantly affect the total passing score. (Principal, Ramses College for Girls, personal interview, 1983). But the student who does fail to master English will not be successful in the university and will not be able to get a job in the private sector. Students understand this fact and the increasing enrollments at A.U.C., the British Council, and the numerous, small, private English language schools reflect students' motivation to improve their economic and academic skills.

And finally, technical and scientific instruction in the secondary schools and the higher institutes require English to access new technological advances or even understand assembly and repair manuals on foreign-made machinery. Much of the technology in computer and other rapidly

changing technological fields is in English. Translation of such information and-or instructional manuals means both the training process and the communication of up-to-date methodologies is lengthened. Furthermore, many technical experts train in English even if it is not their native language, and those who wish to go on exchange programs in many foreign countries must also know English.

In order to improve the educational imbalance in technical training, university exchanges, and enable students to obtain private sector jobs, the Egyptians must improve English language instruction. In order for American technical and developmental assistance programs to be efficiently implemented, candidates must have English competency. Both parties are in agreement regarding the need, but the American proposed plan ignores the Egyptian educational system. Instead it proposes to create parallel functions, neither accommodated nor assimilated into the Egyptian context.

The 1980 Group 7 American proposal recommended the following: participant training programs, counterpart (those who will remain in Egypt) training programs, technical assistance to non-profit private and public sector organizations to develop English language training programs, contracting with an "appropriate organization" to provide technical assistance. "The appropriate organization should conduct such activities as providing general workshops for co-ordinators of EFL programs in Egypt, ongoing seminars for co-ordinators in the areas of teacher training, curriculum development and the use of audio-visual equipment as resources in EFL, and evaluation of training. The external organization should also provide in-service training and curriculum development for specific areas." (USAID, 1980, p.3). All of these recommendations were directed toward creating a separate English language training program with the short-range goal of preparing participants to meet USAID requirements.

Along with the innovations in the Ministry of Education that are not part of the institutionalized administrative structure, these separate training programs risk disappearance and-or failure. The recommendations begin, as Mohammed Ali began, with a top-down or pyramid development. He soon discovered there was a need to build an infrastructure to support this pyramid. The same will be true with English language instruction if it follows the

proposed model. The length of time required to master English, even with rudimentary beginnings, cannot be provided in short intensive periods of instruction as indicated in the American University in Cairo-English Language Institute report:

> "During the current year, more and more participants have come with lower proficiency scores, some as low as 30. This has caused some problems with student progress and motivation. It is difficult for students who come with ALIGU scores in the 30's to make the necessary gains to reach 70 in eight weeks. Average gains were 20 points for an eight-week cycle. There is no reason, however, to expect this kind of gain for students at the lower proficiency level." (Government Document, Intensive English AID Report, 1978).

And as the base for selecting Peace Fellowship and other exchange candidates broadens into management and middle-management levels, it seems unlikely that even the short term intensive training at the top of the pyramid will be sufficient. Therefore, it makes sense that the USAID proposal should consider building the English language infrastructure within the existing educational system. The first step toward inproving English language instruction on the secondary level has been taken by the Egyptians. A small USAID grant was spent to modify the English component of the thanawaya ama exam through adding a proficiency component. According to the former director of English language inspectors, Dr. Guirgis Rashidi, this alteration directed classroom instruction toward conversation and greater usage of language structures.

However, admission to the participant and counterpart training taking place at American University in Cairo has not considered the English thanawaya ama exam scores which all candidates must have taken. Instead, the ALIGUE is administered as a pre- and post-test. The ALIGUE is not in essay test format familiar to Egyptians. Further, the ALIGUE is normed on a culturally different population and has a poor ability to measure English competency at lower skill levels. Since

the test provides no placement information, individual program placement and exit tests must be administered to potential candidates who meet AUC entrance requirements. For example, low scoring participants and counterpart candidates take the hour-long ALIGUE screening test and then other AUC exams before entrance into the English programs. Co-operation on the English component of the thanawaya ama exam would simplify the testing and candidate selection process, and support existing secondary school testing procedures. Enormous USAID administrative expense and effort goes into scheduling and evaluating a separate testing program which yields results only meaningful to USAID administration.

There is a necessity to rethink English language training and testing. Instructors and administrators involved in selecting participants are concerned with the blanket testing regulations contained in AID Handbook 10 which require minimum ALIGU test scores (which differ slightly for academic and non-academic participants). Egyptian officials who are aware of the testing pocedures are also critical of the methodology, terming it culture-bound.

The second English language proposal recommendation was to provide technical assistance to non-profit public and private organization in Egypt to develop separate English language training programs. Aside from the conflict with Egyptian universities that are planning to increase their programs, this support will further reduce the pool of competent teachers available for government schools, many of whom prefer working in private language academies paying up to L.E.10 an hour for instructors. Egyptians have rejected the USAID proposal to staff proposed training centers with Peace Corps volunteers. Given the lack of success with the Princeton-in-Asia staffed English language programs in the 1980's, this rejection was warranted. However, the need for English training must extend beyond major cities to cities where English language teachers are not prevalent. The alternative of placing American English language teachers in outlying areas is a major expenditure which does not guarantee the ability to educate without expected facilities, resources, and equipment. The technical assistance to external agencies is viable in Cairo and Alexandria, but also competitive with rather than supportive of Egyptian educational plans.

The USAID proposal also recommended that an external organization will provide workshops and on-going seminars for co-ordinators in teacher training, curriculum development, and use of AV equipment and resources in EFL and evaluation training. These sugestions appear to be replications of functions of Egyptian faculties of education or teacher training institutes. Since these existing units are not included in the proposed plan, it is difficult to conceive of who will be the recipients of this training and how it can be delivered to rural Egypt. Competent and not so competent English teachers are currently employed by the schools and are earning additional money tutoring and working for private language institutes.

The teacher shortage is acute in Cairo and even worse in outlying areas, especially in English. The proposal to staff such centers from the Peace Corps has been unacceptable to Egyptians. A second suggestion, that of placing Fulbright professors in linguistics in rural universities, would not provide continuity even if there were enough such professors willing to live in rural, predominantly Arabic-speaking areas. A third alternative, that of placing qualified Egyptians taken from universities and government schools, would further restrict existing programs if there were enough qualified Egyptians.

Potential teachers would be unable or unwilling to leave the security they have with government positions, for new language centers unless the pay was better. The more likely candidates for teacher training would need English language training rather than use of AV resources as suggested in the proposal. Furthermore, new curriculum and approaches have not been historically well received. For a number of years, the Alexander English language series was used in the schools and finally abandoned as the audio-lingual presentation did not match the teachers' background and preference. Furthermore, the failure to order expensive teachers' manuals that accompanied the series affected instruction. Teachers, overworked and sometimes lacking knowledge, did not have the time to devise a communication methodology for presenting the material. As a result, they would have students repeat after them, make up sentences, and memorize and copy English from the text. The books were abandoned for an older text which was more compatible with teacher experience and perceived

needs. In short, neither the proposed participants nor content of seminars is feasible or appropriate for the existing situation.

Even the methodology of presenting seminars or ongoing training has not produced results when tried. Workshops and seminars are a university concept and not necessarily applicable to the improvement of classroom teaching, although generally enjoyable. "A four day workshop seminar on language testing was conducted on behalf of the Ministry of Education, hosted by the American University in Cairo in the spring of 1982. Several American, British, and Egyptian participants contributed by speaking and leading discussion groups. All senior inspectors and a majority of the inspector generals attended. Their transportation, per diem, and workshop refreshments were provided under the grant. A formal evaluation form was prepared and distributed to all participants. Overall evaluation was extremely high, many participants requesting the workshop to be repeated on a regular basis." (Henning, 1983, p. 1). As this report suggests, there is no linkage between seminar presentation and testing improvement or actual classroom instruction, although everyone enjoyed themselves. The hypothesis is that the classroom instruction will change as a result of the seminar but this hypothesis was not measured.

Assuming that center facilities could be built or located and English teachers found, the network for establishing support facilities does not exist. "With respect to other mission training needs, specifically technical assistance to the public and private sectors in developing or strengthening EFL programs, there are a number of Cairo-based educational institutions which may be called upon to provide such assistance. Among these are the Center for the Development of English Teaching (CEDELT) at Ain Shams University, the various English language programs at the American University in Cairo, and the Fulbright Commission." (USAID Proposal, 1980, p.9). It should be noted that each of these Cairo-based educational institutions is not integrated into the main educational administrative base of the Egyptian educational system; CEDELT, as May 1983 had 15 students enrolled and was located at Ain Shams University, not affiliated with the language instruction at the university. American University in Cairo is the only private university in Egypt, and the Fulbright Commission is a support service facilitator providing housing, mail delivery, and

transportation, mostly in Cairo. None of these educational units have the infrastructure themselves to provide any type of educational assistance to newly formed training centers. The lack of a support system has prevented the American University in Cairo from opening a successful branch campus outside of Cairo, although three significant attempts were made in Suez, Tanta, and Malta.

Even when programs are funded, Egyptians may refuse to participate as evidenced by the participant reduction in September of 1983. The counterpart training, which was conducted at AUC, was eliminated by the Egyptian responsible for sending candidates. As a result, American teachers who had expected contracts were eliminated in July. The expected population of 160 students was eliminated in the D.P.S. Program ($22,300 out of a total grant of $948,476) and the other two training programs sharply reduced. As with the CEDELT program, ministry officials who were involved can and do prevent students from attending, effective programs from continuing, and allocated money from being spent.

The logical recourse is to work within the existing educational framework. This was never a consideration of the USAID proposal. The proposal even recommended that no attempt should be made to up-grade existing English language institutes for the purpose of increasing facilities for USAID training.

In 1985, there was no evidence of any of the plans outlined in the USAID proposal of 1980. The need for English language training still existed but implementation was based upon suggestions which neither assimilated or accommodated themselves into the Egyptian system. Fourteen foreign master's level English language specialists were hired on two-year contracts to teach at rural universities beginning in September of 1984. It is hoped that their salary of $21,000 will motivate them to stay for an extended period even though their salary will create difficulties with lower paid Egyptian superiors and co-workers. (Bowers, personal interview, 1984). It is apparent from both the educational goals of the country and the economic needs of the people that English language instruction in its broadest sense is necessary. The proposed American plan discusses short-range training in order to improve the selection process for the admininstration of its own grants. The corollary is that Egyptians will benefit from

improved language skills. A wider vision is needed--one which either accommodates or assimilates itself into the existing conditions in the Egyptian educational institutions and aids in the development of an infrastructure to support the continuation of current programs on an improved basis.

Two significant factors are apparent in foreign investment in Egypt. When a country lacks the infrastructure to disseminate financial allocations, little observable change is made. The money serves to enrich those at the top of the administrative structure, but little reaches those for whom the money is intended. Secondly, when resources are allocated to projects which are not compatible within the educational procedures and goals of the country, the projects are accepted but not implemented. As illustrated by American aid to education, those projects which represent Western values have been subtly ignored by the Egyptians...a statement for their own cultural integrity and a process generally unrecognized by foreign investors.

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CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Education provides both security and improved ability of its participants to survive in their environment. Because of the socialistic economy, Egypt's graduates find guaranteed jobs do not pay well and they are forced to take second and third jobs in order to cope with inflation and family needs. Security and survival abilities have not improved for Egyptian graduates. In contrast, the goals of education from the beginning of Egypt's history have not changed--to transfer practical and cultural knowledge to its citizenry, a knowledge which enables them to become productive as individuals in the society and appreciative of the culture. The problem has been the adoption of one goal for one segment of society to the exclusion of the other throughout periods of recent history. During Mohammed Ali's rule, technical, practical education was emphasized for a select group of Egyptians. The British occupation which followed again provided select Egyptians with technical governmental, and bureaucratic education. From 1920-1952 there was the need for raising the literacy of the people in order to impart cultural values with the neglect of technological education. From 1956 to the present, technical and cultural education both have been paramount. Since the early 1980's both technical and primary education are being addressed within the framework of a unified educational system. But financial allocations have resulted in a foreign investment in technical education and an Egyptian emphasis on social education, contributing to a divided society.

The cause of the educational dichotomy in Egypt today is that legal, cultural, and social knowledge is based upon the Koran while industrial,

commercial, and technological knowledge is based upon the blending of many specialized and sometimes foreign sources. Cultural knowledge is mastered through memorization and recitation of the Koran, the unifying source of social knowledge. Technical and practical knowledge cannot be securely mastered when students apply the same approach and recite theorems or scientific axioms. One must be able to apply memorized scientific concepts to situations which are undefined and unexplained. Both sources of knowledge bring comprehension of the world in which one lives. However, the source of social knowledge is absolute while technical knowledge has brought change and social insecurity with its acquisition. The conflict in the current educational system can be traced to the religious and secular power struggle within Egyptian society. On one hand are the religious leaders with a history of representing absolute knowledge to the populace and the government. On the other hand are the secular leaders with their specialized technical knowledge.

Currently, a debate is taking place between fundamentalist and liberal leaders of the religious community about how to integrate the two ways of knowing. This is summarized by the Islamic scholar Taha Hussain in his Preface to Four Soliloquies with Allah and the Religious Debate.

> The case to be seriously discussed can be summed up as follows: some religious thinkers want to have the sole right to shape the mentality of whole a nation on the basis of the only religious books that are available to them regardless of any up-to-date addition. They also refuse to allow others to lead and shape the mentality of the people based upon science and contemporary culture without supervising such leadership in spite of the wide gap between what is fixed in religions and what should change with change in time and place.
>
> Scientists and thinkers realize that the shaping of a nations' mentality should be the job of all the human elements that are based upon man's mental and sensitive activities such as religious belief, scientific thoughts, literature, art, and culture. The culture of our forefathers is merely a result of human minds and hearts

> that have lived a civilization that is different from ours.
>
> We should not restrict ourselves within the limits of those past ideals alone and allow them to chain our thinking or become a limit beyond which we cannot move. This making us turn for hundreds of years in a vicious circle around one past era as if Islam were not fit except for this one age with its thoughts and circumstances. We cannot build all our ideas around the first Islamic era and forget that Islam is fit for every age and true and flexible enough for life and progress anywhere and anytime. God is bigger, his science is wider, his mercy deeper and his forgiveness broader. (Hussain, 1984).

This debate is a part of what C.P. Snow wrote of in Two Cultures, and has more recently concerned Toffler and Naisbit. But the Egyptian educational process is not constructed on a flexible foundation. It's security is based in a process of memorization which enables one to master a large number of facts expediently. Otherwise, the country must adopt a curriculum and testing process which is not and cannot be encouraged in the present social system. It would require alteration and development of the inspector, teacher, methodology, and educational infrastructure, and there would have to be a guarantee that such a reorganization would be beneficial for the society as a whole. The high incidence of divorce, crime, and interpersonal abuse in Western culture as communicated by their press, movies, and TV does not speak well for the social benefits of this flexible educational process--a system which teaches the questioning of absolutes threatening the stability of Egypt's religious leadership. There can be little tolerance for providing an education in how to make choices when knowledge of the best manner in which to live has been provided. This certainty of knowledge enables fundamentalists to feel secure in their actions and encourages conflict with secular change.

Before the 1950's the society had been static and predictable. Each knew his place, and the behavior and the accepted values which would gain him respect within his ascribed status. The landowners controlled the people, told them when to vote, when to pay taxes. Furthermore, the landowners

took care of the workers when they were sick or infirmed. And life revolved around the Nile. But with the 1950's came the Aswan Dam which altered the flow of the Nile and increased the dynamism of society represented by technology. Since socialism, all men have had a right to land. Ignorance was shameful and the government would take care of its people. The dependency of the people was transferred from the landowners to the government. The changes were social, economic and political. Education became the disseminator of these changes.

But within the secular educational system, there existed a cultural vacuum. Teachers were the cultural role models but they were poorly paid, poorly trained and overworked. They could do little more than maintain control in overcrowded classrooms that lacked equipment, facilities and sometimes electricity. As representatives of the dynamic future, they offered little vision to their students in how to proceed with their lives.

Furthermore, the teachers had difficulty in establishing respect when some were the least successful graduates of the preparatory schools and were from lower social strata than some of their students. The cultural values must then come from the family which had been reduced in its power economically and sometimes politically by the system of informers that existed under Nasser and concomitant reduction of the family's ability to provide economic support. So while cultural values were in transition, the communication of these values to the students resulted in confusion. The working of the land did not provide respect and going to school did not enable them to acquire better paying jobs, thus improving their lives. They were a product of their educational system but the knowledge imparted did not aid them in knowing how to live in their changing society or how to earn a better living. The importance of providing cultural education in the values and integrity of the society increased in significance in this dynamic society. The ultimate goal of science as a means of improving man's life had not been adequately communicated in the conflict between technology and the established social values.

One means of retaining security has been to emphasize cultural, social and religious values of the past, and resist change, but the severity of the technological problems threatens the country. Overcrowding in the cities and environmental pollution are critical and all suffer as support

systems strain to maintain the existing and expected population. Societal conflict was increased by environmental and economic conditions which threatened survival.

> Egypt's economic situation is especially precarious because less than 4 percent of her land is arable; the rest is desert. A population of about 40 million is concentrated in the Nile Valley and the delta region, north of Cairo, and this population is growing by more than one million a year--one of the highest rates of increase in the world. The urban rate of growth of 3 to 4 percent a year strains the government's ability to provide the amenities of life: housing, water, electricity, education, and transportation.
>
> Cairo is the epitome of rampant urbanization. The city and its environs contain an estimated 9 million inhabitants, most of whom live in overcrowded, poor quarters; thousands live in the cemetery City of the Dead. Sewage disposal is a massive problem. The water supply system requires increasing chlorination; and those who can afford it drink only bottled water. Electrical blackouts are commonplace in the old city where more than three-fourths of the city-dwellers live.
>
> Deterioration in public transportation has caused disturbances and violence, particularly on trains from Cairo to Helwan. Buses are the main mode of transportation, but they are sorely inadequate, notwithstanding additions from Iran and the United States. The fare is minimal, but it is unlikely that many people pay, because of the sardine-like packing of commuters who mount and dismount through windows as well as doors. The main arteries are clogged, and the several hours

> required to get from one part of the city to another seriously affect business and personal appointments.
>
> The government's discretionary spending is limited. The military budget takes 20 to 25 percent of revenues. Another 25 percent goes for subsidies, which have mushroomed: in 1972, the government spent about $20 million on subsidies; by 1975, as a result of escalating food prices on world markets, the total had risen to almost $900 million; in 1978, the total may exceed $1.7 billion. The price of bread is roughly the same today as it was in 1939 (though the loaf is bit smaller and coarser); the government maintains this artificial price through a subsidy of $600 million to $700 million a year intended to cushion the poor from the impact of rising inflation. Egypt imports between $2 billion and $3 billion dollars more in goods than she exports. In recent years, the deficits have been made up mainly by loans and grants from Arab countries and the United States. (Benoit, 1978, p. 817).

The society can not easily afford to allow education to take a slow evolutionary course as in the past. The social problems facing the country require immediately an educated populace who can utilize sophisticated and innovative technological solutions. As the educational system had been unable to respond rapidly to pressures of increased population, foreign technologists were imported increasing the divisions in the society.

Even the Egyptians who are graduates of technical institutions had a difficult time interphasing into scientific and commercial projects as a result of their method of instruction. It is one thing to be able to recite a theorem, quote a passage from a textbook, or memorize the words of the teacher for delivery on an exam. It is quite another to be able to apply theory, equation, or rule of physics in a practical application. The required skills are different and extend beyond the

memorization level which the Egyptian graduate has thoroughly mastered.

This comprehension and application skill is not a necessary component of the instructional process. If the Egyptian engineer, architect or chemist does not have an adequate training manual or a sufficiently competent trainer in his place of employment, his ability to translate and demonstrate his acquired knowledge is limited by his own motivation and ingenuity. While the technical graduate has received training, the process of instruction has severely restricted his ability to produce and thus contribute to society.

RECOMMENDATIONS

From the perspective of the developing country, Egypt has invested a great deal of effort to graduate technical workers. If the technical workers are unable to perform, the effort is difficult to justify. It might be to the country's advantage to bring technical experts from abroad as Muhammed Ali did rather than train their own scientists and technicians who are unable to solve developmental problems efficiently. Technological expertise is a source of power and leadership, one which Egyptians must often relinquish to foreigners. The importance of addressing technological problems has been emphasized by the requests for development assistance to education, the largest portion of which has gone toward scientific and technical education. The irony is that this expenditure may not result in the quality of graduate which would be possible if the delivery of content were altered.

The solution to effective technological education lies not so much in the talent of the students, which will always vary, as in the preparation of the teachers in the delivery of content. Teacher training must be paramount, beginning with instructors trained in relating absolutes to practical needs. The educational system as it is presently constituted facilitates the memorization of facts and theory independent of the classroom teacher on all levels of education. It is not necessary for the teachers to drill students in facts. What is necessary is that the teachers build bridges between the facts as memorized from the books and the application of these facts to present conditions. Current and future textbooks do not and cannot accomplish transfer as the writers neither know present problems nor can they predict future

applications a priori. The theory as it is currently taught is necessary but often unusable.

Secondly, the examinations should test application in addition to factual knowledge. The current testing structure is the only feasible means of maintaining quality control and assuring that the curriculum has been mastered. In the case of English language instructions, the exam was altered from an exam which could be passed by memorization to an application exam. Predictably, the instruction in the classrooms changed toward understanding and usage of English on the part of the teacher and the students. Necessary technological content, in theory, exists as the scientific and technological textbooks are either Arabic translations or original textbooks. And as classroom instruction is directed toward passing national exams, the tests themselves require modification in order to alter instruction.

But when teachers have minimal or inadequate training, they rely heavily upon the textbook. Another emphasis must then be on training the teachers to use the textbook effectively. If this is not done, teachers will present the material in the same way as they were taught as they have no other model. While teacher training will have to be repeated with textbook changes, the rewards of such on-site training will far outweigh the cost of current efforts to totally retrain 139,000 primary and some secondary teachers.

Furthermore, the textbooks themselves should be modified to consider the conditions in most classrooms. Supplementary reference material is simply not available and should therefore be given in the text or teacher manual. Physical equipment does not exist in many cases and so more practical methods of conducting experiments should be provided. All visuals should be included in the textbook if they exist. And finally, students should be given the principles they are learning and applications of these principles in problems and drill. The teacher cannot be expected to make all these transitions when knowledge of subject matter and teaching techniques are not strong. And most importantly, the text should be constructed so that the student can master the transfer process independent of the teacher as it is more than likely his parents or a tutor will be helping him.

The major thrust of education in Egypt in the past 30 years has been to increase the enrollment and resources. The second thrust has been to provide practical skills and technical knowledge enabling

the graduates to meet the country's developmental needs and to provide them with marketable skills. There has been a consistent emphasis on technical training in the past 30 years and currently the World Bank projects have focused solely on this area. The machinery and buildings are financed but the teacher training and texts have been so narrow in focus that only a specific skill has been taught, neglecting cultural and societal knowledge. If this is not considered as a component of the technical training programs, technical education will serve no better purpose than it did under Mohammed Ali or the British. The graduates will not have a cultural foundation and thus lack a basis from which to integrate secular and religious factions in the country. This is not to say that cultural education is ignored in the technical high schools administered by the Ministry of Labor. However the specificity of the materials and the accelerated teacher training program makes this a danger to consider.

It is no secret what makes an effective educational system: strong administrative leadership at the local and national level, shared goals, high expectations, parental involvement, competent and committed teachers and motivated students. Egyptian students are initially motivated as they view education as a means for social status and security. They become disenchanted when they find the government positions awaiting them in the public sector, while secure, pay significantly less than the private sector jobs. It is not unusual to find a young girl taking a secretarial certificate course while remaining in a university in order to insure that she has the status of a university degree and potentially the money from a private sector job. Furthermore, competent and committed teachers are necessary. The L.E.50-60 a primary or secondary teacher earns does not enable him or her to survive. So they tutor, drive taxis before and after school or leave for more lucrative positions inside the country. The parental involvement in school is overwhelming particularly in the area of tutoring their children. It is almost as if the children attend school but the responsibility for their achievement rests with the parents. Even a poor man must find the money to have a son's test grade raised and buy military uniforms for other sons in school. (Abdul Karim, Doorman, 1983, personal interview) The commitment of the parents reflects the high expectations they have from education. The

goals shared by parents and students alike are that education will enable them to lead a better life economically and personally.

And, at this time, the educational system is overwhelmed by the country's greatest resource--people. One out of every seven Egyptians is in some educational institution--a testimony to both the youthfulness of the population and the effort to educate them. The Egyptian people are the country's untapped resource. As a people, they are kind, co-operative and respectful of others and of authority. Both cultural values and encouragement of their families makes them eager to learn and this quest for knowledge is a challenge the country must meet--not only to provide them with access to education but also with skills and values which prepare the young to meet the challenges facing their country.

The leaders who are directing the educational process are primarily at the national level. Local principals and school officials have little to say about the curriculum, national exams or discipline. How much can be done by central educational administration when qualified local administrators are not given the power to appropriately adapt administrative policy is a significant question. There is no academic administration training available in any university. This means that all school administrators currently employed have had to learn management, budgeting and building operation on site. There are some excellent local administrators who were able to acquire this knowledge on their own. There is no reason to believe that other administrators might not prove just as efficient if they were given some support and guidance through on site training. The administrators, teachers and textbooks are the infrastructure of the educational system and they have been neglected in the national education perspective.

The problem of education in Egypt and to a greater or lesser degree in all countries has been the applicability of skills learned in school to the survival needs of the individual and the country. Presently, knowledge acquired through education has not enabled some individuals to reap sufficient economic rewards due to the employment process, the need to use English, and the competition resulting from overpopulation. For example, even the most intelligent, and most highly educated physicians find it difficult to afford clinics, work for low

salaries in the government as required, or extract high fees from poor clients. Their efficiency is thwarted by the social, economic, and political structure. On the other hand, the society cannot operate efficiently without skilled agriculturalists, doctors, plumbers and mechanics. Graduates of these disciplines who are unable to satisfactorily apply their skills in present day situations meet no needs--even if the number graduated meets the number required in the country.

The present problems of education in Egypt are painful, immediate and potentially explosive. They are painful as effort is expended on all levels by and for students who are generally highly motivated. The documented wastage of drop-outs, misplacement in occupations, and graduates who are unable to perform is painful to both the graduates and society as a whole. The immediacy of the problems have been emphasized by the reorganization plan which is comprehensive and effects all levels of primary and secondary education. In this effort, the 17 multi-targeted programs were all scheduled to begin in the 1981-82 academic year. These programs began without sufficient funding, underscoring the commitment of the government and the seriousness with which the educational issues are perceived. Education cannot be denied to all who view it as their right. And yet, when they become aware of the limited rewards and usefulness of their knowledge, they may become disenchanted with the current social system. In a country where a large portion of the population is under 25, a poorly educated or dissatisfied segment of the population provides a dangerous threat to the stability of the country.

When society is dynamic rather than static, knowledge consists in its translation from the textbook or source to application and the critical evaluation of its appropriateness to societal needs. The students, therefore, should be examined on the application of mastered facts to the functions of society. Unfortunately, this form of education in Egypt has been associated with foreign schools and hence foreign occupation and values. Egyptian nationalism has meant that education remains static in its classroom presentation which has undermined the effectiveness of what students learn when validated through employment competency or the ability to address developmental problems. The tolerance for ambiguity as a result of a number of choices and a number of equally possible solutions will require a new definition and acquisition of

knowledge. The resolution of today's educational conflict is to be found in expanding not only the access and curriculum as has been done in the past but expanding the definition and process of acquiring knowledge.

The resolution of Egypt's educational problems do not, however, require drastic institutional change. The problems have been identified and documented and funding has been solicited. The solutions do not relate to a lack of vision or resources as Egyptians for the last 100 years has been moving in the appropriate direction to find solutions. The emphasis of education in the last 100 years has been to increase enrollment and to thereby increase the literacy and the ease with which societal needs and values can be transmitted. In the final analysis, education in Egypt has identified goals, integrated them into one educational system, and targeted further areas of expansion and interest. She needs only to develop her teachers, pedagogy, examinations, and administrative infrastructure. Primarily by altering the method of presenting the curriculum, the schools can prepare graduates to enter society and adjust to change. The cultural values and content need not be destroyed but they will be questioned. Taha Hussain indicated the religion would be strong enough to endure such inquiry. The instructional method, if altered, would integrate both systems, secular and religious, into an education appropriate for all Egyptians. Security would be maintained and survival enhanced as the knowledge that is taught flows out of the classroom and into the country.

The overwhelming need of the Egyptian is to be secure and survive in a society which has become dynamic rather than static. The educational system with its history of elite and populace divergence has created a country whose people are in conflict with themselves. On one hand are those who have been trained toward obedience and conformity to the religious and cultural heritage of the past. "When stripped down to its bare bones, the bulk of the Islamic militants are intensely nationalistic, from middle-class backgrounds, and have modern educations." (Ibrahim, 1981, p. 94). This population labels as "foreign" changes in social values and behavior which threaten the security of the past. On the other hand are those who have been trained toward an expression of change and, for want of another word, technology. These graduates have been supported by the World Bank, USAID, and other

foreign sources which have provided alternate models survival. And between these two groups are the Egyptian agrarian and urban poor, accounting for Egypt's increasing economic subsidies and population increase. It is the education of the poor which at this time is receiving the bulk of the attention through Basic Education and other educational reorganization plans. The education of the poor will determine the future stability of the country. The education the poor receive must be closely examined as to its fit into the economic and social needs of the country. It must prepare them with security, pride in their heritage and confidence in the usefulness of their skills in facing the future. It must deny neither the past nor the future in its translation of knowledge to the world in which the young Egyptian must live. Egypt's conflicts are not yet over nor are their resolution in sight. And only when the reconciliation of the cultural dichotomies are begun will the educated Egyptian feel secure and survive well in his society.

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GEORGIE D. M. HYDE

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To all my students in Egypt, England and all parts of the world



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A book of this nature can only be written with the co-operation of many people most of whom, like the teachers and their pupils, who allowed a foreign educationist to listen to lessons, examine exercise books and engage in discussions will inevitably be nameless. Such co-operation, from whatever source is gratefully acknowledged.

Three groups of people made a significant contribution, beginning with those concerned with educational visits, during a period when 'open doors' were still such a novelty that one headmaster, having failed to get in touch with his immediate superior to confirm that the visitor's permit was valid, played for safety by offering her refreshments and allowing her to peer at the girls in their classroom from the bottom of a staircase! I am very grateful to the Minister of Education and the Minister of Higher Education whose permits made it possible to see for myself the normal daily programmes in all types of educational institutions. There were no problems after I had approached Mr Abu Shady, Under Secretary for Education (now Governor of Kafr el-Sheikh), who, assisted by Mrs Mona Kamel arranged visits in the Cairo and Giza governorates to schools of all kinds and literacy and adult centres. A very interesting and fruitful period was also spent in Alexandria, thanks to the courtesy of Mr Fahmy Gabr, Under Secretary for Education, and his staff who arranged for visits to Special Schools, literacy centres, including those used for factory workers and adult educational centres. During all my visits arranged by the Ministry there was ample opportunity for meeting officials at all levels to discuss projects, problems and plans. I am also indebted to Dr Bekri, then Director of Sers el-Layyan Centre for inviting me to attend an international conference giving insight into the problems of illiteracy and demonstrating some of the latest methods of dealing with them. The kind provision of transport, not only by the Ministry but also by the Arab Socialist Union is much appreciated.

The material for this book was collected mainly from 1969–75 in

Cairo. During much of this period not only was it difficult to approach busy officials whose resources were stretched on account of the war situation, but, for security reasons, access to government buildings and official documents was, understandably, denied to foreigners. My debt to the local Press during this period is acknowledged throughout this book: the excellent coverage in the field of education is a tribute to the importance attached to it by the Egyptian Government and the Editor of the *Egyptian Gazette*. Permission to use and quote liberally from this excellent source of information and, to a lesser extent from the Arabic newspapers, *al-Ahram* and *al-Gomhoureya*, has added flesh to the bones of official literature. The latter, however, provide the core of information, supported by interviews with busy officials at the ministries and other government offices notably Professor Dr Shafik Balba'a, Secretary General, Supreme Council of the Universities; Dr M. Saber Selim, Director, Science Department ALECSO; and, at the Ministry of Education: Mr Mansour Hussain, Under Secretary; Dr Mohamed Mahmoud Radwan, First Under Secretary and President of the Teachers' Association; and Dr Fouad el-Bahey el-Sayed, Director, National Council for Educational Research, all of whom spared the time to answer innumerable questions.

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GEORGIE D. M. HYDE
Reigate, Surrey and Cairo, Egypt

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The Ministry of Information, Cairo were extremely helpful in supplying documents and information including documents obtained from the Ministries of Education and the Supreme Council for the Universities, including reports, plans, tables, etc. Reports include those of the Ministry of Education and al-Azhar, the National Centre for Educational Research, the Unedbas Mission to the Arab Republic of Egypt concerning the reorganization of secondary education (1975) and the World Bank survey of Egyptian education (1975), ministerial decrees and issues; republican laws, issues and decrees, government and ministerial plans, university calendars for Cairo and Ain Shams; *The National Charter* (1962), *The October Working Paper* (1974).

The newspapers the *Egyptian Gazette* (1969–75 and 1913), *al-Ahram* and *al-Gomhoureya*.

World education series

The volumes in the World Education Series will treat national systems of education and, where appropriate, features of different systems within a particular region. These studies are intended to meet the needs of students of comparative education in university departments and schools of education and colleges of education and will supplement the growing volume of literature in the field. They may also appeal to a wider lay audience interested in education abroad.

As an area study of a national system each volume presents an accurate, reasonably up-to-date account of the most important features of the educational system described. Among these are the ways in which the school system is controlled, financed and administered. Some account is given of the various kinds of school within the system and the characteristics of each of them. The principles of curriculum organization and some aspects of teacher education are outlined. Of more interest, however, is the analysis which is made in each volume of the unique national characteristics of an educational system, seen in the context of its history and the sociological, economic and political factors which have in the past and continue now to influence educational policy.

The assumption behind the series is, however, that common socio-economic and educational problems find unique expression in a particular country or region, and that a brief analysis of some major national issues will reveal similarities and differences. Thus, while in each case the interpretation of policies and practices is based on the politics of education, the interpretative emphasis will vary from one country to another.

The framework of analysis for each volume is consequently the same, attention being drawn in the first section to the legal basis of educational provision, followed in the second section by an analysis of the political considerations which have and do influence the formulation, adoption and implementation of policy. The role of political parties is described

where appropriate and the influence of the church or churches on policy examined. Attention too is given to the activities of pressure groups at national, regional and local levels. Changing industrial, urban and familial patterns are used to show how educational needs are in process of change and what difficulties arise when innovations are attempted. Again, each author touches on the extent to which economic resources affect the implementation of policy. The analysis relates principally to the thirty-year period between 1945 and 1975 but relevant aspects of the pre-Second World War period are described and the chains of events are seen in historical perspective.

Finally, in the third section some account is given of problems which arise within the educational system itself. Those which appear to the author of particular interest and importance have been treated in some depth. Others have been referred to so that readers may consult other sources of information if they wish. Broad problem areas in education have, however, been identified. The points of transition within a system between the first and second and between the second and third stages of education give rise to problems of selection and allocation. Under conditions of expansion, created by explosions of population and aspirations, traditional solutions are often thought to be no longer adequate. The attempts made to meet these new situations are described. So too are the relationships and debates about them, between the various types of school at different levels of education. For example what are the possibilities of transfer between academic, general and technical/vocation schools at the second stage of education? And where these different types have been replaced by some form of common or comprehensive school what kinds of differentiation exist within the single school? At the third level of higher education what relationships exist between institutions providing general education, professional training and research opportunities? In some systems a form of dual control is growing up with the universities retaining much of their traditional autonomy and the technological institutes and teacher education institutions increasingly feeling the influence of government agencies. Again, after a process of differentiation in course content in the first stage of higher education there is now a tendency for the first year (or two) of college or university work to be regarded as a preparatory year (or years) with common or somewhat similar courses of studies for all students.

Particular attention has been paid to the problems which arise in the

area of teacher education. Movements in most countries are in the direction of bringing together the previously separate systems of training for elementary and secondary school teachers. Common entrance prerequisites to different training institutions may now be required. Where this is not yet the case training colleges usually make it possible for students to obtain, during the course of their studies, a certificate which grants entry to the university and highest (in prestige and status) forms of teacher education. The place of teacher education in the structure of higher education is, in short, discussed in each of the volumes. So are debates about curricular content and methods of certification.

Finally, some attention is given to the interaction of the schools and other social agencies. Among these the health services, youth organizations, the family, the Church, industry and commerce have been regarded as important. Where special note is not taken of such institutions the impact they have in the schools is dealt with throughout the volume as a whole.

The framework in short is intended to facilitate cross cultural studies through the series as a whole. Basic educational legislation is referred to in the belief that it gives the most reliable and valid source of national goals or aims in education. The problems of putting these into effective action are socio-economic-political and educational. Comparisons can be made, therefore, between the aims of education as expressed in national legislation and between the main factors which inhibit or facilitate practical provisions in accordance with these aims.

BRIAN HOLMES
General Editor

General editor's introduction

In twenty-five years the leaders and people of Egypt have achieved a great deal. After the 1952 Revolution the new government embarked upon a whole series of measures designed to modernize the country. Government initiatives had to be taken against a background of centuries of tradition and the influence of colonial powers. The educational system, in particular, had been profoundly influenced by French and British missionaries and by educational practices in these two countries. The political revolution and complete independence did not of themselves solve everything. Successful modernization depends in the long run on the skill with which new ideas and patterns of behaviour are incorporated into traditional frameworks without alienating the majority of citizens. In Egypt, as elsewhere, the key to modernization has been the application of science and technology in the interests of industrialization and scientific socialism. In response to this need, changes in educational policy and practice have been inevitable. The analysis made by Professor Hyde of the constraints surrounding the rapid and successful transformation of the educational system has relevance for most countries pursuing policies of 'modernization'.

The relationship between higher education and economic development is fairly obvious. In Egypt universities have been expanded, new departments and institutes have been set up and attempts have been made to plan research and development. A National Planning Committee and the Academy of Scientific Research have been involved in policy formulation and the organization of research. Under a Supreme Council for the Universities, existing and new universities are free to conduct their affairs within budgets allocated by the government. There has, of course, been a shift of emphasis from the humanities to the applied sciences – engineering, agriculture and medicine. Development has been planned to meet the need for more and more technologists. A striking feature of university expansion has been the way in which al-Azhar University, which in 1952 had faculties of Islamic law,

Q'ranic studies and Arabic language and literature, has been brought into the mainstream of development. It flourishes under a Ministry of al-Azhar Affairs as a testimony to the fact that Islam, the declared state religion, thrives in modern secular Egypt.

It is, therefore, less to Islam that we should turn than to the economic and political problems post-1952 leaders faced as we seek to assess the success of plans to improve the educational system. Foreign political influences had encouraged the growth of English medium secondary schools. Success in the preparatory departments of these language schools ensured admission to government secondary schools and subsequently to the universities. Life chances in the civil service were greatly enhanced. Thus while some progress had been made by 1952 towards the creation of a system of free primary schooling, illiteracy rates were very high and the proportion of children who failed to complete the course (wastage) was also very high. Traditional opposition to the education of girls and women had to be overcome. Differences of provision between rural and city areas had to be ironed out. Attitudes to skilled and semi-skilled work in industry had to be transformed. The status and prestige enjoyed by white collar jobs had somehow to be modified. The domination of examinations had to be reduced in spite of the fact that they provide clear incentives to students and measures of success for teachers. Consumer preference for 'general' rather than 'technical' courses has not been easily changed in spite of the needs of industrialization. The more adequate education and training of teachers have been issues of concern to government planners. There has also been some attempt to reduce the power of the central authorities in the interests of local participation. As in many countries the constraints have been considerable and planners have had to face difficulties created by the need to pursue simultaneously rather conflicting aims in education, namely the provision of education to all as a human right and the need to allocate resources to education in a way which will best serve the aims of economic development.

Success itself has created problems. Many well-trained graduates have chosen to seek employment abroad, thus depriving the country of the trained manpower it needs. Such a 'brain drain' is a common feature. On the other hand the government's policy of seconding trained personnel to other countries has been most generous and, in the long run, imaginative. In the short term it has placed additional strains on the educational system. These circumstances have given Egypt a key role to

play in the Arab world. The succession of wars has made further demands on an economy in which vast differences exist between rural and city life and between illiterate peasants and the educated professional class. Some, but not all, of these difficulties are common to most developing countries.

It is, of course, because many of the problems faced by educationists in Egypt are found elsewhere that this case study has wider relevance. If the problems faced and the conditions under which they are found can be replicated in many parts of the world, this case study illustrates very clearly the particular responses made by Egyptians to the challenge to modernize. Their aims have not been significantly different from those expressed elsewhere since 1945. They have been to raise standards of living for the mass of people, to create new and just political systems and to provide education as a human right. A comparison of the policies adopted to achieve these aims and the success and failure of them is of considerable interest to Comparative Educationists. Many of the problems known to us in the early 1950s have not yet been solved. After twenty-five years of serious and sincere endeavour in Egypt it is not unreasonable to make some assessment of the success and failure of policies adopted and put into practice in that country.

Professor Hyde has made such an assessment. Sympathetic yet critical, the analysis is based on careful research, long experience of the Arab world, a period of teaching recently in the American University in Cairo and many discussions with friends and officials in Egypt. The judgment of Dr El-Koussy is worth repeating. 'This book, which reflects a high degree of objectivity, fairness and sincerity in the educational cause will be welcomed in Egypt for the analytic overview of the Egyptian educational system it provides.' I think it will do this and more. It should have considerable appeal to all those who are committed to the 'planned development of education' who yet wish to evaluate critically success and the conditions under which failures in planning are likely to occur. It illustrates the areas in which policies are likely to succeed and draws attention to the reasons for delays in the realization of the hopes of educationists and the expectations of parents and pupils. As a case study of a system of education which has been 'planned' after the overthrow of a political system, it adds a new dimension to the volumes published in this World Education Series. Hopefully it will provide a model which subsequent authors can follow.

BRIAN HOLMES



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Preface

by Dr A. A. El-Koussy
Ain Shams University, Cairo

There is a feeling among educators nowadays that if you write about education in a newly developing country you must hasten to publish it before it gets out-of-date. This actually happens even with accounts in the international, regional and national statistical handbooks. Professor Hyde's book succeeds in delineating the educational picture of modern Egypt within the last twenty-five years by showing its dynamics, its historical background and its future possibilities. By making this approach she has brought into relief the main trends and characteristics, thus overcoming the above difficulty.

The author took as a landmark the 1952 Revolution which radically changed the whole life and politics of the Egyptian people. She assumes that great political movements are usually accompanied by radical educational changes to help solidify and support the new régime. Indeed education in Egypt in 1952 has been given, as she records, a top priority among the various activities of the country, accelerating by leaps and bounds the progress already made following the establishment of the first Egyptian Constitution in 1923.

Progress does not mean that we are not aware of the handicaps and obstacles. There are still children of school age who are not registered in schools, while schools and universities are congested with students in numbers outweighing the facilities and resources, both human and material. These are scarce in a country that has faced five big wars in twenty-five years. To this problem must be added that of the large proportion of children under fifteen years of age (45 per cent as compared with 20 to 30 per cent in developed countries) which makes necessary a competitive examination system, with all its drawbacks. These problems are clarified in this book.

Professor Hyde has worked in education for about twenty years in the Middle East, culminating in her experience at the American University in Cairo, where she has both contributed and extended her knowledge of Arab culture and the Arab way of life, which she has

learned to understand and appreciate. Her wide travel and varied experiences in other parts of the world provide a frame of reference for her studies of Egyptian education made after many personal visits to schools and educational institutions to collect data. She is well qualified to produce this present study, which, had it been written by an Egyptian educator, would probably have reflected either sympathy or involvement with the system, thereby satisfying some Egyptian educators while making others over-critical. (This characteristic is not confined to Egypt, but appears to be universal.) It is better for such a book to be written by a candid observer from outside, whose scientific standpoint is less influenced by personal involvements and sympathies.

This book, which reflects a high degree of objectivity, fairness and sincerity in the educational cause will be welcomed in Egypt for the analytic overview of the Egyptian educational system it provides. It will also be welcomed in other Arab and other developing countries since it presents a comprehensive case study with both diagnosis and prognosis of a sister country. The work will also be a good source for educators in other parts of the world, particularly those interested in comparative research. It will help them to appreciate the contribution of Egypt to the enrichment of mankind in general.

I

The context of education in modern Egypt

Introduction

Prelude to the Revolution

After nine years of British rule, in 1923, Egypt became nominally independent and achieved her first written Egyptian constitution. In theory she was to be ruled by a constitutional monarchy, with power residing in the people, but in practice the king had not only executive authority but legislative power. Most of his subjects were illiterate peasants living a feudal-type existence in the thousands of small hamlets throughout Egypt. Their political awareness was minimal. Qubain (1969), Ammar (1966), Taha Husayn (1948), and other writers of the period have described how their lives were governed by an unwritten common law developed through customs, practices and traditions of their families, villages and religious bodies, 'sources of law which they could recognize and obey loyally because they emanated from their own environment' (Qubain). The most powerful influence, the Moslem religion, pervaded every aspect of their lives although already Islam was becoming increasingly subservient to the state, its law, through foreign influence, being superseded by civil law.

Other agents of change were at work. Internal migration (estimated at about ten million during the first half of the century) increased after the Second World War, owing to the depressed conditions of agriculture following disruptions of trade. The tendency of industry and new services to concentrate in the larger towns made them attractive to job-hunters, creating all the socio-economic problems attendant to the rapid expansion of an urban population, unskilled and disorganized, lacking the leadership, protection and neighbourhood sanctions of their previous mode of life. It was the disillusionment, resentment and misery of these masses, whose slum dwellings in crowded quarters contrasted painfully with the spacious homes and the amenities enjoyed not only by city Egyptians but by foreigners, that sparked off the riots of Black Sunday in Cairo during January 1952.

Meanwhile, at the other end of the social scale, the politically orientated intelligentsia suffered disillusionment with what claimed to be a liberal, democratic régime. Although three-fifths of the Senate were elected by a form of universal suffrage, the king could exercise a veto, adjourn parliament and rule by decrees or prevent the leaders of the elected party from forming a government or maintaining it. This treatment was experienced by the popular Wafd party, which, says Qubain (1969), 'was suspended in 1930 and nullified by imposition of martial law eleven out of the fifteen years between 1937 and 1952'.

Gamal Abdul Nasser, who organized the 'Free Officers' movement from among his fellow students at the Military Academy in 1942, had ten years in which to study and learn from Egypt's two previous attempts at revolution. He concluded that they had failed because they surrendered to a 'pseudo-democracy' of alien origin which failed to break the tyranny of feudalism and was dominated by a ruling class which was insensitive to the sufferings and misery of the masses. For Nasser political freedom was meaningless unless combined with economic and social freedom.

After the military junta had declared the 1923 Constitution abolished in favour of rule by decree, the monarchy itself (which at first had been preserved by Farouk's abdication in favour of his infant son) was abolished and a republic declared. All political parties were dissolved and their properties sequestrated. A committee of lawyers was given three years to draw up a new constitution under a new one-party government consisting mainly of members of the Revolutionary Command Council.

The state of education in 1952

The 'wind of change' had also reached the educational world by 1952, the main advance since independence in 1923 being in the field of primary education, which had been so badly neglected during the British occupation. The new Egyptian government had inherited a system of education virtually unchanged since 1836, when Mohammed ʿAli created a modern European-type system to exist side by side with the traditional religious system dominated by al-Azhar. Certain characteristics of this system persisted not just till Egypt received her independence, but until, under Nasser's influence, al-Azhar came to terms with modernization.

Mohammed 'Ali's plans for Egypt, embracing a strong modern army, scientifically equipped modern factories for spinning and weaving to replace small home industries and a strong fleet to protect the Eastern Mediterranean, could not be carried out by Egyptians lacking scientific training, so he not only provided modern colleges to fill the educational gap but also sent students on educational missions abroad and invited European teachers to Egypt. His educational ladder in terms of priorities thus began at the top, with secondary schools created to supply college students and, in time, primary schools to feed the secondary schools. It is not surprising that enlightened educators ever since have had a tough time trying to create an image of the primary school as an institution in its own right, serving the developmental needs of its pupils rather than what El-Koussy referred to as 'a miniature version of a secondary school'.

During the British occupation the number of secondary schools was increased by benevolent organizations, the medium of instruction being English, which facilitated the employment of their students in the Civil Service. These private schools, which were mainly run by foreign communities, were known as language schools or mission schools. Their modern curricula gave them great prestige, so their primary sections fed the government secondary schools as well as the private schools while their secondary sections led to the higher professions and many well-paid government posts. During this period they were completely independent.

There was no expansion of government non-fee-paying elementary education until the Egyptian Constitution made it compulsory from six to twelve years, a declaration of intent not likely to be fully realized until half a century later. However, in spite of the setbacks resulting from the king's interference with government, solid progress was made to give the intelligent poor at least a chance to step on the modern educational ladder. There was a marked increase in the percentage of the Budget used for elementary education, 15 per cent in 1920, 39 per cent in 1945 (El-Koussy, 1953). The gradual removal of the second-language teaching from the primary school made transfer from elementary to primary school possible and by 1945 elementary pupils were able to compete in the primary school examination for secondary places. The abolition of primary-school fees, including payment for school books, materials and school meals in 1949, created a single status school at this stage, resulting in a rush not only for primary school places but

for places in the government's kindergartens. It is significant that Egypt, prior to 1952, had started on the road to free education, which, in view of her rapidly increasing population and limited finances, inevitably led to at least the temporary lowering of standards. One immediate effect was the law in 1951 confirming that formal education was compulsory and free from six to twelve years. This meant the closure of some excellent kindergartens which had been staffed by Egyptians trained in England and the inclusion of six-year-olds in the primary schools, whose class numbers expanded rapidly with increasing demand. This was an inevitable retrogressive step.

Other trends which would be developed by the future revolutionary government were the increasing attention paid to technical education, which in 1951 became part of the secondary system, and the increased provision for the education of girls, whose numbers had doubled since 1945. A variety of education schools for the training of teachers had been established, including a special institution for training rural teachers in what were considered appropriate skills for the sons of fellahin (peasants), but the point of entry was completion of a primary school education.

In 1952 Cairo University had four faculties, Alexandria University was established and a new university, Ibrahim Pasha (shortly to be renamed Ain Shams), had been opened in 1950. Subjects involving sciences, such as medicine and engineering, were taught but 'modernization' had not yet become the key word in higher education. The Science Faculty at Cairo University had already been strengthened by the incorporation of three notable institutes, the Helwan Observatory, the Institute of Oceanography and the Desert Institute of Egypt. The modern universities, however, served an élite aristocracy and, to a lesser extent, the upper middle classes, who could afford to pay the fees. They alone of educational institutions were allowed to operate under their own laws. The Ministry of Education, which had passed entirely into Egyptian hands had made some attempt at decentralization by creating educational zones, each with its bureaucratic hierarchy. However, the Directors' power was limited, the Ministry having complete control not only of manpower and finance but of detailed curricula, textbooks, examinations and discipline.

To summarize, far-reaching reforms had been made in education since Egypt had attained independence, but long-term planning had been minimal: the many inadequacies included money, well-trained

and specialized teachers and administrative staff, buildings and equipment. Writing just before the Revolution, El-Koussy (1953), stated,

> one of the greatest hindrances to all progress lies in our inability to reconcile the two main educational theories, the one demanding that plans for reform should start with quantitative development, in the belief that quality will follow; the other advocating initial concentration on quality and the setting of a high standard, with quantitative development to follow. Future leaders will have to serve both ends simultaneously and will have to attack the self-defeating factors in an effective way.

The Constitution of 1956

By 1956 the Revolutionary government under the leadership of President Abdul Nasser was ready to incorporate in a new constitution the basic principles to guide the new republic. Egypt was formally declared to be a sovereign Arab state, a democratic republic and an integral part of the 'Arab nation'. Sovereignty belonged to the people, Islam was the religion of the state and Arabic became the official language. To preserve its sovereignty and independence, imperialism and its agents would need to be eradicated and a strong national army established. The democratic ideal would be pursued by breaking the bonds of feudalism, ending monopolies and controlling the influence of capitalism over the system of government. Social justice would be the right of every citizen.

Some post-revolutionary issues and their implication for education

National integration

It is self-evident that national integration becomes a priority in the political programme of a revolutionary leader or party to ensure that the new régime lives long enough to carry out the policies designed to change the conditions that led to revolution. This is particularly so in the case of a country like Egypt whose 'Free Officers' achieved their initial success without the civil war and mass executions of opponents typical of so many other revolutions.

The post-revolutionary issues are all concerned with the problem of finding a common ground between sections of the population that, historically speaking, had little in common but their faith in God. As the Revolution was the enemy of social and economic as well as political evils, appropriate legislation would inevitably benefit one section of the population at the expense of another. Integration could only take place if national pride could reconcile the interests of those who would materially lose on the deal, with the masses who for centuries had been so fully occupied with economic survival that a change of government was less important than a change of master. President Nasser had much to say about the failure of the 1919 popular revolutionary movement which, he said, resulted in a 'sham democracy' of reactionaries. The Constitution of 1956 demanded that disparate elements be integrated and authority shifted in the direction of social justice.

Secularization

Until the Revolution, the integrating factor not only in Egypt but the whole Arab world had been Islam, which had been a whole way of life covering not just personal conduct and relationships but legal, political, social, economic and educational aspects. There were still those who thought that an Egyptian 'renascence' implies a return to a strict adherence to the Islamic faith and practice. This belief had been reinforced by the temporary successes of the Moslem Brotherhood, but Islam was regarded by Nasser, himself a devout Moslem, as inadequate to deal with problems of Western origin. Sharabi (1966), points out that it was the political disintegration of the Ottoman Empire that made possible the separation of the functions of church and state, which, in turn, made compatible the existence of socialism and Islam. In his view disintegration of the Islamic hold resulted not only from the decline of Islamic Law but also from the secularization of education which began with the introduction of technical schools and Christian missionary schools. The exact role and function of Islam in the modern Egyptian educational system was an issue to be resolved in the next few years, but in 1956 it was clearly given the status of state religion.

Education of the masses

The 1956 Constitution declared that sovereignty belongs to the

'people', that is, to every Egyptian subject, male or female, including the 75 per cent who at that time constituted the illiterate masses. The preparation of these citizens (on whom, ultimately, the success of the Revolution would depend), for carrying out their democratic responsibilities was a crucial issue. The failure of previous governments to provide a good public educational system was regarded by educationists, economists and politicians alike as the main cause for Egypt's backwardness. Radwan (1951), describes an education system in which the only provision for the majority of Egypt's fast-increasing population was 'on the job' training in the field or workshop, which enabled the trainee to earn enough to cover his daily needs of food, shelter and clothing. This he calls 'education for serfdom'.

The status quo was fortified by religion, politics, extremes of poverty and riches and the social class system which kept the masses of people 'in that state of life to which it had pleased God to call them'. The land system was one of private ownership, and, says Mabro, even after legislation to improve the fellah's lot there was 'no extension service, no attempts to expand education in the villages'. After Egyptian independence some attempt was made to improve the quantity and quality of rural education but it was inadequate in both directions. The economy played its part in resisting change. According to Mabro,

> In 1952, before the land reform, 2,000 owners held 19·7 per cent of the total area, some 1,177,000 feddans [acres]. At the other end of the spectrum more than 2 million persons owned between themselves 778,000 feddans or 13 per cent of the total area. These owners were virtually landless; some lived in the towns or worked in the villages having leased their plots to neighbours or relatives; others rented land to supplement their holdings. Finally, landless peasants formed a sizeable group estimated at 1·3 million families.

For the Revolutionary Government a crucial issue was therefore the raising of the standard of living of the mass of the people, freeing them from the bonds of feudalism and providing them with enough education to acquire both practical skills that would benefit themselves and the state and political skills that would enable them to carry out their democratic function.

Land reform, involving a re-distribution of wealth was inevitable if this were to be achieved, but it had to be done without disrupting pro-

duction and marketing. For a full account, Mabro (1974), gives excellent coverage. For the present purpose, a few points (summarized from Mabro) will suffice. The Land Reform Law of 1952 fixed a 200-feddan [acre] ceiling on personal ownership, (extended to 300 if there were wives and children), amended to 100 in 1961 and 50 in 1969. Until 1953, landlords could sell excess land. Terms of compensation under 1961 law were generous (4 per cent interest and fifteen years' redemption) but in 1964 all interest payments were discontinued, the bonds becoming irredeemable and completely worthless. The Agrarian Reform Authority concentrated on the requisition and re-distribution of land together with the organization of co-operatives. The land was to be distributed in small lots of 2 to 5 feddans, depending on the quality and needs of the beneficiaries, priority being given to permanent workers of the estate, then farmers with large families and then the poorest members of the village, all of whom had to pay the compensation (later reduced to a half, then a quarter), over thirty years (later lengthened to forty), and pay the annual interest of 3 per cent and 15 per cent charges (both abolished in 1964). The agrarian reform laws since the 1960s have been used to compensate families of officers or soldiers who fought in Yemen or the wars against Israel as well as graduates from agricultural schools and faculties. Distributions are currently being made following the reclamation of land in the Delta and desert areas. No beneficiary can sell, sublet or subdivide the land and 'all are required by law to join a co-operative society which assumed, under the direction of an official, some of the functions of the displaced landlord – provision of inputs and credit, marketing of the crop and maintenance of fixed equipment, mainly irrigation pumps. . . . Minimum daily wages were stipulated' (Mabro, Chapter 4).

The co-operatives (which, in time, were extended to embrace new industries as well as agriculture) were designed to take care of basic skills necessary for subsistence living, but society would never become integrated at this level. The urgent need was for universal literacy and a basic education that would enable the highly intelligent among the workers to qualify for the various grades of management. The literacy drives and legislation to give every Egyptian child a free and compulsory education are described in the following chapters. The development of their political skills would result from their new and important status in the community under the guidance and patronage (in its best sense) of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU).

The role of the Arab Socialist Union

Apart from his own charismatic personality, the Arab Socialist Union was Nasser's special contribution to integration. After winning the power struggle he had abolished not only political parties but any other organization that might become a political liability. There were still potential opponents, such as the Moslem Brotherhood; power had to be centralized while the new régime developed policies and strategies. The Suez Canal crisis in 1956 added a new dimension to his struggle, strengthening his belief that Egypt's internal problems stemmed from the evils of imperialism and its agents. His success enhanced his image not only in Egypt but in the whole Arab world: the time was ripe to mobilize not only the economic social assets of the country but its manpower resources. In 1961 the former was achieved by the nationalization of leading industrial and economic enterprises and the latter by the organization of the Arab Socialist Union. (It is significant that it was not named the 'Egyptian Socialist Union' underlining the 1956 Constitution declaration that Egypt was 'an integral part of the "Arab nation" '.) It was re-organized again in 1968, a new National Assembly being elected from its members.

The Arab Socialist Union, often referred to as the 'working alliance' represents the interests of the entire labour force of Egypt: farmers, workers, intellectuals, national capitalists, members of organized professions, the armed forces and even students. It is therefore a vast structure at times duplicating the normal functions of trade, professional and political organizations.* No other political body is tolerated but trade and professional groups such as co-operative societies and the Teachers' Syndicate which exist side by side with the ASU are represented on its committees. For example, the Teachers' Syndicate is affiliated with the ASU Committee for Education and some members hold office in both organizations. Parliament is not an ASU body, nor are its members elected to represent the ASU as such, but, as Egypt is a one-party state, in practice no one becomes a member of parliament who has not previously been selected for office at some level by the ASU. The two organizations are co-ordinated by a parliamentary com-

* The party system was re-introduced in 1976 (see pp. 208–9). The special role of the ASU is in process of being defined.

mittee. There appears to be some overlap of functions, but whereas parliament legislates, the ASU is largely an executive body. The President works with a consultative committee consisting of four leaders: the Deputy President, the Prime Minister (selected by the President), the Head of Parliament (elected by the members of parliament) and the ASU leader. In matters affecting the interest or welfare of the masses, it is the ASU leader who is charged with carrying out the policy. For example, in the literacy campaign, the ASU were made responsible for the population at large, that is, those who are not workers in the public sector of industry or a government department. In 1960, under a law for the re-organization of the Press, the ASU had the responsibility of forming a Higher Council of the Press which would guarantee support for ideological and political sentiments in line with socialism. (This interpretation of 'complete freedom of the Press' has since been amended.) Another important function of the ASU is to develop popular organizations and syndicates which can be used as sounding-boards for the feelings of the members. As observed by Abd-el-Rahman (1974), 'The development of such movements is an endless source to the conscious leadership that directly receives the reactions and responses of the masses.' More directly the working population can make its voice heard through the hierarchical structure of the ASU. Any group of persons in a village, public organization, factory, occupation, geographical area, etc. can be set up as a 'basic unit' or 'conference' which elects a committee of one-third of its members every other year. The committee, with the help of the secretary and his assistant and, if desired, sub-committees, is responsible both for receiving and carrying out directives of the Higher Committee of the ASU and for sending it monthly reports of activities. At the next level is the conference and committee of the ASU for the city, district or organization which comprises more than one basic unit. The 'conference' is made up of all the 'committees' in the basic unit and, in turn it elects its own committee. This pattern is repeated, forming larger and more responsible circles until the level is reached of the General National Congress and the Committee of the ASU for the Republic, which is the highest authority. From its General Committee is elected the Higher Executive Committee which is a decision-making body with a Secretary-General and a Secretariat with thirteen departments. This complicated structure is described by Abd-el-Rahman as 'The authority which represents the people striving to accomplish the Revolution's

potentialities and safeguarding its true democratic values'. It is a structure, in fact, that can be accommodated to extreme centralization or an extremely democratic process. Its potential for indoctrination and informal education of Egypt's liberated serfs cannot be over-estimated.

The revival of Arabic

Language has always been a unifying and integrating factor in national movements, notably in the unification of Italy and of Germany in the nineteenth century. Gaining the support of the masses has involved educating them in the vernacular, which wins in the linguistic battle of survival by sheer force of the numbers for whom it is the only means of communication. For hundreds of years the Egyptian people were governed by foreigners who did not attempt to study Arabic, a difficult, oriental language with a classical structure, using its unique alphabet from right to left. It was kept alive in its pure form as the sacred language of Islam, the vehicle for worship in the mosque, for the Holy Q'ran and Hadeeth, the Islamic Law and doctrines and a vast literature of poetry and prose to delight and tease Arab scholars. After the opening of modern Language Schools, the middle classes, like the aristocracy, showed their superiority by conversing in the European language in which they had been educated, while their illiterate servants communicated in a local Arabic dialect having what Bernstein describes as a 'restricted' vocabulary adulterated (or enriched, depending on the point of view), by words acquired during successive foreign occupations. All were familiar with the Q'ran, which is daily broadcast from the mosques.

Szyliowicz (1973), points out that Mohammed 'Ali's school system which used Arabic as the medium of instruction was an early factor in integrating a new Egyptian administrative élite, which in time achieved equality of status with the ruling Turco-Circassian group. He states that

> the decision to use Arabic in the schools was, in fact, based upon the simple consideration that the majority of students knew only that language, but the consequences were far-reaching, for the existing dichotomy of language and culture was destroyed. Until now, communications between the ruling class, which spoke Ottoman Turkish, and the Egyptians, who spoke Arabic, had been severely limited, thus maintaining societal cleavages and restricting

> the opportunities for mobility. Now the foundations were laid for the emergence of Arabic as the national language and, in time, for the cultural integration of society. . . . in 1858 it was decreed that all official correspondence be conducted in Arabic. . . .Within a few decades Arabic completely replaced Turkish, thus signifying that a circulation of élites had taken place within the Egyptian bureaucracy.

Before the end of the century, intellectuals like al-Afghani, Abdu and Lutfi al-Sayyid not only expressed the new nationalist spirit in their writings, but came to grips with the problem of adapting an ancient language to mass media such as the Press and school. Newspapers had only been intelligible to a small literate section of the population, but reforms in the Arabic language, mainly associated with the work of Rifa'ah Rafi al-Tahtawi, drew the attention of orientalists and Arabs themselves to the scope and flexibility of the language. Hourani (in Ahmed, 1960) claims that Rifa'ah was the first Egyptian who saw Egypt as a nation distinct from the general body of the Islamic Community: 'Every land has a planet from whose horizon the sun rises. Our Egypt is the planet of Africa, the highest minaret and the warm sun of its horizon.' More than a century later, President Nasser was to develop this theme.

While Abdu concentrated on the importance of knowledge of Arabic for a revival of Islam and its literature, others, through the Press, which now reached an expanded audience from the new literate class educated in private primary and elementary schools, hoped to influence the public in appreciating the importance of education in the national language as a nationalistic weapon. Somehow the revival of Arabic and traditional ways of learning had to be reconciled with the modern scientific approach of Western cultures. The concept of a modern scientific education using Arabic as the medium of instruction was expressed by Lutfi al-Sayyid in the national newspaper, *al-Jaridah* (12 December 1913, translated by Ahmed, 1960): 'To my mind the preservation of the language and the enthusiasm for serving it by reinvigorating its life through new styles and idioms are proof that a nation has personality and self-respect.' Nearly two decades later the founding of the Academy of the Arabic Language shifted the concept of Divine Revelation to that of scientific analysis of the language, leading to its adaptation to the requirements of modern science and

technology. The Academy, which flourished under the guidance of Egypt's most distinguished scholar, Taha Husayn, now has to its credit not only a standard dictionary of classical literary Arabic based on historical principles, according to the latest lexicographical practice, but a journal of linguistic studies and a library of over ten thousand books. Perhaps its greatest achievement has been to help the establishment of Arabic as, perhaps, the greatest unifying factor not only in Egypt but in the Arab world. Since four years before the Revolution all Egyptian children, whether in state or private schools had to study Arabic, and, since it was made officially the state language in the Constitution of 1956, it has increasingly become a medium of instruction at all levels of education. Although this is politically satisfying and accords with the national pride of the Egyptian people it has created some educational problems which are still being debated.

Modernization

'Modernization' is a complicated concept that can be discussed at all levels ranging from philosophical and psychological attitudes towards living, to the arrangement of desks to form groups rather than rows in the modern classroom. Badeau (1966), describes it as a sociological term implying change: 'a widespread shift in the centre of attention away from the familiar past to the modern, if nebulous, future'. In Egypt it is a key word to describe the application of science and technology, as practised with varying success in the West, and socialism, which draws its inspiration from both East and West, to every aspect of government. The term is used in connection with the administration, the legal system, the economy, industry and agriculture, manpower control, education, insurance, welfare and family planning. The ingredients are familiar: universal compulsory and free education, worker participation, welfare from the cradle to the grave, improved communication, up-to-date laboratories, workshops, equipment of all kinds to facilitate research, scientific and technological education and the training of personnel at home and abroad to provide scientific leadership in all fields and political education at home to ensure that no citizen loses the opportunity of democratic participation.

Such a comprehensive change in the pattern of living must have negative aspects: the old order must be overthrown in order to make way for the new. In Egypt the traditional liberal ideal had been tried

and found inadequate: it has moved to what Badeau calls 'a more radical programme of modernization . . . based on the conviction that there must be a total change in the social structure before a truly progressive modern state can emerge.' The enemies of modernization were seen in Egypt as foreign political domination and the feudalism of church and state, expressed in private ownership of most of the land and the means of production and wealth in general, leaving power in the hands of religious, economic, social and political élites.

The former, constructive aspect has, in Egypt, been given more prominence than the latter, destructive aspect: Islam, written into the Constitution as the state religion, was to be reformed but not destroyed in the process; landowners were to be allowed to keep enough of their feddans to ensure a good life, but they would be expected to use modern methods of increasing production; the private sector whether in industry or commerce or education would be subordinate to the public sector, but its importance in the modernization programmes would ensure not only recognition but survival, where necessary through government aid.

The other characteristic of 'modernization' as interpreted by Egypt arises from her situation geographically and historically in the Middle East. She looks beyond her national boundaries, identifying with whole of the Arab world. Therefore, with the establishment of the Arab League and all its subsidiary organizations, she throws her weight on the side of any modernization programme involving her partners, regardless of differences in political ideology.

Expressed policies

The National Charter, 1962

Looking back on the first ten years of the Egyptian Revolution, President Gamal Abdul Nasser claimed that 'the sole basis of work was the famous six principles carved out of the demands and needs of the people's struggle.' (These were embodied in the Constitution of 1956.) He was confident of ultimate success because 'On that day [23 July 1952] the Egyptian people re-discovered themselves and opened their eyes to their enormous latent potentialities.'

The President then reviewed the circumstances faced by the struggle of the people of Egypt and the steps they took to ensure control of the

production machinery, to dissolve differences among classes as a means to real democracy and to establish new social relations, based on new values to be given expression by a new national culture. In this they were guided by 'a deep consciousness of history and its effect on contemporary man on the one hand, and of the ability of man in turn to influence history, on the other,' and an 'unshakeable faith in God, His Prophets and His sacred messages which He passed on to man as a guide to justice and righteousness'.

The Egyptian Revolution not only turned into a strong driving force providing the whole Arab world with energy and renewed vigour, confirming its unity, but had far-reaching effects on the liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America, while the Battle of Suez helped all oppressed peoples discover infinite latent powers in themselves.

Continuing his review of past events, Nasser defends the necessity of the Revolution resulting from outstanding changes after the Second World War, including other nationalist movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the emergence of a communist camp of enormous force, the great scientific and technological advance suddenly achieved in methods of production and the increasing weight of moral forces in the world, such as those provided by the United Nations Organization, the Non-Aligned States and world opinion. Reverting again to the past struggles of the Egyptian people from the Islamic conquest till modern times, Nasser asserts that, in spite of dreadful experiences, the spirit of the people was never broken; 'the great disasters . . . prompted them to store up energy which they discharged at the appropriate moment.' He then records previous revolutionary efforts and analyses their failures, until the sudden and complete collapse of the system.

The President follows this with an essay on 'true democracy', which must be popular and progressive: 'in the life of a nation, as in the life of an individual, the way to maturity and clarity of vision is through trial and error. . . . Political democracy or freedom in its political aspects are of no value without economic democracy of freedom in its social aspect.' He details the many factors that made a mockery of the 1923 Constitution: the pressures on voters, the open forgery and the buying of votes. Inefficiency and corruption forced thousands of agricultural labourers to live in conditions akin to forced labour in return for starvation wages and no hope for the future. 'Work became a commodity in the production process to be bought by the exploiting capital

at the terms best serving its interests.' Education was subject to the same abuse:

> Successive generations of Egyptian youth were taught that their country was neither fit for nor capable of industrialization. In their textbooks, they read their national history in distorted versions. Their national heroes were described as lost in a mist of doubt and uncertainty while those who betrayed the national cause were glorified and venerated.

Thereafter follows an elaboration of the six basic principles of the new Egyptian democracy.

The next section is on the inevitability of the socialist solution, 'imposed by reality, the broad aspirations of the masses and the changing nature of the world in the second part of the twentieth century. . . . Scientific socialism is the suitable style for finding the right method leading to progress.' The people's control over all the tools of production would be achieved by creating a capable public sector to bear the main responsibility for the development plan and a private sector that would, without exploitation, participate in the development within the framework of the overall plan. Planning must be a 'scientifically organized creative process that would meet the challenges facing our society.' Nasser regarded the July 1961 laws as the biggest triumph of the revolutionary drive in the economic field. These covered the principles of nationalization in the fields of production, industry, trade, finance and land and the opportunities for the private sector. Mistakes might be made through inexperience but 'at any rate it was inevitable that the major national interests should be handed over to the people even at the cost of facing temporary difficulties.'

In the section on 'Production and Society', Nasser stresses the importance of family planning supported by modern scientific methods. Standards of living should be raised 'through economic and social planning without sacrificing the living generations of citizens for the sake of those still unborn.' This could be achieved by doubling the national income every ten years. In agriculture this would not be done by nationalization but by increased individual ownership, supported by means of agricultural co-operation which would enable the farmer to use the most modern machines and scientific means to raise production. (He then gives details of the land reform laws of 1952 and 1961.) It is industry, however that 'is capable of realising the greatest hopes in the

field of social and economic evolution. . . . Only industrial scientific work can explore the wealth of the Egyptian land and exploit its natural and mineral riches to serve progress.' Agricultural and mineral raw materials need local industrialization, providing local work and markets, while consumer industries would lessen the need for imports. Industrial planning would also ensure sources of foreign currency for development. Nasser then discusses the importance of balancing the needs for heavy industry and consumer industry and the position of labour and labour unions in the new system. The importance of an efficient system of transport receives attention. In industry 'the maintenance of the role of the private sector beside that of the public sector, renders control over public ownership more effective . . . by encouraging competition within the framework of the general economic planning'. Foreign capital has also a part to play: foreign aid with no strings attached, unconditional loans with easy repayment are accepted with gratitude and limited foreign investment in unavoidable circumstances. The aim is to use the national wealth to ensure the happiness and well-being of every individual. This involves 'Equality of opportunity' expressed in the right for medical care, including health insurance, the right of an education to suit abilities and talents, the right to a suitable job, insurance against old age and sickness, opportunities that will later enable them to become responsible leaders; in all these women must be regarded as equal to men and free to 'take a constructive and profound part in shaping life', while the family, 'the first cell in society' must be afforded all means of protection. The welfare society is able to formulate new moral values reflected in a free national culture which includes freedom of religious belief, from which is derived the eternal spiritual values, a message of progress and man's right to life and freedom. God in His great wisdom has made equality of opportunity the basis of His judgment of all people. (Then follows an essay on freedom.)

> The freedom of an individual to shape his destiny, to define his position in society, to express his opinion, and by means of his thought and experience and hopes to take an active part in leading and directing the evolution of his society is an inalienable human right which must be protected by law.

The role of the Armed Forces is to protect the progress of social construction against external dangers, so they must be scientifically equipped, but 'We must always bear in mind that the needs of defence

should never have the upperhand of the needs of development.' The aim is 'peace based on justice' but 'our society has to be always ready to support peace by power, for the sake of the freedom of the homeland and the citizen.'

The last three sections of the Charter deal with three subjects very dear to Nasser's heart: the socialist application and its problems, Arab unity and foreign policy. Problems in education arising from the application of socialism are discussed in a later chapter. In general, Nasser's emphasis is on peaceful achievement of his aims: 'The creative energies of peoples can shape the morrow without being driven towards it through mass bloodshed.' This is made possible by scientific progress: 'Organized national action which is based on scientific planning is the path leading to the desired future.' Planning with reference to social and economic objectives 'should be translated into detailed programmes to put within reach of the machinery of production.' These must take count of time limits, allotted investments, quantity and quality as related to time and cost. 'Every citizen should be aware of his defined responsibility in the whole plan, and should be fully conscious of the definite rights he will enjoy in the event of the success of the plan.' He emphasizes that clarity of experience and of thought are essential; the citizen must be able to make sense of the socialist doctrine. Success involves organization to meet the dangers inherent in great periods of social change: 'The greatest means of insurance against these dangers, however, lies in the exercise of freedom, particularly through elected popular councils.' Nasser then discusses at length the importance of freedom of constructive criticism and the mean by which the freedom of the individual can be reconciled to freedom of the leadership. Much attention is also given to the place of science, described as 'the weapon with which revolutionary triumph can be achieved.' Atomic energy for war is not an objective, but for prosperity it is able to perform miracles in the struggle of national development.

Nasser speaks of Arab unity as though, by 1962, it could be almost taken for granted: 'The concept of Arab unity no longer requires a meeting of the rulers of the Arab nation to portray solidarity among the governments. . . . Unity has passed this stage and is identified with Arab existence itself.' The existence of differences is a proof of unity. With great skill he makes virtue of all the obstacles that have previously stood in the path of a complete Arab unity and outlines the great and conscious efforts that must be made to ensure its final achievement.

Finally he lays down the principles of foreign policy that 'runs in three channels, dug deep and straight by means of the struggle of a brave people that stood against, and triumphed over, all kinds of pressure.' These are: war on imperialism and domination, labouring to consolidate peace and international co-operation for the sake of prosperity. There is no contradiction between these ideals: Arab unity, a Pan-African movement and an Afro-Asian solidarity, a close spiritual bond that ties Egypt to this Islamic world and loyalty to the UN Charter, which is the outcome of suffering of peoples in two world wars, separated only by a period of an armed truce.

The Permanent Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt, 1971

After the traumatic defeat of Egypt in the 1967 war with Israel, Nasser saw the need to re-unite as quickly as possible the various disillusioned and frustrated groups who had reacted by blaming each other for the national setback. With typical flexibility, he announced the preparation for a new constitution based on ten guidelines. Besides reiterating the nature of Arab nationalism and socialism, it would institute democratic reforms. The President only lived to get his proposals accepted by a referendum of the people in May, 1968: the Constitution itself was issued by his successor, President Anwar El-Sadat, in 1971.

In the interim period, the new President began what he called 'the rectification of the revolution', a description calculated to make clear that he was not criticizing what had taken place during the leadership of his predecessor, but was marking a new stage in the revolutionary process. Its purpose was a liberalization of the régime, which, in time, compensated foreigners who had lost property as a result of the Revolution, returned sequestrated property of Egyptians, or, if that was not possible, gave compensation and set free people detained without trial, with the option of returning to their former posts or receiving a pension if they were too old. At the time this could be regarded as a popular move designed to ease the path of one who was taking over from the most charismatic and successful leader in the Middle East. However, his subsequent record has shown a president consistently peaceful in his intentions and moderate in action but able to strike when the security of the state itself is endangered.

Naturally much of the Permanent Constitution is based on the principles of the 1962 Charter but it is more specific, laying down

safeguards in those areas of living which are of special concern in a one-party state. Rights and freedoms are very much emphasized, their protection being guaranteed by the independence of justice. Citizens are guaranteed their freedom and privacy: nobody may be arrested or searched either in person or in his home or be imprisoned or restricted in his personal freedom unless there is a judicial order. To attack these freedoms is a crime for which the state must provide compensation. The safety of society and its political régime, however, are in the hands of a socialist General Prosecutor, whose duty it is to safeguard them 'to protect the socialist gains and to maintain adherence to socialist conduct'.

The October Working Paper, 1974

This, the most important political document in Egypt's history since the National Charter, was produced by President Sadat after the October War of 1973 as a re-appraisal of Egypt's aims and objectives in the light of twenty years of 'Revolutionary' government culminating in military success against Israel. Although achievement was limited, for Egypt and her neighbours, the world could never again be the same as prior to the October War. The Egyptian nationality 'that does not know fanaticism, but practises sacrifice in defence of its land and rights and to safeguard construction and progress' had 'transcended the confines of being a mere slogan to become a palpable, well-defined action.' Internally, the rectification movement 'withdrawing all forms of exceptional measures, and ensuring stability of laws, rules, institutions and relations within a clear-cut framework, known beforehand to the citizens, through which they can exercise their political, economic and social activities', was made possible because the Revolution had attained the stage of order and stability. Political and social freedom were interdependent, so it had been decided to remove Press censorship. Arab nationalism had reached a new stage: 'The Arabs succeeded for the first time in joining ranks effectively, and agreeing jointly on definite actions, notwithstanding any political or social differences.' Political unity is a lengthy process, but, said Sadat, 'We also have to benefit from other nations to the effect that interrelated economic interests constitute the material bases for every successful political unity . . . economic co-operation can bear fruit and can be furthered despite different political and social systems.' As a final comment on what he calls 'milestones along the road', President Sadat faces his critics:

> Fear befell those who alleged that we wanted to annul the Charter or go back on our socialism. . . . Basic principles do not change with the change of circumstances, otherwise they would not have risen to the level of principles. It is only the application which should be changed and this is what we are doing.

Perhaps the most controversial change has been the 'open door' policy with its welcome of foreign investment and advanced technological knowledge accompanying it from the whole world, both east and west, because, says Sadat, 'We are fully aware that versatile and varied economic relations constitute the material basis for the freedom of our political movement.' The open door economic policy would supply the most modern technological means towards the rapid and intensive industrialization needed to promote exports by raising their standards.

In the section on 'Social Development', President Sadat records what he calls 'a few basic observations' concerning education, for

> the time has come to begin seriously this difficult task of revolutionising the systems and concepts of general education and culture of all sorts and standards from the eradication of illiteracy to general technical and university education, to scientific and technological research.

He regards the most important development in world education and research to be 'the elimination of the distance between thought and action', so that it is no longer limited to rigid study curricula, but 'has become organically linked to the actions and requirements of society.' To achieve the twin targets of understanding and harmonizing with his society as well as acquiring the basic skills for serving it, an enlightened, educated individual needs a system that 'should be diversified as much as possible, to respond to the need for various expertise, specialisations and skills required in development.' Certain types and stages of education should be linked to the environment, rural or urban, field or factory, to maintain the bonds between the educated individual to his environment for their mutual benefit. Likewise there should be closer bonds between educational institutions and industrial establishments. He hopes that in this process the theory of the social differences between one form of education and another will be eliminated, so that the need of the country for skills and expertise can be met

'to raise the value of work or labour as the primary social value.' Thus it will be possible 'to get rid of this overwhelming disease whereby many consider education as the instrument for acquiring a special social privilege, while the principal target for some educated people has become office-jobs irrespective of their value in the movement of society.'

The second of the education targets is supported by the modern theory of continuous education, a necessity in an age in which scientific, technological and technical knowledge progresses with such speed that machines become obsolete as soon as they are manufactured. To keep abreast with knowledge, the educated person must have access to up-to-date libraries, institutes, research and reading centres, as well as modern books, magazines and periodicals. Seminars and constant training programmes are required at all levels of industry, while utilization should be made of 'all the means of modern science to collect, store and distribute information, and to raise the standard of knowledge given to the students in the schools, universities and institutes.'

Finally, expenditure on technological research, which should be co-ordinated and directed to the requirements of Egypt, is regarded as 'investment in heavy industry' because 'not only does it help development in the near future, it also guarantees its continuation and rising rates in the long run.' The aim is to enter this field as partners, especially in the Arab world. All this is possible because 'Arab man [has proved himself] capable of genuine production, once he is supplied with the suitable circumstances.' The Egyptian man is distinguished by his faith, which, as understood today,

> is pure faith, free from fanaticism . . . remote from irresponsibility and belief in superstitions, and does not deny man's will and the will of society to face the ever-changing circumstances of life, supported in this by the brain which God has given him and which distinguishes him from the rest of God's creatures.

In short, education and research are to be the ultimate means of achieving the main national tasks following the October war. President Sadat makes his own summary of these in the October Working Paper:

> Economic development at rates that exceed all we have achieved up till now.

Preparation of Egypt for the year 2000 so that means of continued progress may be secured for the coming generations.
Open door economic policy at home and abroad to provide all guarantees for funds invested in development.
Effective and comprehensive planning which guarantees the realization of the great goals of society through science and knowledge.
Consolidation and re-orientation of the public sector thus enabling it to take the lead in development.
Social development and the building up of man.
Entering the age of science and technology.
Civilizational progress based upon science and faith.
An open society which enjoys freedom.
A secure society in which the citizen enjoys peace of mind as to his present day and his future.

2

Problems related to education

The 'problem approach' in comparative education

This book is concerned with the problems faced by the government of Egypt and specifically the Ministry of Education in the process of implementing the policies inspired by the guiding principles of the Revolution, as they affect the political, social and economic life of the country. Although ministerial problems affecting specific legislation, organization and practice are the main concern of this survey, to be fully appreciated they need to be seen in the context of problems of a global nature having their source in the events and situations already described, since their solutions will also need to be found within that context. An attempt will be made to show the inevitability of the problems, within the conceptual framework of critical dualism, and to indicate the steps being taken at all levels to find solutions or make the right choice between opposed decisions, when compromise would be ineffective. Inevitably an analysis by an outsider, especially of such a complex situation will be guilty of over-simplification, but, by using as a basis the declared Egyptian policies, and, in subsequent chapters, the problems as perceived by the Ministry of Education, it is hoped to minimize the margin of error.

Holmes (1965), suggests that Popper's (1946), distinction between two types of law in any society, the normative and the sociological, provides a useful framework for the 'problem approach' in comparative educational studies. He describes normative laws as those resulting from governmental legislation, which can be accepted, rejected or changed by man, (with or without penalty) at any time, besides codes of behaviour, value systems, taboos and beliefs which have become formalized by long use, but are open to challenge in an 'open society'. Changes in legal and social norms can themselves be the source of problems. However, the concept of critical dualism assumes that there are also sociological laws which man is less able to control, but which enable him not only to understand the operation of social institutions,

but predict social transformation. According to the theory, sociological laws stem largely from functional relationships within institutions, the clearest example being found by the author in studies of social mobility, which trace the evolution of a 'gentleman' in three generations of more selective education. In this study it is not proposed to get involved in the ramifications of Popper's somewhat obscure theory in all its aspects but to bear in mind that a study of society needs to take account of both its normative and institutional patterns, and to recognize that incompatibility between them gives rise to problems, which, unresolved can induce conflict.

In Egypt, changes in both normative and industrial patterns are necessary if she is to achieve her revolutionary aims of evolving a society that is both socialist and modern. The problems involved demand both short-term and long-term solutions, with constant re-appraisal, and, where necessary, 'corrective movements', so that compromise between the ideal and the reality can be achieved, thus reducing the necessity to demand balance before the slow process of full integration of its disparate elements has been fulfilled. A few basic groups of problems will be discussed below.

Modernization

In his most recent and extensive study of education and modernization in the Middle East, Szyliowicz (1973), states that difficulties in defining modernization include 'the great problems involved in conceptualizing how education is related to its achievement'. He continues:

> Only in recent years have social scientists begun to investigate this relationship empirically and analytically, and, although there is wide-spread agreement that education contributes directly to modernization, no adequate body of theory is yet available that would permit the testing of specific hypotheses with data from the Middle East.

He finds that conceptually the most precise relationship and also the most universally sought strand of modernization is in economic development.

> Practically every country in the world is seeking to achieve a rapid rate of economic growth, and underlying the huge investments being made in education is the belief that formal

schooling is a major variable determining the rate and level of economic development.

Neil J. Smelser and Seymour Martin Lipset (1966), who discuss this belief at length, find that 'the various ad hoc generalizations that have been made in this area remain largely in the category of "unproven" and, not surprisingly, some of them contradict each other', for example, one drawing attention to the increase in economic growth due to increasing amount of skill and another the undermining of conditions of growth due to the frustrations suffered through 'overexpansion' of educational resources. They cite evidence from a number of sources that increased education made for economic growth in the United States, Japan and the Soviet Union 'long before anyone could argue that the demand for the educated equalled their increased supply', quoting Clark Kerr that the United States 'got started very early using education largely, or at least philosophically, for political reasons and then this turned out to be a great economic asset.' There appears to be little conflict in Egypt's basic policy to expand her educational provision to the limits as a prerequisite to modernization.

The problem lies in the distribution of education at the various levels, a balancing feat which often appears to create further problems in its attempts at solution. The discussion by Smelser and Lipset above suggests that evidence has been produced in various parts of the world staking the claims of literacy, primary education, secondary education and higher education respectively to be of supreme importance. The choice for Egypt is difficult because she has limited financial resources, a large uneducated population, a costly programme for rapid industrialization and her political ideology demands that education in a welfare state shall be the birthright of every Egyptian, boy or girl. All stages of education have periodically received special attention. The concerted action to combat illiteracy and steps taken to draw into the primary school system all children of primary school age, as well as the development of intermediate education in the preparatory schools will be discussed. However, financial support has long been weighted in favour of higher education, particularly in the expansion of the universities. Boktor (1963) claimed that the number of students then enrolled in the universities, higher institutions and other organizations offering courses beyond the secondary level exceeded the number in England,Wales and Scotland combined, although the population of the United Kingdom

was then double that of Egypt. He also pointed out that, in fact, the colleges which form the nucleus of university provision were all opened during the period when illiteracy was near 100 per cent and university education the privilege of a moneyed élite. With the revolution there has been a phenomenal expansion of higher education to meet both socialist aspirations and manpower demands in the wake of industrialization and modernization programmes. According to Smelser and Lipset (1966), data from investigations appears to suggest that technological growth may depend most on high levels of university enrolment as it is in these institutions that attitudes and skills needed in modernization programmes are fostered. The type of educational growth therefore becomes more important than the amount: how far are the university courses relevant to those much-needed attitudes and skills? Smelser and Lipset point out that it can be argued that the American, Japanese and Communist university systems are the most appropriate for developing countries because their inclusion of technical and vocational courses makes them less élitist and more likely to be viewed as agencies training for a wide variety of occupations. Japan is cited as being highly successful in developing an educational system that enhanced those occupations that were needed for modernization. Egypt has begun working on these lines, but, as President Sadat has himself pointed out, one technical secondary school costs the government as much as about twelve general secondary schools. Every year the problem is aggravated by the addition of about a million babies to the dependent population.

Population explosion: family planning education

The latest sample census which took place in Egypt in 1966 showed an average annual rate of growth of 2·54, which is one of the highest in the world, being almost double that of the USSR and USA and more than double that of the United Kingdom and France. According to Hanna (1974), it doubled in the forty-three years between 1917 and 1960, and at the present rate could double again before the end of the century. Population fertility seminars organized by the head of the Central Mobilization and Statistics Agency in 1971 produced some interesting facts relevant to all the problems facing the country. That year the population reached 34 million, almost equally divided between male and female, including 6 million in Greater Cairo, representing an

TABLE 1 *Population projections – selected age groups in thousands as at 1 July*

Age group	1972	1973	1975	1976	1980	1985	1990
6 through 9	3,624		3,856		4,338	4,897	5,513
10 through 14	3,902		4,153		4,672	5,274	5,938
15 through 19	3,449		3,670		4,129	4,660	5,247
20 through 23	2,369		2,521		2,836	3,201	3,604
6 through 23	13,344		14,200		15,975	18,032	20,302

(*Source:* Bureau of Mobilization and Statistics – The Bureau figures are considerably higher after 1975 for the age groups 5 through 14 than those recently prepared by the Cairo Demographic Center.)

6 through 11	5,180	5,300	5,515 (5,725)	5,660	6,210 (5,846)	7,010 (6,119)	7,890 (7,020)
12 through 14	2,340	2,390	2,490 (2,730)	2,550	2,800 (2,832)	3,160 (2,920)	3,560 (3,028)
15 through 17	2,070	2,190	2,420 (2,449)	2,440	2,480 (2,784)	2,800 (2,827)	3,150 (2,927)
18 through 22	3,160	3,260	3,460	3,530	3,780	4,260	4,800
12 through 17	4,410	4,580	4,910	4,990	5,280	5,960	6,710
6 through 14	7,520	7,690	8,005	8,210	9,010	10,170	11,450
6 through 22	12,750	13,140	13,885	14,180	15,270	17,230	19,400
6 through 13	6,700		7,250	7,400	8,150	9,050	10,300

(*Source:* Mission estimates of school-age projections based on the projections provided by the Bureau of Mobilization and Statistics given above. The Cairo Demographic Center projections are shown in brackets. For purposes of the planning exercise carried out by the mission ANNEXES, the Bureau of Mobilization and Statistics projections have been used as being the official views, although the Demographic Center appear more realistic on the basis of recent indications of a considerable drop in the birth rate.)

For purposes of intake into primary of 6-year-old children, the mission uses MOE figures for 1975 to 1980 and Cairo Demographic Center figures for 1981–1990 as given below:

1975 – 961	1979 – 970	1983 – 1,034	1987 – 1,166
1976 – 949	1980 – 985	1984 – 1,049	1988 – 1,204
1977 – 959	1981 – 1,013	1985 – 1,074	1989 – 1,243
1978 – 964	1982 – 1,020	1986 – 1,110	1990 – 1,288

(*Source:* by courtesy of the Ministry of Education, Cairo.)

increase of one person in every 1·5 minutes. In the entire country the population was rising at the rate of 66,700 a month, a daily average of 2,223 or three persons every 2 minutes. Hanna (1974), attributes the explosion to a combination of improvement of health conditions, mainly due to better control of epidemic diseases, a rapid decline in the death rate and infant mortality with corresponding increase in life expectancy plus a very high fertility rate.

Such rapid population growth has profound effects on social structure, for example, the re-distribution of population. Hurewitz (1966), notes that the density in Egypt is roughly 70 per square mile, but that the density for the cultivated area along the banks of the Nile surpasses 1,800 per square mile, making it one of the most thickly settled agrarian districts in the world. The problem is complicated by the paradox that while the swollen agricultural population spills into the cities hoping to be absorbed by new government and private industries, agriculture itself has not kept up with the increased demand for food to support the increased population. Hanna sees such shortages as responsible for the rise in food prices which make government subsidies necessary, thus further disrupting the economy.

Mabro (1974), Hanna (1974), and Hurewitz (1966), all contribute to an analysis of the effects of the transformation of Egypt from a labour-short to a labour-surplus economy: 'the lag of economic and social advancement behind the numerical growth of the people' (Hurewitz) with accompanying strains on the administrative machinery which must handle the mounting public services, the consequent rapid expansion of the service sector which Mabro considers often to disguise the serious problems of unemployment in urban centres, and the migration of workers, mostly skilled, to jobs abroad (according to Mabro, an estimated 200,000 in 1972). To these problems can be added those felt in the Ministry of Education: the inadequacy of school buildings, equipment, personnel to cope with ancillary social services as well as teaching, and all the problems associated with a shift system and transport. To quote Hurewitz:

> It is baffling enough to mobilize resources, skills and leadership for the general uplift of a slowly expanding society, but the difficulties of planned development are compounded by the multiplying mouths to feed, children to educate and people to employ. Economists estimate that for every one per cent of

> growth of population at least three per cent of the national income must be invested in development merely to maintain existing standards.

This applies to education as with other aspects of life in Egypt. Hence the stress laid by Mabro on the necessity of an understanding of the demographic processes through studies of the determinants of mortality and fertility, so that the quality of population forecasts, which he considers to be 'an important ingredient in economic planning' may make possible the design of effective population policies.

Since the Revolution such policies have had a place in national planning, beginning with the formation in 1953 of a National Committee for Population Problems to outline the policy for the country. Hanna (1974), mentions three important developments: the opening of a very limited number of family planning clinics in 1955, followed seven years later by the launching of the official birth control propaganda and the establishment in both urban and rural areas of a large number of clinics providing free oral contraceptives and IUD's, and the beginning of a national family planning project in 1966. This was a ten-year programme for reducing the birth rate to 30 per thousand by 1978. The plan concentrates, says Hanna, on the most fertile group of women, aged between twenty-five and thirty-four, in the hope of getting the quickest results.

Other educational programmes have followed. Changing a pattern of living which defies legislation is a very slow process which can only be measured by accurate statistics. This will be made possible by a technical aid agreement made in 1971 between Egypt and the United Nations Demographic Fund. The fund promised to contribute about £E 1·5 million towards making a general census in 1974. It would also strengthen national efforts in the fields of information, education and training, relating to family planning, besides helping in the execution of an experimental project to be undertaken jointly by mother and child welfare centres, vital medical research administrations and family planning centres, apart from scholarships to be granted by the Fund to students for studies abroad as well as additional consultative services.

The grant was a tribute to the fact that Egypt is at the top of the list of African, Near and Middle East countries which undertakes positive efforts to find solutions to demographic and family planning problems. In the family planning area typical activities are illustrated by the

programmes arranged for the observation of a 'family planning week' in 1971. These included a contest to choose the best private centre of family planning in each governorate that has ten centres, a series of seminars arranged by the Ministry of Social Affairs in co-operation with the General Society of Birth Control, a Ministry of Health programme of meetings and seminars in the health units throughout the Republic, a special edition of the *Public Health Magazine* on family planning, a number of booklets on family planning published by the Ministry of Culture, and a series of seminars organized by the Cultural Palaces and Information Offices in the governorates with the theme of modern methods of birth control and its economic effects. During that week all information media, including the cinema and theatre, participated in the campaign for informing people of social and economic aspects of family planning. Also the ASU took part. (*Egyptian Gazette* 29 March 1971).

It is uphill work trying to convince the peasants that a large family is a liability rather than an asset. As an Egyptian interviewed in a recent television programme on Egypt pointed out, there are still peasants whose annual income is about £50. Where are they to get the money to pay for labour on their land, if it is not supplied by their children? An advance towards the solution of such a complex problem raises many other important issues. Nevertheless, some progress is being made: the birthrate of 45 per thousand in 1952 decreased to 39 per thousand in 1968 and to 36 per thousand in 1970.

Meanwhile movements of the population, such as the drift to the cities and towns are not spontaneous only in character. In order to ease population problems the government has initiated schemes that involve organized internal migration. Reference has already been made to the distribution of reclaimed agricultural land. Other schemes involve the resettlement of displaced persons due either to the war with Israel or projects such as the High Dam and the new settlements in the Western Desert now irrigated by artesian wells. With more than 50 per cent of her population under the age of fifteen years, it is vital for Egypt to use her manpower to the best advantage.

Manpower problems

It is patent that Egypt, unlike many Western countries, does not need foreign labour to man her factories or provide semi-skilled labour. Nor

have her leaders ever doubted the quality of her citizens, demonstrated during the Suez crisis and the October War by the armed forces. 'God's most important gift to Egypt', says Sadat in the October Working Paper (1974), 'is its people and our chief national wealth is our manpower.' With quantity and quality assured, the problem is a temporary one which can be solved by education and training. Sadat continues:

> Like all resources, it [manpower] has to be developed. The development of manpower means first and foremost increasing its capacity to give and to work by providing food, clothing, health services and housing and improving its human potential through culture, education and training.

The time for inferiority feelings is past:

> The Egyptian worker has proved no less capable of assimilating modern technology than the Egyptian soldier. Egyptian experts have demonstrated both at home and abroad that they are of the highest calibre, by any standard. Our country is neither lacking in educated young people nor in technical and administrative expertise. Still, the tasks lying ahead call for more.

The key problem is planning, a concept quite alien to the traditional Arab way of life. (One could digress here: although planning is accepted as a necessity of modern living, even educated westernized Arabs often find it difficult to make decisions ahead of time.) At the national level, the first planning commission, headed by the Prime Minister, met three years after the Revolution. However, the study of manpower had to be deferred until the results of the 1960 census came out in 1962. It thus missed the first educational plan 1965–70, but was in time for the second educational plan 1965–70, a detailed plan, worked out by the Ministries of Higher Education and Training and the Higher Council of the Universities to cover the various aspects of education. The standing Commission to study the manpower situation started to work about 1963.

Since then, but notably in the Seventies, attempts have been made to work out long-term policies to solve shortages of teaching staff at the various levels of education, linking training schemes to shortages in precise areas of industry, with special attention to vocational training

centres and technical education and the closing of bottlenecks in the bureaucratic framework. One very important task of the Ministry of Manpower has been to recommend dates for the first appointments of university and higher institute graduates for the approval of the Ministerial Committee for Graduate Employment. Unfortunately there has been a time-lag between graduation and appointment that is very difficult to overcome, though it has been bridged partly by national service in the forces or the community. For example, the Egyptian holders of the 1968 and 1969 technical and vocational secondary certificates, who had applied to the Ministry of Labour for appointment, did not receive their letters of appointment until April 1971, but at least they were in the queue. Close co-operation exists between the Ministerial Committee on Manpower and the Ministry of Education. In 1972, for instance, when the Ministry of Education reported a shortage of 8,570 teachers of languages, mathematics and sciences, the Ministerial Committee on Manpower agreed that all university graduates at a certain level finishing their studies at the end of the second session should become teachers in those specializations where shortages existed. On the other hand the Minister of Education decided to postpone conscription for certain specializations. (*Egyptian Gazette*, 1972). Other means of meeting shortages included the re-employment of retired teachers and authorizing school science inspectors to work as teachers for part of the school year.

By 1974 the Ministry of Manpower had prepared the first scientifically planned guide to vocational classification to be used for planning and developing manpower on the national level. It not only gave 1,512 classifications of professions but would facilitate the keeping of records of job applications. It was recommended that a suitable committee be appointed to keep it up to date. Meanwhile about 1,376 engineers and architects of 1973 vintage were called up for compulsory service in the government and public sector during 1974 and the Higher Council for Training presided over by the Minister of Manpower decided to set up twenty specific committees to operate within the different sectors of the state and to recommend a unified training policy within each sector, and link the policy of wages and incentives to higher skills and productivity standards.

In spite of intensive studies of manpower since 1963, the Ministry of Education was faced with a shortage of 20,000 teachers for the year 1975. Drastic measures were taken, such as raising the pension age for

teachers and calling on employees in the public and government sectors who were qualified for teaching to submit applications for transfer to the Ministry of Education or the Directorates of Education in the governorates where they worked. Paid overtime would also be compulsory for serving teachers. Intensive studies during 1975 suggested that the problem was not so much a matter of shortage but of a disequilibrium between supply (the number and quality of graduates) and the demand. The report of the Unedbas Mission (1975) suggested this is 'due to the fact that secondary education tends, in its quantitative growth, to meet the pressure of "social demand" rather than to meet manpower needs and the demand of higher education.' It also noted the reluctance of institutions, companies and banks to offer field training for secondary school students and lack of co-ordination between those institutions when such training does take place. Finally, steps need to be taken to remove the bias against technical secondary education.

This situation is well understood by Egyptian educationists and the planners. A re-distribution of manpower has been planned for 1976. This would include a reduction of manpower in government bodies, local administrative units and the public sector, that is, an onslaught against bureaucracy and a re-organization of policies on salaries, incentives, promotion, training, social insurance, pensions and other personal services. The problem facing educational planners is to reconcile the drastic measures mentioned above to alleviate the shortage of teachers while at the same time the Ministry of Manpower and Training is planning equally drastic projects to absorb redundant manpower, such as long-leave exportation of Egyptian manpower. The solution appears to lie with the educational planners. Meanwhile, the Egyptian, like the British, government tries to alleviate the problem by creating jobs for the young unemployed. Towards the end of 1976, out of an appropriation of £E 14 million provided in the State General Budget for the purpose, the Minister of Finance allotted an extra £E 2 million to provide jobs for 1974 university graduates and 1973 graduates of the intermediate technical institutes.

Women in modern Egypt: family and community education

The term 'manpower' can no longer be limited to the male sex: the concept of women's liberation is no longer confined to political enfranchisement but is now associated with every aspect of living.

Historically the treatment of women by men has been hallowed by custom and sanctified by religion, so that attempts to change women's roles generate both confusion and emotion. This has happened in Islamic societies where fundamentalists interpret their sacred writings to defend a social pattern which Western men sometimes envy, but which allows no justification in a modern society. There have, of course, always been individuals in Islamic society who have respected as well as loved one wife and shared their affection towards their children without regard to sex, but in conservative, traditional societies and peasant communities change comes through a slow process of education. Legislation can abolish the veil overnight, penalize wife-beaters and forbid the murder of unmarried pregnant girls, but these customs continue until the female, through education, becomes financially independent and aware of the means of protection.

In Egypt, according to Sumaya Fahmy (1974), the average percentage of two-wife marriages for the years 1950–4 was 8·96 per cent and for the years 1965–9, it was 8·08 per cent, which she attributes to a flagrant misinterpretation of the Q'ran motivated by 'domination, need to prove virility, craving for excitement and so forth'. In 1971 it was the well-known Egyptian writer, Soheir el-Kalamawy, who was re-elected Secretary-General of the General Union of Arab Women at the seventh congress in Tunis, who appealed for an end to polygamous marriages 'so that Arab women can retain their dignity and personality'.

The Charter of 1962 is clearly in favour of women's liberation: 'Woman must be regarded as equal to man and must therefore shed the remaining shackles that impede her free movement so that she might take a constructive and profound part in shaping life.' Freedom, however, does not imply disintegration of family life:

> The family is the first cell in a society and it must therefore be afforded all means of protection so that it might be better able to preserve the national tradition to rejuvenate its texture, and to carry along the whole of society in the direction of the goals set by the national struggle.

Since then the Arab Socialist Union has defined woman's status and her role in post-revolutionary Egypt. In 1971, the ASU Secretary for Youth opened the first training course for girls of the Nasser Socialist Youth Organization, which drew two hundred and fifty girls of the

organization from all the governorates. The participants studied social services in the field of family and child welfare, carried out campaigns for family planning projects, besides working out plans for the welfare of servicemen and evacuees. They took part in discussions on the ideological and political aspects of the Revolution and the role of girls in the war effort. Emphasis was on the establishment of leadership recruiting centres in all districts and provincial towns for young women at all levels who had leadership qualities and were prepared to give full-time public service. Co-ordination of all feminist organizations was urged, and the development of activities such as first aid and nursing to contribute to the work of the Citizens' War Committees.

The beginning of a new stage in the history of the feminist movement in Egypt came a year later with the establishment of a women's secretariat at the Arab Socialist Union. The First Secretary of the ASU Central Committee, who opened an educational course for about three hundred and fifty women leaders in the political, social, cultural and labour fields, said that the current role and participation of the Egyptian woman was 'boundless, beginning in the home and ending in taking up the burden with the Egyptian man of the war'. Participants took part in a top level debate on the war effort and the Programme for National Action as well as discussing their status in the various fields of the political organization. The women's affairs committee of the ASU hoped that they would be prominent in activities related to family planning, literacy and in combating high prices and other social problems. Under this impetus, only a month later the Minister of Social Affairs addressed a conference in the Fayum governorate of a thousand feminist leaders who had completed a special training course to serve the villages. The theme was the catching up of the villages with modern civilization, but stress was laid on women's role in the war. By the time that the war started a year later, in 1973, the practical role of women had been defined: to work to minimize the number of casualties by protecting the lives of families and looking after the wounded. The details included combating rumours by getting correct information from the ASU governorate secretariats so that the public might be informed of the facts, by using abundant popular foods, making contact between wounded and families, giving blood donations, guiding people to air raid shelters. Experience led to re-organization bolstered by £E 200,000 provided by ASU funds for feminist activities and to ensure that feminist organization rapporteurs should be able to work on a full-time

basis. By 1974, under the leadership of Egypt's first lady, Jihan el-Sadat the women leaders were clamouring for the initiation of a women's organization independent of the political organization, for a bigger representation at all levels of constitutional and political institutions, for not giving one person two posts at the same time, and for staging new elections for all the trade unions without interference by any authority. The campaign was well-timed: the Arab Socialist Union Women's Secretariat worked out a plan for 1975, the International Women's Year, including consolidation with other women's movements in the Third World, Arab countries, Africa and Asia. Mrs Sadat also called for an 'Arab Women Week' to be celebrated in all Arab countries as a symbol of solidarity and co-operation among Arab women. Their enthusiasm and dynamism were rewarded when President Sadat, in his capacity of Chairman of the ASU, issued a decree, forming the ASU Feminist Organization, specifying its structure and condition of membership. (If you can't defeat them, enlist them!) The structure follows the ASU pattern already described, the aim being to raise the standard and capability of the Egyptian woman, socially, politically and economically, with an emphasis on the family bonds and the means of their consolidation, while the immediate tasks included solving the career women's problems, taking part in family planning, child and mother care and illiteracy campaigns, rationalization of consumption and improving the status of women in work. A formidable package!

It is hoped by feminists that these measures will encourage Egyptian women to exercise the rights that they have acquired by legislation since the Revolution. These include the right to vote and be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies on equal terms with men, embodied in the 1956 Constitution and all subsequent constitutions. As Sumaya Fahmy (1974), points out, very few women avail themselves of their opportunities, nor do they insist on their own and daughters' rights to education at all levels according to their capacities, including receiving vocational guidance and training according to ability and interest. In the majority of families the role of the wife is complete submission to her husband, who demands that her energies be concentrated on producing babies and attending the daily needs of the family. If she lives in a rural area, she will also have to labour in the fields and tend the animals that enable life to be carried on at a subsistence level. Ramzia el-Gharib's (1974), description of Egyptian family

life in a rural community (which is where 62 per cent of the whole population lives) appears to indicate a suitable area for studying the sociological laws referred to by Holmes (1965). The family pattern is governed by traditions which are very resistent to change, although, as el-Gharib points out, in the past twenty years there have been social changes which affect those patterns. Briefly, in rural areas family life is based on consanguine, not conjugal, relationships and it is an extended family system. Family ties are strengthened by obligations in times of crisis and difficulties which even extend to the children of divorced members. In other words, the family has an inbuilt social services structure which, regardless of poverty, makes it independent of outside help. The class gap is still wide: the middle and upper class male in many cases still supports the womenfolk, while they confine their activities to family and domestic affairs and good works, whereas the peasant needs the help of both his wife and daughters in the daily struggle for existence. The father has supreme power over the family, which can lead to much misery, but not invariably, as Egyptians are an affectionate people, very fond of children. Divorce is easy for the man, which makes it possible for him to cast off the wife and keep the children after she has served him faithfully for many years, a position which is being remedied by current legislation. In fact, the woman is covered legally both for the choice of a husband and the right of refusal, as well as financial protection. She cannot, however, according to Islamic law, divorce her husband, unless it was specifically agreed in the contract. As Sumaya Fahmy (1974), points out, it is very difficult for a girl to exercise her rights, even if she knows them:

> To demand the stipulation of divorce on her wedding day, a bride would risk offending her bridegroom. This is frowned upon by both families. So the bride in the majority of cases gives up her right to divorce. This is a good example of how ineffective laws can be when men and women have been brought up to believe in and to practise psychological attitudes which are contradictory to the values embodied in the laws.

There are, says el-Gharib (1974), three family problems of socialization: child discipline, with its sudden transition from the mother's permissiveness up to the age of six years, to severe discipline thereafter; the ignorance of parents who lack education; and the preference for sons. The solution to all such problems, discussed more fully below, is

seen by women and a growing number of men to lie in girls' education at all stages and women's education in a community setting.

In 1973, on the occasion of the centenary of the first state Egyptian girls' school, President Sadat was reported as paying a glowing tribute to Egypt's women for their important contributions to the success of the Revolution:

> Women are now found in all spheres: scientific research, industry, agriculture, trade, art, education, social service, the press, medicine, the law profession, sports, planning and others. In the countryside there are women who are putting up a different kind of struggle. They stand by their husbands and children to promote the welfare of the society by providing its needs of food and cloth. In factories women help push the wheel of production vigorously forwards. (*Egyptian Gazette* 4 April 1971)

Girls' education has certainly come a long way since, as Boktor reports, Teheshmeafet, third wife of Khedive Ismail, founded a European-type school for girls, that is, privileged girls. Previous to that, Amin Samy Pasha, a former educationist, wrote in his book on education in Egypt (cited by Boktor, 1963),

> When the Council of Public Instruction in 1836 recommended the foundation of girls' schools, the suggestion was considered immoral. The efforts of the promoters of female education at that time ended in the establishment of a maternity school in which not one single Egyptian girl agreed to be a student. Ten Abyssinian slaves were therefore recruited and housed in that school to pursue their studies and justify its existence.

It has been a long hard struggle to justify spending money on girls' education, and, in spite of the progress expressed in policy and provision, many formidable problems remain.

One problem, which is still a matter for debate, is the kind of education that should be offered: for forty years, education for girls, limited but in great demand, still concentrated on domestic arts and moral education. Men were patently nervous that the freedom of women and girls to leave the home even when chaperoned, would lead to a deterioration of morals. One wrote in 1913,

> We would ask what has become of our morality when every day we see our husbands taking their wives and children to

> cinematograph shows where the loosest love romances are exhibited and they are allowed to be present at scenes where love intrigues are given full scope. Such scenes often teach them the thousand and one tricks and strategems that lovers make use of in order to attain their ends and escape detection. We again ask where are Egypt's morals when we see our Egyptian women showing such keenness to visit cinematographs, where amorous spectacles are reproduced that bring a blush to the cheek of humanity in general. We ask again, where are our morals when we behold our women appearing in public in, so to say, erotic fashions, which make the least jealous man ashamed to behold! (*Egyptian Gazette* 10 April 1913)

One answer was to confine education to the requirements of their roles as wives and mothers. Lord Kitchener wrote in his report:

> The demand for girls' schools shows no tendency to decrease. Reference was made in last year's report to the want of suitable accommodation and properly qualified teachers, which makes it difficult to keep pace with this growing movement, but some progress has been made in the past year. In the elementary schools specially set apart for girls, the education authorities are endeavouring to develop instruction on practical lines and to give early training in household management. Mistresses have been specially appointed with this object, their duties including the supervision of the cleanliness and physical condition of the children. In order to provide a course of training in these domestic subjects, a new section has also been added to the elementary training college for women teachers at Boulac. Similarly, in the girls' primary schools, kitchens and laundries have been attached to the buildings and the personal staff strengthened by the appointment of trained domestic science teachers. Following on the same lines, the special necessities of girls' education are being kept clearly in view in the preparation of the plans for new girls' schools to be erected in Cairo and Alexandria. (*Egyptian Gazette* 28 May 1913)

The accent on feminine roles persisted in the preparatory schools where boys studied music, singing, physical education and agriculture, while the girls learned needlework and domestic science, and when the

first girls' secondary school was opened in 1920, the object was to prepare them for domestic life. However, the Revolution brought new attitudes to girls' education after 1952. Laws were passed stating that boys and girls must be provided with equal opportunities at all stages of education, and, where it could be done without giving offence, co-educational schools were introduced. Nevertheless the domestic bias for girls persisted, in spite of the fact that twelve 'needlework' schools for girls which had been provided at great cost had attracted very little demand. Girls who failed to get a place in a general secondary school, could join a 'Female Culture School' and, after hobbies and practical studies were introduced into the general secondary syllabuses, needlework and domestic science were provided for the girls, while the boys had four choices. In technical education, however, the girls managed to break away from the domestic orientation. With industrialization there has been an increasing demand for young girls to work as clerks in industry and commerce, so the commercial secondary schools are more popular for girls than boys. Other specialized training for them can be found in music, ballet, language schools, industrial courses and nursing. Theoretically they can train at university level in all professions open to men.

As equal pay for equal work has been long established in Egypt, the prospect for educated girls seems attractive, but the great problem remains: what kind of life are they being educated for? Of course there is room at the top for girls of high calibre, but even university graduates are absorbed by overmanning the civil service. At the secondary level, the time-lag between getting a certificate and getting a job becomes longer and longer, which is very puzzling to, for example, a domestic servant who has allowed his daughter to complete her education at a commercial secondary school in the belief that she will reward his sacrifice by earning 'good' money as well as raising the family status. At present, roughly half of Egypt's swollen and increasing population is female, but, according to el-Gharib (1974), in spite of the efforts to educate them, 'there are still about 80 per cent illiterates and only 0·3 per cent university educated women.' What will happen to the girls seeking work when 100 per cent attend school to the age of fifteen years, and a corresponding proportion complete secondary school and seek higher education? It appears that, especially in rural areas this is a problem which will become an increasing concern to the Ministry of Manpower, and, indeed, a number of other ministries as well as the

TABLE 2 *Quantitative development: comparative statistics of classes and pupils in the general, technical education and teacher training schools, the percentage of increasing or decreasing and the percentage of girls (for the school year 73/74 to 74/75)*

Stage	Classes				Pupils						Increasing and percentage of boys and girls in 1974/5						Percentage of girls	
			Difference		1973/4			1974/5										
	1973/4	1974/5	No.	%	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%	73/4	74/5
Primary	94,347	97,619	3,272	3·5	2,422,052	1,497,809	3,919,861	2,518,121	1,556,772	4,074,893	96,069	4·0	58,963	3·9	155,032	4·0	38·2	38·2
General preparatory	27,160	29,870	2,710	10·0	726,720	372,571	1,099,291	789,509	413,529	1,202,038	62,789	8·6	40,958	11·0	103,747	9·4	34·0	34·4
General secondary	8,437	8,803	366	4·3	217,515	106,088	323,603	226,784	113,542	340,326	9,269	4·3	7,454	7·0	16,723	5·2	32·8	33·4
Technical secondary	9,400	10,263	863	9·2	216,416	104,911	321,327	231,585	116,721	348,306	15,169	7·0	11,810	11·3	26,979	8·4	32·6	33·5
Teacher training schools	903	976	73	8·1	17,787	13,441	31,228	18,865	14,410	33,275	1,078	6·1	969	7·2	2,047	6·6	43·0	43·3

(*Source:* by courtesy of the Ministry of Education, Cairo.)

feminist section of the ASU. Among the findings of a study conducted by the family research unit at the National Research Centre (1971) on a random sample of 634 pupils in preparatory and secondary schools in the governorates of Cairo and Caliubia, boys and girls in rural communities have many more problems than those in urban districts, but for girls they are much greater. Village girls, in particular, experience boredom in class and suffer from inadequacy of extra-curricular activities; they are subjected to traditional pressures and are afforded little opportunity for independent thought. Currently special attention is being given to bridge the city–village gap. Farmers are being asked to boost their crops so that the village can be developed by re-building, boosting health services and other utilities, such as electrification, while decentralization in the departments of education and the universities is designed to match curricula with regional needs. It appears that problems arising out of girls' education need special attention before the compulsory education target is reached, not on the basis of sex discrimination but to anticipate their occupational needs. A modern state cannot afford to waste its womanpower resources.

Wastage

The concept of 'wastage', even in ordinary usage is complicated by the increasing use of 'recycling' processes which make one man's waste another man's resource. What appears to be basically an economic term becomes a moral issue when community interests are at stake, as in time of war or drought. In terms of individual development there is a tendency to think that, almost automatically, more and longer education cannot fail to be beneficial, education, that is, within an institution. When the public demand for education at the expense of the state far exceeds the financial resources available to provide it, the question of wastage is directed by educational personnel at all levels as well as the public at large to whatever aspect of the service appears to be economically unprofitable. Boktor (1963), commented:

> Fifty years ago compulsory education was declared impossible because it would have cost the State 1·5 million pounds. In 1959–60 the State spent 48 per cent of the ministry's total budget, or over 20 million pounds, on this type of education. Is it not time to question the expenditure of so much money, time and energy on a primary school system which is producing such meagre results?

Essentially this was the same question asked in England with reference to the results of raising the school leaving age to sixteen years. It crops up in discussions on 'formal' versus 'free' methods of teaching, 'general' versus 'vocational' education, 'selective' versus 'non-selective' education to which, in Egypt one might add 'male' versus 'female' and 'urban' versus 'rural'. As, in both countries, the expressed aim is equality of opportunity, the discussion is usually in terms of priorities.

School drop-outs, repeaters

The Ministry of Education in Egypt periodically investigates and reports on various aspects of wastage of its resources, examining not only social and cultural factors but possible inefficiencies in its administration. One of its main problems in primary education is the drop-out rate in the first five years, estimated in 1971 as about 18 per cent. (Drop-outs are defined as those pupils who started the education at a certain stage but left the school before completing the stage.) Financially this represented an estimated annual cost of £E 10 million as well as a loss of human resources, and an aggravation of the literacy problem. In the rural areas, where it is most common, especially among girls, many classes are under-used, which is not only considered a wastage of buildings and teachers but a discouragement to those who man this unpopular corner of the profession. Fahmy (1973), summarized the factors in the drop-out problem as:

1. Inefficiency of school administration, teaching methods, unsuitable curricula, lack of social and educational services to pupils, especially health services and school meals.
2. Inability of parents to pay the extra expenses for education.
3. The low income of parents especially in rural areas which makes them need the labour of their children in work at an early age.
4. The traditional pattern of Egyptian agriculture which requires the labour of children at an early age in certain agricultural operations.
5. The lack of interest on the part of the parents.
6. Old traditions and habits concerning the education of girls, which prevents them from going to school after a certain age.

The ways by which the Ministry of Education, in hand with the Ministry of Social Affairs and the relevant sections of the Arab Socialist

Union are trying to find solutions to these problems have already been indicated. This co-operation is in line with the report of a UNICEF round-table conference in 1964 (Ed. Stein 1965), which considered the problem of drop-outs or wastage in schools to be not merely an educational concern:

> This appears to be a problem that is not entirely within the scope of the educational system alone to manage. Health, vocational training, industry and other sectors would be involved in the development of the policy and plans affecting children of school age to help cope with both the prevention and with the consequences of wastage.

Wastage is also associated with the inadequacy of preparatory (intermediate) school provision. According to the Ministry of Education, in 1969/70 only 32 per cent of children completing primary education were admitted to free government and private preparatory schools, while 11 per cent found places in private fee-paying schools. Many of these children, lacking work-skills, become agricultural workers in the villages or end up by drifting to the cities where they pick up odd jobs: in either case they tend to return to illiteracy. Again, the lack of provision for slow learners at the compulsory stage has produced bottlenecks as children repeat one or more classes in an attempt to reach the entry standard for the next class. The problems of overcrowded classrooms are exacerbated by the wide age range using a specific desk and chair size, but many feel they are fortunate even to share the small number of desks available.

With the aid of UNICEF, the Egyptian government is now carrying out a programme for pre-vocational training to deal with such problems. Special centres have been established to provide primary school leavers and drop-outs with the knowledge and skills necessary for entering vocational training. By 1967 twenty pre-vocational centres giving training to 2,000 primary school leavers a year had been established.

Emigration: the brain drain

Wastage at the earlier stages of education is more than matched with losses sustained by what is termed the 'brain drain' at the postgraduate level. Because of the serious problem of finding qualified staff for the

universities, it has been the policy of the Egyptian government to send about 10,000 to 18,000 graduates abroad every year, mainly to get higher qualifications in science and engineering, with an estimated return of about 500 a year to staff a new university faculty, which means having a doctoral degree, which is a prerequisition to appointment. These students, who represent the highest level of manpower in Egypt, have already received their education throughout school and university at the expense of the state. The loss of their services inevitably represents serious damage to the quality of teaching and research in Egypt in addition to the financial waste to the country of tens of millions of pounds.

Exact facts and figures of the brain drain are difficult to evaluate, as criteria vary with the different sources, but the following indicate the size of the problem. Adisheshiah cited by Szyliowicz (1973), reports that between 1962 and 1967, 2,400 professionals, 249 engineers, 138 scientists and 191 physicians left Egypt, of whom 70 per cent had PhDs. The situation for engineers is particularly critical, as five-year plans can absorb about twice the number available. Saleh (1975), has adapted a table taken from *al-Ahram*, 21 May 1969, which indicates the rapid increase of physician and engineer emigrants. She quotes official records as saying that the number of Egyptians who emigrated from 1962 to 1970 was 23,740, but that this includes more than one category. Saleh cites the break-down of emigrants in 1972, reported by the Centre of Industrial Development in the Arab League of Nations: 70 per cent were from the teaching profession and research workers who have a doctoral degree; 58·3 per cent of these were engineers and scientists and 17·5 per cent had a master's degree.

Reasons for the 'brain drain' are not entirely related to high salaries overseas and other economic advantages, although in an over-populated country with limited financial resources they are an inducement, especially to those who have experienced a high standard of living while studying abroad. Szyliowicz (1973), details the critical deficiencies in physical facilities for scientists and others in the home country: 'Confronted with inadequate facilities, a lack of recognition and support, heavy teaching loads, misemployment of skills, mediocre colleagues, uninterested superiors, and intellectual isolation, the able young scientist finds it extremely difficult to engage in productive research.' In her study in depth of the problem, Saneya Saleh has tried to find out how it is viewed by the Egyptian scientists themselves. Her

sample is relatively small but she is confident that her data is generally representative of the views of Egyptian scientists of doctorate level who have spent at least five years abroad for postgraduate study and practical training. Her qualitative findings suggest many potentially useful lines for future research. All of her respondents appear to support Szyliowicz's view above, adding to it the necessity to work extra hours in order to make a decent living. However, it is the positive advantages rather than the negative factors in Egypt that 'pull potential migrants to the USA more than to any other country'. Countering these are strong emotional ties with the homeland and an appreciation of value systems which had previously been taken for granted. A typical respondent writes:

> What I miss here is the people. I think I am basically an Arab Egyptian Moslem. We have certain humanitarian characteristics which I don't think are found anywhere else. We put a great value on human relationships. We value a man because of his goodness to his fellow-men or his intellectual capability, rather than his wealth and power. We respect the porter because of his goodness and call him uncle out of respect for his age.

They keep their family ties and come for short visits, usually to work on projects and, at a later stage think in terms of helping what is still to them 'their' country, but . . . from the outside.

Concern for the situation is shown in President Sadat's speech to the Arab Socialist Union, 1974, reported in the *Egyptian Gazette*.

> The problem of the brain drain, for instance, is one that has to be solved. We must take measures for restoring our scientists. We must also find a solution to the problem of members of academic missions who do not return home after finishing their studies abroad; studies which are financed by the people. Yet, we know well enough that this is an international problem from which all the developing countries are suffering.

International conferences were held to solve this problem which even some advanced countries have suffered from at times of economic crises. 'All categories in the investigation above gave as "pull" work, high salaries, good libraries, facilities and grants for research, appreciation of good work, a challenging scientific atmosphere, organization and respect for time, and the pleasure of being in the middle of current

scientific events' but the ten Egyptian experts questioned about policy agreed that restriction to leave at will could not be defended in a country which is so over-populated that 'there are four or five persons doing a task which could have been done more efficiently by one person,' but that 'in the case of those scientists whose higher education abroad was financed by the state, some kind of compensation to the country for the money spent on them is necessary if they wish to emigrate.' Twenty recommendations were made for study by the policy-makers, covering moral and material incentives to keep scientists from wanting to emigrate, while to curtail excess professional manpower it is suggested that there should be stricter educational screening, a limitation to the promotion of 'brain drain', re-allocation of excess labour in certain fields or departments and a creation and chanelling of capital into investments which would create new jobs for people in overstaffed occupational areas. Two trump cards remain: the close family and religious ties felt by the Egyptian emigrants, which remain a constant factor even when they adjust to the new life overseas.

Quality of education

Raising standards

The freedom of the Press having been restored, there has been considerable public criticism about the quality of education in Egypt, especially in the leading newspaper, *al-Ahram* whose well-known educational journalist ran a series of provocative articles in 1971, followed by recommendations and warnings. He compares in detail the standards reached by Egyptian and French schoolchildren, finding that at each stage the level is lower in Egypt: Egyptian preparatory equals French primary, Egyptian secondary, French preparatory, etc. He also finds that the French child knows more about the history of ancient Egypt than the Egyptian child.

Curricular reform

The curricula are attacked:

> What should we teach these rising generations in elementary science, literature and art? A study of our teaching programmes showed that they are burdened, especially in the first stages, with

> two things: first, a heap of fragments and crusts of knowledge not at all proportionate to the capacity of the students to grasp or understand; second, heaps of national idiosyncracies and ideologies filling the programme under the name of 'national education'.

There is much more in this vein, capped by a plea for comparative educational studies:

> We certainly need to compare our educational programmes with those of advanced countries, once every five years, to ascertain that the Egyptian student is not less scientifically educated, in any stage, than the English or French or Russian. (Louis Awad, *al-Ahram*, 26 January – 30 July 1971, in Arabic)

The theme was continued by President Sadat in a discussion on educational matters: 'If certain skills are lacking, the committee should seek them elsewhere, and study systems of education adopted in other countries, and apply what it considers suitable to us.' (*Egyptian Gazette* 1 April 1972) If the committee approached England it would find that the Egyptian complaints are sufficiently paralleled here in 1976 to provoke an exceptional speech by the Prime Minister. The problem in carrying out these injunctions is the lack of trained comparative educationists to make scientific comparative studies. According to one official, a certain amount of confusion results when educationists are sent on comparatively short missions to countries in various parts of the world, return and try to apply, piecemeal, what they have observed, without reference to the different philosophies underlying the educational fragment that is transferred. This problem has also not escaped the Press; in a long article discussing the problems of primary education the writer refers to 'the methods of teaching we import without understanding, the people who lay the plans for these programmes, without having any real contact with teaching, or practice'. (Samy Daoud, *al-Gomhoureya*, in Arabic)

New methods

Among the methods of teaching imported has been the increasing use of audio-visual aids, notably in the use of radio for language education. An experiment in the teaching of Arabic, French and English is currently being conducted and evaluated by the Ministry of Education. At all levels there is a trend to introduce more practical elements into

curricula. In the fields of agricultural and technical education the need is obvious and the rate of progress dependent on the availability of plant and equipment as well as technicians. In primary education such changes can only be experimental in the short term, since whole generations of teachers need to be trained if the changes are to be meaningful.

However, where concentration has been based on a limited educational area, notably in the teaching of modern mathematics, success has been considerable. The main experiment was preceded, with the help of UNESCO, by a pilot study. Teachers were specially trained and the changes carefully organized, avoiding disruption of current programmes. With the establishment of the National Council for Education, Scientific Research and Technology, innovations in curricula and method are always subject to pilot experimentation, scientific planning and evaluation. All changes in the direction of education take place against a chronic shortage of buildings, equipment, books and, most important, teachers. The absence of large numbers of teachers serving with the armed forces during 1973 may have prompted the People's Broadcasting Service to begin new educational programmes for students sitting for examinations in all stages of education, a development which may meet some of the problems indicated above.

Examination reform

Traditionally examinations have always been a prominent feature of the educational system, success at each stage determining the possibility of entering the following stage. With the rapid increase in population and the growing demand for higher education, which always exceeds the supply, the pressure on children to achieve selection has created problems with no easy solution. Efforts to alleviate the system sometimes aggravate the cause of the problem. For example, allowing children who failed examinations for promotion in the early stages to repeat classes caused bottlenecks in primary schools already overcrowded; the system of external students, created in 1953, with the excellent intention of satisfying the aspirations of thousands of Egyptians to achieve a university degree, has, in fact, led to frustration for the students and serious problems for planners and administrators. Briefly, what Szyliowicz (1973), terms 'an extreme form of "do-it-yourself" approach to higher education' has, he says, produced thousands of students barred from attending classes, studying for examinations

without any guidance whatsoever, depending on memorizing textbooks, who add considerably to the burden of overworked examiners. Szyliowicz comments:

> A further consequence of this programme is that the aspirations of thousands of poorly trained individuals are further heightened. Possessing all the privileges of regular university students, they come to share the latter's expectations concerning future employment opportunities but they are, in effect, being poorly prepared for fields which are already saturated and in which there is no demand for their services.

During the last five years the Ministry of Education has taken many steps to lighten the examination burden in schools and institutes of education. Public examinations at the lower levels are being replaced by classroom examinations corrected at the school under supervision, while secondary school certificate examinations can, owing to the expansion of universities, be held at the governorate level. A report in 1975 from the National Centre for Educational Research suggests continuous assessment, with brief examinations at short intervals, a bigger examination after reaching the end of each chapter of the textbook and a comprehensive 'objective' examination at the end of the year. This appears to defeat the purpose of lifting the strain of examinations, which would become continuous and to encourage the learning of the textbook off by heart, a weakness in the system which has long been under attack, while not allowing time for modern creative methods to be used in the classroom. The 'objective' examination in particular, can lead to the indiscriminate cramming of facts which have not been understood or assimilated. The question of creativity has already been raised, so no doubt some compromise will be reached before the report is fully adopted.

Coaching

Any reform of examinations that would lessen the burden of homework would be welcomed by pupils and parents alike. The present system throws a great responsibility on the parents to see that the school day does not end when the child leaves for home but continues, in some cases far into the night. For small children the parents become teacher-substitutes, adding to the pressures endured in the classroom. There is

no time for play, especially if the child is a slow learner. When the point is reached where specialized knowledge is required, anxious parents make incredible sacrifices to pay for coaching. This results in a paradoxical situation: education within the system is free from the primary stage to the university level, in order that every child in the socialist state should have equal chance to profit from it, but the teachers are employed by the parents in the evenings to give their children extra lessons to ensure that they pass their examinations, that is, by the parents who could obviously afford to pay fees. These, in the case of a university student, can amount to more than £700 a year for each child taught extra lessons. Coaching becomes big business when teachers are in short supply. The government would like to stamp it out, but that is impossible while teachers' salaries are so low and many join the brain drain to improve their standard of living. The Ministry of Education is trying to contain it by making it legal for teachers to offer a limited number of hours extra teaching for extra salary on the school premises. This is recognized as a part-solution; the basic problems remain to be solved. Meanwhile, according to *al-Ahram* and other local newspapers, the phenomenon of private lessons has become a characteristic of almost every household containing a student in any of the stages from kindergarten to the university.

Problems of children and youth

What of the school children and youth themselves, how do they view their problems? Two main sources are available: a national survey supported by UNICEF and carried out by the personnel of the National Centre for Social and Criminological Research in Cairo and the expressed concerns of students who can communicate through both their Arab Socialist Union organization and their independent students' unions.

The needs of children

The study of the problems of children, which covers the period 1966 to 1969, was Egypt's response to the call by a UNICEF conference for national policies for children based on their actual needs. Its main importance lies in the recognition of

> an acute lack of accurate information about the nature and extent of the major needs and problems of Egyptian children, and, in

> addition, the corresponding lack of relevant data underlining whatever inconsistencies may be found between societal goals and systems' modes of satisfying children's needs in Egypt.

Henceforward, planning to solve children's problems would be an integrated part of national development plans. It is regarded as a pilot study on a nationwide scale, subject to all the difficulties of an ambitious pioneer effort, covering development stages from conception to the age of eighteen years. The steering committee argued that

> if you could identify the problems, concerns and centres of pain of children and youth, you would at the same time be basically indicating some of their psycho-bio-social needs . . . the present investigation was more concerned with needs which have their roots in the 'circumstantial' climate into which the child is born and continues to grow and develop. The [main] line [was] therefore to try to assess the problems of children at different stages of their development in different social strata. (Assessment of children's needs in Egypt. Final report UNICEF, 1974)

It would be inappropriate here to attempt to cover, even in summary, this very detailed study of the problems of Egyptian children encompassing social, economic and educational features of the Egyptian background, the needs and problems of the pre-school child in the fields of health, nutrition, rearing methods, legal needs and problems arising when the mother works; the legal rights, needs and problems of the school-age child as they relate to family, custody, alimony and legal protection in general, health and nutritional needs, employment, educational opportunities and personal-social needs and problems. A few aspects have been selected for their relevance to the development of Egypt's educational policy.

It is noted that the sample used includes both fathers and mothers and those children attending school and non-attenders (ie. drop-outs, etc.). This is a recognition of the increasing importance of the roles of parents in their children's education (hitherto confined to the middle and upper classes) and of the need to meet the problems not only of children within the school system but of the unfortunates who still roam the streets and haunt the bazaars. No uniformity was found among the children's problems, which depended on sex, urban or rural domicile, the socio-economic level of the family, family size and

the level of education, as well as working status of the father and mother. The services available in home and institution were described, but the survey of the conditions under which children live, of family expenditure and food consumption patterns showed that in

> the great majority of Egyptian families children are deprived of many essentials, a fact which is reflected not only in their health and nutritional status, but also in the pursuit of their personal interests, continuation of education and the fulfilment of other life aims.

The deprivations are responsible for high infant mortality rates, malnutrition and other diseases, incorrect family life and socialization methods, high rate of child labour, high rate of drop-outs, as well as non-attendance at primary schools (though free and compulsory) by almost 30 per cent in the six-to-twelve-years age group. Of special significance is that girls are more deprived than boys of many essentials, especially education and freedom of choice. The report indicates that in spite of Egypt's great efforts to provide services, they are 'in most cases deficient in many ways and very poor in quality'. The parents themselves aggravate the situation by failing to make use of technical education provision which would ensure a good living for their children in non-saturated areas of employment.

The report also points out the many inconsistencies between family practices and values and the goals and aims considered to be of national importance. These include the ignorance of wives and mothers, especially in rural areas, a strong tendency to think of manual work and skilled labour as inferior occupations with a corresponding reluctance to have their children educated along industrial and technical lines, discrimination against daughters, harsh discipline within the family, which frustrates the development of independence, and the pressure on students to gain admission to the universities and chase white-collar jobs, when, in fact the need of the country is for trained technicians, skilled mechanics and other manual experts.

The Egyptian government can claim that it is working to carry out the recommendations which follow this report: to pay more attention to rural areas, by providing community services, to ensure that girls are given the same attention concerning their needs and problems as boys, the increase of family planning units, especially in rural areas and the establishment of a 'National Planning Council for Children', which

would co-ordinate the efforts of different ministries and public and social services and institutions. Finally, the investigation concludes that

> Policies concerning children and families should be revised with a new outlook on actual social problems, and enforced with a courageous scientific attitude towards adopting a modern system suited to the needs of Egyptian children and the Egyptian family. (UNICEF, 1974)

The thousands of Egyptian children who reach the top of the educational ladder and spend three or more years studying at college or university are, like students in other countries, ready to discuss their problems with anyone who will listen. These appear to fall into two main categories: the socially acceptable, and political doubts and fears which are regarded as dangerous to the unity of the state. They are encouraged to express their problems (which might more accurately be described as 'grievances') through the student unions, the student branch of the Arab Socialist Union and counselling facilities described under 'student welfare'.

Student problems

Egyptian universities hold seminars periodically to give students the opportunity to discuss their problems relating to their studies and to have general discussions on the political situation. Union membership is not compulsory, so it is possible that half of those attending may be non-members. Apart from welfare (already discussed) the main problems seem to be related to shortages of scientific equipment and books, which are annual causes of frustration. To ease this situation the Higher Council of the Universities approved in 1972 the establishment of a university book fund with a starting capital of £E 100,000 and to make arrangements for providing university textbooks at the lowest possible cost. However, the decision to apply the principle of one textbook for every subject even if it was taught by more than one professor, to insist on every professor teaching one class for a minimum period of two years and in no circumstances to change a textbook before two years, so that a student who failed and had to repeat the year would not be compelled to obtain a new textbook, must, in view of very inadequate library facilities, be a source of intellectual frustration. In spite of this 'solution' the problem continues and in 1974 the cabinet

took steps to facilitate the import of university textbooks as well as foreign volumes and reference books at reasonable prices. The following year a central book agency was created to ensure that books reach students in time and at suitable prices, and to help members of the teaching staff to print their books and distribute them more easily. To keep the prices down a republican decree was issued exempting university teaching staff from taxes on their profits from textbooks. The textbook problem has been detailed here, as it assumes an importance in the Egyptian study programme not found in, for example, English universities, where no textbooks are prescribed and there is no direct relationship between the course, the textbook, the author-professor, the student and the examination.

More difficult are problems arising from demands by students for the right to discuss political affairs in a way that expresses or implies criticism of the existing régime. Freedom of speech, which is seen as a mark of maturity, is traditionally exercised by young people who have only recently escaped the fetters of childhood, discovering that they have an opinion on any topic you like to name. With increasing social awareness they are sensitive to environmental shortcomings which they see as the outcome of faulty policies. Having no real power to change their world, they exercise a power of protest expressed with varying degrees of violence. In normal times such behaviour from students is tolerated by democratic countries provided that the demonstration does not involve law-breaking such as destruction of property and endangering life and liberty. Egypt's situation is not yet normal, nor can it be until a solution to the Arab-Jewish conflict has been found. Student attacks on the government are seen as undermining the solidarity that is necessary to achieve Egyptian political aims. Naturally students are not a party to military secrets, and it seems possible that while they were staging their protests against lack of support for the Palestinian cause, plans to invade the occupied territory in 1973 were already in hand.

By European and American standards student unrest in Egypt is mild in its eruptions, but, in the context of normal public behaviour by adults as well as youth it is disturbing the university authorities as well as the government. In 1972, students who had taken part in the incidents were allowed to return when the universities re-opened, except for the leaders who were interrogated by the Public Prosecutor. Even they were allowed to visit the universities and talk to staff. Meanwhile discussions took place with the student unions, and a fact-finding sub-

committee of the Arab Socialist Union prepared a report for the People's Assembly. In the subsequent debate the students' right to freedom differentiates between self-expression and sensational slogans, abuse and rumours, for 'insult is a crime both inside and outside the university halls'. (*Egyptian Gazette*) A deviationist faction, who cared little for the homeland or the students, had infiltrated into their ranks, formed demonstrations, published wall magazines full of abuse of state institutions but had made no definite demands. Recommendations from the People's Assembly urged that more attention should be paid to youth problems both by themselves and the government, a revision of university regulations, more employment opportunities should be given to university graduates, student unions should be elected and that religious and spiritual values should be cared for in all stages of education. It was suggested that tolerance should be shown towards the views of the country's youth who were 'expressing the conscience of society'.

The President's reply was to reveal the seizure of evidence of Marxist-inspired plans to establish 'Committees for the Defence of Democracy', their mission being to 'struggle against the repressive measures, police and administrative intervention and statutes which suppress freedoms as well as disallow the freedom of publication, expression and meeting.' They had intended to declare the withdrawal of confidence from the existing students' unions and to form what they called the 'National Democratic Union of Students' so that they could control student affairs. It was also revealed that the activities had been started by an employee of the General Construction Company, for personal and financial gains, who subsequently admitted trying to incite university students to hold anti-government demonstrations to exert pressure on the government for the release of students pending investigations. There was general relief and gratitude from youth organizations when, almost on the eve of the October War, the President decided to withdraw the cases against students from the courts. The state Minister for Youth, referring to it as a 'wise and revolutionary decision', regarded it as 'an invitation to young people to do their duty at the present crucial stage in an atmosphere of security and freedom, guided only by their sense of responsibility and commitment to the national goals.' The October War gave Egyptian students fresh outlets for their energy and patriotism and has been followed by a period of peace in the universities, giving time for the investigation of 'legitimate' grievances.

The student unions have suffered a setback in so far as they now co-exist with the student section of the Arab Socialist Union which has the power of the political organization behind it. However, as sympathizers with the African students' movement and members of the International Students' Union, they appeal to students who want to be a part of a world association as well as an Egyptian or Arab organization.

3

The educational system: problems of control

Centralization versus decentralization

In education the government proposes and, to a great extent, the civil service body (in Egypt including the teachers as well as the Ministries of Education) disposes, so the relationship between the decision-making political body and the educational executive hierarchy is crucial to the successful solution of educational problems. There are some interesting points of comparison and contrast between the situation in Egypt and in England during the period covered by this survey. The basic relationship, which to a large extent determines all the hierarchical relationships, depends on the relative dependence or independence of educational policy from political dogma.

Periodically in England, there is a call from educationalists to remove education from politics, that is, to make educational decisions on educational grounds rather than to use them to support a political policy which may be changed at the next general election. It is argued that the country's children are being used as pawns in a power struggle in which neither side has all the best educational answers. The reply assumes that the concept of education extends beyond the school walls, being an integral part of the fabric of living, so cannot be divorced from other aspects of government. From the latter point of view it is but a short step to think of education in terms of the economic and social needs of the state and the contribution that should be made by its young people. Thus, in 1976, we had the unprecedented experience of listening to a British Prime Minister making a major speech expressing concern about educational standards and raising questions about curricula, organization, methods of teaching and other educational matters, hitherto regarded as the prerogative of the teaching profession. In periods of social change issues become confused, but one fact became clear when a by-election in the north of England resulted in a change of a political party in local government: the decision to reverse a political policy to adopt an overall comprehensive system of state education was

also political. Decision-making in education, however obscured by theories of education taught in the colleges and bolstered by social and psychological research is ultimately political.

In Egypt this aspect of educational control has been less complicated owing to the one-party political system. Continuity of government for nearly a quarter of a century has favoured a singleness of purpose, creating stability and releasing the energies of administrators and educationalists to concentrate on the details of implementing national policies and solving the problems involved as efficiently as possible. Until recently, efficiency has been equated with centralization.

Historical factors as well as more recent events have conspired to centralize educational administration in Egypt. As Galt (1936), commented, for centuries Islam had preached the virtue of acquisition of knowledge directed towards a faithful execution of religious duties which allowed no individual or social deviation, When a European system was introduced by Mohammed 'Ali (1830–40), it followed the centralized pattern characteristic of French education, a pattern which the British failed to change during their occupation of Egypt. Galt, complaining of the ill effects of centralization on education in modern Egypt, remarked that

> Egyptian education presents no compelling philosophy like Fascism or Communism to warrant perpetuation of such a centralized machine for indoctrination. In Egypt the educational wheels of indoctrination are all set up, but there is no natural ideology to be indoctrinated. The wheels grind on for their own sake.

The price of stability, he thought, was stagnation. Two years later decentralization began with the division of Egypt into educational zones, including two or more provinces. Manned by an army of director generals, local controllers, advisory committees, technical advisers, inspectors and numerous sub-committees, the wheels still ground on until Gamal Abdul Nasser in 1952 supplied the 'compelling philosophy' and 'natural ideology' to use the machine.

With the consolidation of the political régime, the widespread distribution of the Arab Socialist Union units, expansion of education and plans for re-mapping Egypt into socially homogeneous, natural, geographical and integrated units, decentralization of education has become an important aspect of a general policy to attract Egyptians of

all classes and occupations away from the over-popular and over-populated cities. At first the pace was slow: Boktor (1963), reported the existence of twenty-seven decentralized independent zones all over the country each with its own administration. At present governorates are being encouraged to adapt syllabuses to the needs and interests of the local population, but financial decentralization has yet to be worked out: even in Alexandria, the government allowance from Cairo has been itemized and only a relatively small part has been used freely for public services. However, in 1974, educational zones were re-organized and upgraded. Every governorate now comprises a zone and in certain districts of the Cairo, Alexandria and Giza governorates there is an administration of the first level. Moreover, every city in the other governorates is permitted to establish an educational administration with a director whose occupational status will depend on the number of schools and classrooms in his competence. The Ministry of Education provides directors for the newly established administrations, while the educational zone provides staff either from its own ranks or other personnel in the governorate. (Ministerial Issue No. 49 for the year 1974)

Educational policies and practices tend to go round in circles, so that one who has taught, say, for forty-five years periodically encounters a 'new' method of approach to teaching or discipline, supported by enthusiastic literature from America which appears to be an 'old' method clothed in the latest fashionable psychological terms. (Behaviour therapy is a case in point.) Educational administration in terms of centralization and decentralization appears to be, in Egypt, approaching the point in the circle that England is leaving. During the period of Galt's protest against decentralization, in England the transition was made from a completely decentralized financial structure, resulting, for example, in widely different salary scales for teachers and the provision of secondary education, etc. (depending on local tax levels), to centralized responsibility for major building projects, a national salary scale and other measures aimed at giving rural communities the same level of educational opportunity as those found in the cities and the suburbs. Egypt is hoping to achieve the same objective by decentralization. At the same time the Egyptian administration, as shown in the details below, is trying to liberalize the administration by various methods: changing the image of the inspectorate by turning it into an 'advisory' body, giving head teachers more freedom in the running of

their schools, encouraging flexibility in curricula and modern approaches to teaching, all in the name of efficiency and with the desire to raise standards, while in England there is a strong political move to cut down the freedom of head teachers to run their schools in their own way without interference, to increase the power of the inspectorate and to establish at least a core curriculum which every child must follow. These measures are also being discussed with the object of increasing efficiency and raising standards. Perhaps both countries are moving towards a balanced solution.

The structure and scope of the Ministries of Education

The ministries

As indicated, efforts by the Ministries of Education to solve educational problems are made within the political framework, which outlines their responsibilities and restraints. While the main responsibility for education and training lies with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education, other ministries train manpower for their own specialized needs, providing both formal and informal programmes. The Ministry of al-Azhar is responsible for a complete network of schools and colleges which operate outside the public sector and for religious education. The private sector and voluntary teaching, such as private coaching and organized literacy classes are subject to governmental restraints, but the universities are outside ministerial jurisdiction.

Until July 1961, the Ministry of Education carried the responsibility for all levels of education except the universities. Rapid expansion in the field of higher education made desirable a split in the administration, so, as far as institutions are concerned, its main responsibilities are for primary, preparatory (intermediate), secondary general, secondary technical (commercial, agricultural and industrial) education and primary teacher training. Such is the growing concern for switching from a concentration on quantity to quality of education in Egypt that the scope of ministerial activity is gradually increasing. For example, recently two new departments have been added to those discussed below. These are: a separate department for broadcasting educational programmes by radio and television, which co-operates with television staffs and personnel from the Department of Educational Aids; and a Department for Military/Training Affairs which had been affiliated to the preparatory and education sector. The responsibility of this depart-

ment is to provide military training for both boys and girls in the secondary stage, and to train the boys in military exercises and the girls in medical care. (Law No. 46 for the year 1973 and Ministerial Issue No. 131 for the year 1974)

The Ministry is subject to Republican Issues which reflect national policies and affect other ministries, but formulates its own regulations relating to internal administration. During the period 1973/5, the government established the National Council for Education, Scientific Research and Technology for designing long-term policies in these areas and suggesting general policy for developing national facilities. It is also responsible for studying the possibilities of international co-operation and exchange of experience in those areas, and for co-ordinating the various efforts made, as well as following up and evaluating the designed plans with the purpose of developing future policies. The Council has been formed of leaders in the field of education and of experienced experts in its various branches and specializations, leaders who have gained public fame for their superior abilities and efficient contributions over a long period of time at home and abroad. (Republican Issue No. 615 for the year 1974)

After 1961 education above the secondary level became the responsibility of the new Ministry of Higher Education. Technically the universities retained their independence, but an attempt was made to integrate them into the government system by the creation of the Supreme Council of Universities, under the presidency of the Minister of Higher Education, which is responsible for planning and research both in the universities and in other institutes of higher education.

The main functions of the Ministry are as follows:

1. to plan for and retain control over the Higher Technical Institutes and Technical Training Institutes, although individual institutions are given a good deal of freedom in the management of their own administrative affairs;
2. to carry out advisory functions and planning functions in the universities as a major member of the Supreme Council of Universities;
3. responsibility for student missions abroad, award of scholarships and all other matters relating to foreign students;
4. admissions to higher institutes and universities on the basis of examinations.

These functions and those of the Supreme Council of Universities together with instructions for the organization of Higher Education Institutes and universities are detailed in Law No. 49 (1972), modified by amendments in subsequent years.

The Supreme Council of Universities

This Council meets the need to co-ordinate the heterogeneous collection of universities, colleges and institutes of diverse origins that together represent higher education in Egypt. It is a formidable task owing to the extreme decentralization of these institutions in contrast to other levels of education (Qubain said in 1966 that 'Each college and indeed sometimes each department within the small college is a world unto its own'), but necessary, as duplication is a luxury that Egypt cannot afford in terms of manpower or finance. Problems arising from the unprecedented expansion in this sector of education in recent years have already been discussed and some details of the institutions themselves will be found in the chapter on Higher Education.

The Supreme Council of Universities consists of the Minister of Higher Education (president), vice-president of each university, a member to be selected annually by each university council from among deans of the respective university faculties, five external members known for great interest and experience in university education and public affairs, nominated by the Council, and the Secretary General of the Council. Co-ordination in the field of higher university education covers university studies and academic degrees, teaching in corresponding faculties, institutes and departments of universities and university teaching posts. The Council is also responsible for planning the general policy of university education and scientific research in universities, which aims at orienting the academic work to serve the nation's needs in accordance with its national, social, economic, cultural and scientific objectives. It also determines the fields of specialization of the professorships, the creation of new fields and the equivalence of foreign degrees, as well as deciding the number of students to be admitted to the different faculties of each of the universities and formulating the regulations for admission. Within the framework of its responsibilities, it sets up by-laws of the universities and approves faculty regulations, but is limited to comments on the government grants given annually to each university.

The Council sets up committees of specialized university professors from Egypt and abroad or suitably qualified persons to increase its efficiency. For example, there are thirteen committees covering all disciplines forming sub-committees to deal with matters concerning university studies. Other committees evaluate the academic work of applicants for university posts, deal with the equivalence of degrees at various levels awarded by foreign institutions, and deal with cultural relations affairs with foreign universities and institutions in the field of higher education and scientific research. A general secretariat headed by a secretary general, ranking as a vice-president of a university, with five years' minimum experience as a professor takes care of the administrative and financial aspects of the specialized units. (Source: personal communication and notes and pamphlets from the Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Universities, Cairo, 1976)

Planning

As indicated above, the Ministries of Education and Higher Education have been charged by the government to produce a ministerial structure that will enable the country, through its educational system to solve its manpower problems at all levels. The natural bureaucratic response to such a grave and comprehensive responsibility is to organize innumerable committees and open countless files. However, law and order are to be preserved by scientific planning.

The National Council for Education, Scientific Research and Technology

Gamal Abdul Nasser recognized that national planning was essential to organize strategies and harness all Egyptian resources to carry out his political, social and economic policies. A National Planning Committee was founded in 1956 to collect information from the public and private authorities about their proposed policies and projects which they should follow up and evaluate. However, the scope of the Committee's tasks, which affected every aspect of the economy, led to its upgrading to become the Ministry of National Planning, which coordinates information from experts, research workers and specialized study groups. This information, general and statistical, is the basis of the five-year plans which became a feature of Egyptian politics after 1960.

Every ministry now has a planning sector with a director who co-ordinates plans of its various branches, with due attention being paid to the results of relevant researches. He also acts as a liaison officer to the Minister of National Planning. The whole task of planning has been taken over with enthusiasm: there are yearly plans, five-year plans, ten-year plans and even plans spanning the next twenty-five years. The problem lies in the provision of a framework which will ensure that each plan, however minor or subordinate, has its appointed place in an overall strategy. Egypt has the advantage of learning from the experience of expert planners who subject her projects to a detailed evaluation before granting financial help.

In education, planning is centralized at the Ministry of Education but the Educational Zones contribute by giving information about their needs and facilities. An expressed policy is that the governorates should be self-sufficient in education (Report 1973), but, as far as can be ascertained, implementation is not included in a ten-year plan which began in 1972/3 and will end in 1981/2. The principles and main objectives were outlined in the Annual Report (1973). They can be summarized as follows:

Principles:
the absorption of all children of compulsory school age;
compulsory school age to be raised to fifteen;
elimination of private and paid lessons;
raising standards, especially in science;
linking education and the needs of society;
eradication of illiteracy.

Main objectives:
equal opportunity for all citizens;
provision of skilled and well-equipped manpower;
introduction of modern science in curricula and method;
educational, medical, physical and psychological care of students at all stages;
programme of literacy education and education of the handicapped;
centre for educational research;
continuous assessment as main part of the examination system;
co-ordination between the different bodies concerned with education at different levels.

Most of these principles and objectives are in general terms, making progress assessment a co-ordinating exercise, but the Report on 'The

Development of Education in A.R.E. during the Period 1973/4–1974/5' indicates that more detailed planning is in progress and that some items, such as the Centre for Educational Research (described below) have already been achieved. Problems related to the implementation of these principles and objectives and the steps taken to find solutions will be found in subsequent chapters. Examples are the introduction of modern mathematics in some preparatory schools and attempts to improve buildings and equipment. A noble attempt to give every child a school place is, in some cases, being achieved by gross over-crowding of classes and double or treble sessions daily. There are so many factors over which the Minister of Education has no control that, however careful the planning, it is at this stage impossible to assess the chances of 100 per cent primary school attendance in 1980, quite apart from the raising of the compulsory age to fifteen years.

The Ministerial Committee on Education

Meanwhile, following the establishment by the government of the National Council for Education, Scientific Research and Technology for designing long-term policies, the Minister of Education in 1974 formed a Ministerial Committee on Education composed of officials working in these areas. The members discuss their policies, plans and responsibilities, project new laws and issues of their respective departments, discuss the National Plans for Research and the distribution of manpower, and approve plans of co-operation and exchange of experiences on a scientific basis. (Ministerial Issue No. 185 for the year 1974)

There can be no doubt that during this period of rapid change the new National Council has a useful role and that the Ministerial Committee has a function of supplying the groundwork for discussion at the national level. There is equally no doubt that the experts involved are capable of fulfilling their important duties. The snag is that the Council is likely to be composed of 'the mixture as before' since the qualifications for membership cover a quantity and quality of experience only acquired by those whose services cover not only a high administrative position, often entailing much travel, but membership of numerous committees. It is to be hoped that the government is seizing this opportunity of waiving aside the normal procedure of hierarchical stepping stones to include at least a proportion of young, able scientists in its Council, who have the time and energy to give priority to this

work. There is evidence from both overworked officials at the top and frustrated graduates returning from overseas training that adjustments in the rigid promotion system might alleviate the manpower situation. Meanwhile the Minister of Education has delegated some of his authority to his Under-Secretaries of State, by appointing a Head Under-Secretary for Education. This will free him to co-operate and to participate to a greater degree in the management of education at the central level. (Ministerial Issue No. 130 for the year 1974)

Re-organization within the Ministry

The year 1974 witnessed a tremendous effort to meet the need for modernization within the Ministry. Ministerial Issues Nos 84 and 134 are responsible for the re-organization to encompass the following sections:

1. Office of the Minister and the Planning Sector, jointly charged to supervise the following departments: The General Department, the Council for Directors of Education, the Department of Development Plans, the Department of Organization, the Department of Statistics and the Department of Public Relations.
2. Supervision and follow-up for General Culture Education responsible for supervising the instruction of general culture education subjects, the General Department for In-Service Training, the General Department for Audio-Visual Aids, the General Department of Libraries and Museums, and the General Department of School Activities.
3. Administrative and Financial Affairs Sector responsible for the following General Departments: Finance, Administration, Personnel, Administration and Financial Supervision and Affairs of Law.
4. Central Educational Services and follow-up of Educational Zones, responsible for the following General Departments: Books and Textbooks, Laboratories, Examinations, follow-up of Educational Zones and Private Education.
5. Primary Education and Teachers Preparation Sector which supervises the General Departments of: Primary Education, Teachers' Preparation, Adult Education and Literacy.
6. Preparatory and Secondary Education Sector which is in charge of the following General Departments: Preparatory Education,

Secondary Education, Physical and Social Education and Cultural Relationships.

7. Technical Education Sector which is responsible for General Departments of: Industrial Education, Supervision of Technical Subjects, and Technical Equipment and Instruments.

Educational Consultants and Supervisors It is self-evident that plans to improve the quality of education need a follow-up service by competent supervisors who are able both to assess as well as act as liaison officers between the planners, teachers and officials engaged in executing the plans. This ministerial problem has partly been resolved by the establishment of a sector of supervision in the Ministry of Education itself, making it possible to transfer educational consultants from the National Centre for Educational Research to the Ministry, making a two-tier advisory service, which if co-ordinated should improve efficiency. With the move has come a re-definition of the responsibilities of consultants. They must

> join in the committees for studying curriculum development, textbooks and educational books, take part in meetings which are held for studying the general policies for each educational stage and its problems, strengthen the relations among the staffs working in the field and get in touch with the organizations which are responsible for the specific subject matter and its method of teaching, suggest the research and experiments which can be applied in schools and participate in carrying out such research, visit schools and carry out field trips to Educational Zones.

There are specific consultants for technical education, whose responsibilities are defined as follows:

> Carry out the studies and research which aims at developing the quality of education in the certain specialization, hold meetings with the concerned departments of planning, curriculum, textbooks, supervision, school administration, student affairs and examinations for studying the problems they face and try to solve them.

All educational consultants must, in their own fields of specialization,

also supervise the work of general inspectors and co-ordinate their efforts in the development of educational supervision in all the stages and types of education. (Ministerial Issue No. 55 for the year 1974)

The supervisors, who are conceived as experienced people who can guide and help their colleagues to the advantage of the schools are divided into two categories: the administrative leaders in the offices of the Ministry of Education itself and in the Educational Zones, and the educational supervisors who supervise the instruction in the schools and institutions, and who guide the teachers and evaluate the pupils, the curricula, the textbooks, the school activities and the whole educational process. (Ministerial Issue No. 180 for the year 1973)

The objective of all these detailed instructions is to define the responsibilities of the supervisory staffs at all levels right from the senior teacher up to the supervisor, senior supervisor and the general supervisor. It would be difficult to conceive of a more watertight chain of inspection and advice to test curricula and textbooks to guide and evaluate teachers and pupils, hoping thereby to raise standards of education. The system, however, raises certain important questions. What is considered to be excellence in teachers and head teachers? Are they low-grade civil servants whose function is to carry out precisely the orders received from above? Is initiative inappropriate for teachers? Does the head teacher find any scope for creativity in his (her) job? An Egyptian American who broadcast his comments on Egyptian education while attending a conference on 'Egypt in the Year Two Thousand' found that educational institutions were lacking individual personalities. He felt that this was a sign of immaturity. In the lower levels of education where creativity should be a great feature of teaching and learning, the standardization of so many aspects of the educational experience leads probably to a less than just conclusion that, if you have seen one school, you may have seen the lot. To balance this impression, it must be recorded that in England, where for many years the head teacher has been 'king of his castle', some shocking results lead to a public enquiry from time to time, and that Egypt is in the process of changing the concept of an inspectorate to that of an advisory service, while England is debating the advisability of tightening its control.

In the final analysis of its problems, the Ministry of Education relies increasingly on investigations and research conducted by the National Centre for Educational Research which is now an integral part of its organization.

The National Centre for Educational Research

Before the Revolution one of the controllers under the Technical Adviser (later called an Under-Secretary) was a 'Controller of Projects and Research.' He was in charge of studies and research required by the Ministry of Education, involving examination of plans, policies and courses. This was not considered a full-time job, as, according to Matthews and Akrawi (1949), he was also expected to supervise the collection of information and to take charge of the Ministry library consisting of about 50,000 books in Arabic, English and French, which he lent to officials of the Ministry and teachers all over the country.

The Revolutionary Government, with its emphasis on planning a new order in Egypt, realized that if it were scientific, it could not be divorced from research, so in 1956 it established a Science Council, with the object of encouraging scientific research in all spheres of public life. To legalize these efforts, the state supplanted the Council by a Ministry of Scientific Research, with eight specialized councils, later creating an 'Academy of Scientific Research and Technology.' (Details can be found in the chapter on Higher Education.) Emphasis was on scientific research related to the fields of social and economic development and modern science. Inevitably the Academy's interests overlapped those of the Ministry of Education, since it participated in the development of scientific curricula, supported scientific societies and encouraged the holding of scientific conferences. Also it co-ordinated projects in the various industries, financing them and extending their scope.

By 1970 the Ministry of Education had decided to transform its Technical Research Department into a National Council for Educational Research which would be staffed by officers experienced in scientific methodology which could be applied to investigation and experimentation in the field of education. After comparative studies had been carried out and Egyptian needs and conditions considered, the Centre was established by Decree No. 881 of 1972, as a public agency under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education. (Source: its first Director, Dr Fuad el-Bahay el-Sayed).

According to Dr Fuad the objectives of the Centre are concentrated on improvement of education in all fields, providing sound scientific data to be available for policy-makers and planners, forming technical cadres in the area of educational research, conducting experiments and

helping local organizations, while ensuring co-operation and co-ordination with specialized councils and centres in other states. The Board of Directors include representatives of the Ministries of Education, Higher Education, Manpower, Industry, Agriculture, the universities and their specialized faculties, the faculties of education, the Arab Organization for Science and Culture, the Science Academy, the National Planning Institute, the Arab Socialist Union Central Committee and the Education Committee of the People's Council.

By 1973 the Minister of Education, Chairman of the National Education Research Centre, was ready to set up the Centre's General Scientific and Permanent Committees. Care was taken that they should represent scientific and educational skills as well as services and production institutions. Members were drawn from the universities and higher institutes, teacher training institutes, experts on education with long teaching service, former ministers of the production and services sectors and the educational professions association. Each committee has a rapporteur and a technical secretary, its members being selected from advisers on study subjects and/or university professors who are in a position to devote their full time to the committees. (This would be an ideal situation which appears to be unrealistic at present.) The committees' work is planned to deal with field problems in all the educational zones.

The research workers themselves are organized into major sectors and units: Research and Experimental Sector, Documentation and Information Agency, Statistics and Computer Agency, Foreign Relation Office, Financial and Administrative Affairs Sector and offices attached to the Director of the Centre, each having its own responsibilities and functions.

In its short life the NCER has shown great activity including the appointment of nineteen standing committees. At present these are studying and researching in two main areas: school curricula at different stages of education and general aspects of education, such as school administration, educational planning and financing, pre- and in-service training of teachers, evaluation and testing, counselling and guidance, school buildings and equipment and technology of education. An example of research can be taken in the field of school curricula in 1974. As a result of the recommendations made by NCER experts and the Ministry of Education's Under-Secretaries, the Minister approved an experiment on introducing the teaching of English into the fifth and

sixth forms of primary schools, to be carried out initially in all primary schools in Luxor, Aswan, Alexandria, Suez, Port Said and Ismailia the following year. In some of the larger schools in the governorates English would start in the third form. Another pilot experiment, on the development of education in rural areas, would be carried out in thirty-four village primary schools, involving special curricula aimed at linking the study programme to the environment and the local industries and crafts existing in each village. The Minister also decided to carry out a pilot study of his new plans for improving curricula, school books and teaching methods on the most up-to-date lines. Fifty schools representing the different stages were to be selected from the different governorates for this experiment. The procedure to be followed for this group of schools would be radically different from the one currently used throughout the Republic. There would be no ministry-imposed syllabus or set books. Workshops would be set up in each governorate to work independently on developing the school curriculum and training teachers in suitable methods of instruction. Non-traditional subjects would be taught in these schools as well as new branches of certain subjects which had been taught more or less in the same way for thirty years, especially in secondary schools. The new subjects would include astronomy and modern electronics. The experiments would take a whole year and the results would be assessed by the NCER and the Ministry's special departments before being applied universally.

In 1973, the Financial Administrative Affairs Sector approved a five-year plan to provide qualified personnel in different areas of science and education, by sending abroad four candidates annually on scholarships to obtain a doctorate degree in a specialized branch of either of these subjects.

The Documentation and Information Agency attached to the Centre issues the following publications: *Contemporary Trends in Education* (twice a year), *Educational Abstracts* (quarterly), *Educational Information* (monthly) *Guide to Educational Circulars* (annually) *Guide to Educational Laws and Regulations* (annually), and *Report on Educational Developments in the Arab Republic of Egypt* (annually).

It appears that, in the future, decision-making in the Ministry of Education will largely result from the work of the NCER. This is in line with the recommendations of the Marrakesh Conference (1970) that research bodies at regional and national level should be created

> to study problems of education along scientific lines and approve it accordingly. . . . In short, if education is to be really a powerful instrument for modernization, social reconstruction and economic development in the region, it must be based on educational research and its findings.

Finance

Unfortunately, the more scientific the research, the greater its demands on the annual budget. Even in the West, research is difficult to finance unless the subject is perceived to be of practical value, and this may be less obvious in education than in other fields, for example, in medicine. However, the decision on how much to spend studying education along scientific lines is made in the Ministry of Education, for, although the Plan and Budget Committee of the People's Assembly discusses general educational policy in the light of interim development plans, the Ministry of Finance has the final responsibility for allocation of funds; the state, having laid down general rules, leaves the ministries to make detailed decisions within the national guidelines.

After the Revolution, state expenditure on education increased rapidly, and is still increasing. According to Mabro (1974), the £E 23 million budgeted in 1952/3 was raised to about £E 126 million in 1969/70, at the same time as public investment in education increased from £E 2·5 million to about £E 33·3 million. After that, investment averaged about £E 25 million a year.

The Egyptian budget is complicated by the necessity to estimate the amount of foreign currency required in a fluctuating market. This applies particularly to scientific and technological equipment. The Ministry of Education adds to this problem that of importing textbooks and reference books which are essential for studies at the post-secondary level. Although a partial solution has been found in the increasing production of textbooks in Arabic and a law forbidding the re-export of textbooks paid for in hard currency, the problem is likely to increase rather than diminish with the increase in higher education.

Egypt receives considerable aid from outside sources, such as United Nations organizations, the World Bank and friendly countries in both East and West. The details are complicated, involving individual agreements in the form of gifts, loans, personnel, buildings and equip-

ment, and sometimes complete projects. An international body is likely to ask to evaluate the project and recommend the form of aid. These evaluations are extremely useful to Egypt at this stage of her development, when she is faced with the formidable task of covering in a few years the developments that have taken place elsewhere over more than a century.

The ministerial budget is a compromise between the requests from all internal sources, including the governorates, and the provision made by the Ministry of Finance. One official in a governorate outside Cairo told me that if he needs fifteen million, he asks for twenty, knowing that what he will get will be nearer to what he needs. This is probably a world-wide practice. The amount received does not bear a one-to-one relationship to the amount produced by the governorate, as the principle behind the final allocation is that need is more important than capacity to pay. Education also gains from local efforts and by cultural agreements with friendly countries made at the national level.

The following report from government sources published by the *Egyptian Gazette* (19 November 1974), covers not only some illuminating statistics, but gives insight into budgetry problems:

> The Minister of Education, Dr Mustafa Kamal, said that the budget of the Ministry this year amounted to £E 178·5 million, an increase of £E 28 million last year. He pointed out that the volume of wages and salaries hit the £E 137 million mark, an increase of £E 11 million of which £E 4½ million are bonuses for teachers who worked overtime. The Minister said that the Ministry had worked out a long-term policy for the solution of the shortage in teaching staff. A total of £E 100,000 has been allocated for the Teacher Training Schools to enable teachers to get 25 per cent more for their salaries with monthly subsidies for learners equivalent to £E 2 for those getting 75 per cent of marks and £E 3 for those getting more than 80 per cent. Other allocations include £E 4 million for annual increments and the employment of demobilized teaching staff members. The Minister said that the Ministry's expenditures jumped to £E 22·5 million in view of the high price of copy books and textbooks, the implementation of the school meal programme at teacher training schools, the operation of the new classrooms, incentives and educational missions in the Sudan. The Minister explained that new

investment allocations increased by £E 7·7 million to cope with the expansion in all educational stages. The number of enrolled pupils of both sexes in primary schools this year was 738,000, while the set target was 722,000 only, a 78 per cent enrolment. He said that next year the admissions would cover 748,000 while 100 per cent would be made feasible by 1980. The Minister said that concentration in the secondary school stage centred on the technical education so as to represent in ten years' time 70 per cent, and the general education 30 per cent, instead of the present 52 per cent technical and 43 per cent general education. The Minister explained that this would entail new financial commitments, giving as an example that the costs of a general secondary school are in the region of £E 50,000, while a technical school costs fifteen times as much as this amount. The Minister declared that the new classrooms in the budget number 1,461. A total of £E 2·1 million of which £E 1 million is in foreign currency which has been appropriated for general projects and furniture. Debates then ensued about the educational operation and the Ministry's adoption of vocational training centres and technical education. Another aspect of the debate was the Grade 3 bottlenecks especially that there are 126,000 employees in the Ministry of Education alone.

4

The educational ladder

Problems as seen by the Administration

The responsibility of the administration only begins with the maintenance and improvement of the efficiency of the bureaucratic structure and the development of scientific instruments of planning that will make possible the implementation of national policies. At a second level its duty is to implement the plans and maintain the processes of education which provide their substance. Problems at the latter level arise mainly because educational processes are slow to develop, as the recipients are not accustomed to indulge in long-term planning, and expenses grow rapidly, so there is never enough money available to implement the ideal plan, making compromise solutions of immediate importance.

In the Report on the Development of Education (1973/4–1974/5), a summary is made by the Ministry of Education of 'the most important problems which face educational processes in Egypt'. They are listed as follows:

the problem of combating illiteracy;
the problem of executing compulsory education for all children as soon as possible;
the problem of drop-outs and repeating classes especially in the compulsory stage;
the problem of counselling and guidance in the secondary stage in relation to choice of branches of study;
the problem of providing educational services in villages and remote areas;
the problem of developing the system of examination in the form which can ensure sound education and at the same time limit its weight on the pupils;
the problem of raising the standard of performance among primary school teachers;
the problem of providing qualified and trained manpower in

different fields of production, which are necessary for economic and social development, besides allocating enough budget for equipment and facilities.

These problems can roughly be divided into two categories: those concerned with the quantity of education and those with quality. Education through literacy and compulsory education that avoids the wastage of drop-outs and repeaters must be achieved for all citizens, whether they live in the city or the village or remote settlement. At the same time, the quality of service must be improved by better teacher-training for the primary schools, reforming the examination system and guiding the secondary-school pupils, so that their choice of studies will meet the needs of qualified and trained manpower in different fields of production, making possible economic and social development. The solution to all the problems requires an adequate budget to cover equipment and facilities. As El-Koussy envisaged in 1953, the leaders of education are still needing 'to serve both ends simultaneously' and to attack 'the self-defeating factors'.

Some of the problems above were discussed in Chapter 2, in the context of their historical origins and national policies following the Revolution of 1952. In subsequent chapters they will be seen as part of the immediate concern of officials at all levels engaged in making the educational ladder available to as many of Egypt's children as possible, who are capable of climbing it. The search for solutions is also discussed.

In spite of her problems of population, finance, war economy and manpower, Egypt is trying to pursue her goal of continuous education. The educational ladder has progressively added new rungs over the years. The primary stage was, until 1943, reserved for an élite of fee-paying pupils. Most children at this level attended a four-year elementary school, which was free, legally compulsory and regarded as a complete education. An important stage in the development of Egyptian education was reached when, in 1943, fees were abolished in the primary schools, making possible a fusion between primary and elementary education. However, this plan was not implemented until 1953, when the revolutionary government passed Law No. 201, which not only unified the primary schools but extended this compulsory rung of the ladder for two years. The structure thus becomes:

Primary education: entry within the 6–8 age range: 6 years
Preparatory education: entry 9–14 years: 3 years

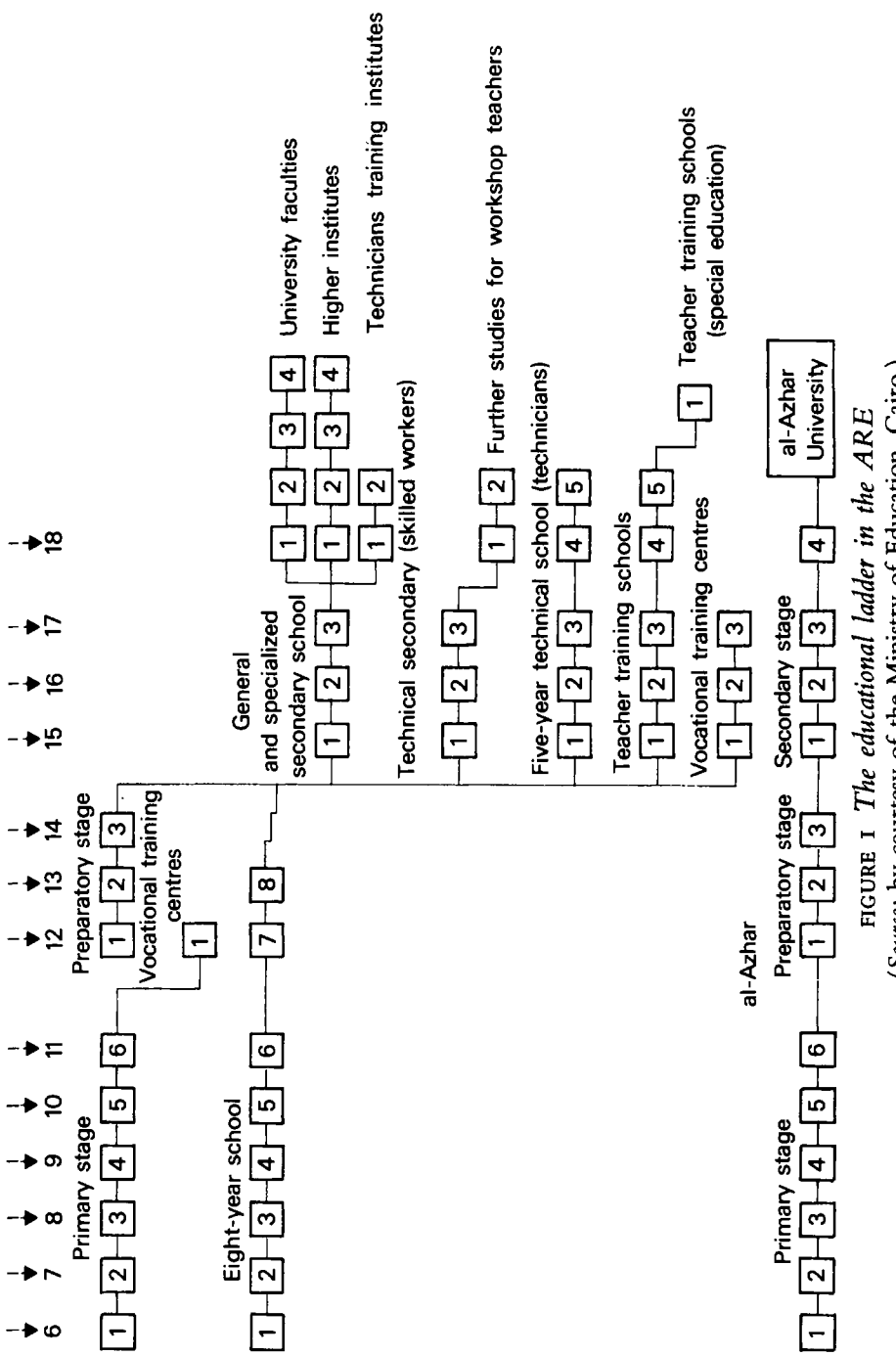


FIGURE 1 *The educational ladder in the ARE*
(*Source*: by courtesy of the Ministry of Education, Cairo.)

Secondary education: entry 12–17 years: 3 years
Higher education: entry 18–20 years: Technical training 2 years
Higher Technical Institutes: 4 or 5 years
Universities: 4, 5 or 6 years

The result of a highly competitive examination at the end of each stage determines the possibility of entry to the following stage and the courses open to the successful candidate. As the tendency is for Egyptian parents to regard university as the only worthwhile goal, the competition becomes very severe from the first year at school.

Primary schools

In developing countries there is a tendency for the primary school to be the cinderella of educational institutions: it lacks the missionary appeal of literacy and fundamental education, the informality of the nursery and kindergarten (where they exist), the prestige of the secondary school and the immediate practical appeal as well as the glamour of higher education. Whether or not he has been fortunate enough to enjoy the freedom of play in a pre-school environment or to run wild in his neighbourhood, the primary-school child finds that in the traditional school he is expected to spend many hours of the day sitting at a desk learning the basic tools of education. If he is an Egyptian child, he stands a good chance of having to share his desk with two other children, and his classroom with forty-four or more classmates. His school, too, will be shared with a similar group or even two similar groups of children who enter the building on the departure of the previous group. As one high official told me, some primary schools built for 500 children are used for educating 5,000 in three shifts, so the 1,500 leaving meet the 1,500 or more coming in, so what is left of the playground accommodates 3,000 at the end of the session: library, special rooms for art and music, field and garden have all gradually been taken over to accommodate children who would otherwise not get a chance to go to school. How can they be turned away?

However, as in all countries, the picture varies from school to school, city to city, governorate to governorate. For example, if the Egyptian child referred to above happens to live in the governorates of Aswan, the Red Sea, Mersa Matruh or the New Valley, he may be in a class of less than thirty children and be able to register at school before the age

TABLE 3 *Primary education teachers by qualification and sex*

Years	Qualified		Unqualified		Total			% qualified			Teacher–pupil ratio
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
1963–4	35,648	27,607	11,531	6,163	47,179	33,770	80,949	75·6	81·8	78·1	38·7
1964–5	37,871	29,167	10,901	6,214	48,772	35,381	84,153	77·6	82·4	79·7	39·2
1965–6	39,273	30,860	10,051	6,107	49,324	36,967	86,291	79·6	83·5	81·3	39·6
1966–7	39,146	31,555	9,396	6,004	48,542	37,559	86,101	80·6	84·0	82·1	39·7
1967–8	38,873	33,643	9,353	6,005	48,226	39,648	87,874	80·6	84·9	82·5	39·6
1968–9	35,856	36,096	8,515	5,985	44,371	42,081	86,452	80·8	85·8	83·2	41·1
1969–70											
1970–1	38,244	45,259	8,149	7,084	46,393	52,343	98,736	82·4	86·5	84·6	37·9
1971–2											
1972–3	37,613	44,956	8,077	6,729	45,690	51,685	97,375	82·3	87·0	84·8	40·9
1973–4					42,151	51,351	93,502				41·9

(*Source:* by courtesy of the Ministry of Education, Cairo.)

of six years. He may even have begun school at the age of six years but be still in the same class at seven or eight years, on account of having to repeat the class. In theory, the first two classes are infant or kindergarten classes, since this level was incorporated into the primary school, but, basically, the first class is what it claims to be, the first primary stage. There are none of those features of an infants' school: special furniture, equipment, space, informal organization, facilities for play, etc. Infant schools are not only very expensive to equip, but need skilled teachers who can help their pupils to bridge the gap between home and school. Small children are not interested in copying pages and pages of letters and figures. At present Egypt cannot afford good schools for infants. This raises the question of whether education is being advanced by enlarging classes to admit children under six years, before suitable provision can be made. Six years is already a very tender age for joining 'the rat race'. Perhaps there would be less repeating of classes if those under seven were to be admitted to a more informal programme. This would automatically solve the undesirable wide range of admittance at subsequent stages. Unfortunately one would still have to face the high cost of informal programmes.

The primary programme is subject-based, courses being given in religion, Arabic language, mathematics, general science and hygiene, social studies and citizenship, physical education, art education, music, home economics for girls and agricultural industries for boys. These are rather pretentious titles for what actually takes place in the classroom. The primary school administrators, head teachers and teachers are desperately anxious to introduce new methods and equipment. The curricula come under constant revision with appropriate modification of textbooks; teaching aids are produced, and during the last few years a start has been made to provide the schools with workshops and libraries. 'Music' is not always interpreted as screaming patriotic songs: some schools visited have small music groups where the children make music for themselves with percussion and other instruments. Physical education is too often what used to be called 'drill' given by an instructor in the style of a sergeant major on parade, but, with the encroachments made on field and playground, there is little scope for a more imaginative approach to this subject. The fact is that the 'modern' school is a complex organization inspired by attitudes towards learning and teaching and interpersonal relationships, not only between teacher and taught but the whole educational hierarchy, based on theories of

child development and education demanding a methodology that allows for freedom of expression, individual and group work, much of which centres around the interests of the children themselves, taking place in an environment including accommodation and equipment that allows flexibility of use. In a country where maximum use of 'the plant' is essential and the 'shift' system is common, the criteria above are indeed formidable. Much frustration can be avoided if it is recognized that not all teachers feel happy and do their best work if striving to be 'with it' in education and some children find security and intellectual satisfaction in a more formal and 'structured' classroom. At primary school level the most important aspect is interpersonal relationships. If these are right, with teacher and child co-operating to produce a happy atmosphere, excellence can be achieved, and indeed is achieved in some Egyptian primary schools, in spite of difficulties.

In the overcrowded primary classroom associated with the 'class' method of teaching, it is not the children of high calibre who suffer: they will learn to read, for example, whatever the method used. Many of them come from a home background where books are available and parents are waiting to lighten the burden of homework. It is the less able and underprivileged children who need more interest and attention from the teacher, like, for instance, the boy from the back of a class who read to me fluently what was expected of him but from the wrong page! The traditional method of learning off by heart, which still has a useful function in the education of small children, is very hard to eradicate as the sole method of learning, unless there are facilities for hearing children read individually or in small groups. Experience has proved that any child can learn to read fluently, unless he is so mentally deficient that he needs to be in a special school, provided that someone is willing to listen to him regularly and help him to see for himself why he makes mistakes. The same applies to arithmetic. The Egyptian child has the advantage that Arabic is a phonetic language, so that given the sounds of a few letters and the key to the vowel sounds, he can quickly practise words for himself. In Arabic it is necessary for full advantage to be taken of the phonetic nature of the language so that the mechanics of reading are mastered quickly, leaving the teacher adequate time to concentrate on the difficult grammatical construction of the language. In large classes, in spite of up-to-date reading books and teachers' manuals, provided by the government, it is difficult to resist making a class write pages of 'alifs' with quiet concentration, rather than letting them

practise out loud the combinations of various phonetic letters, each at his own pace, knowing the purpose of the exercise.

Meanwhile the Director of Primary Education attacks these problems on two fronts: the standard of teaching and the status of teachers. To improve standards of teaching, his strategy is to organize a group of about forty Chief Inspectors and experts to spend one week in a governorate visiting as many schools as possible. After a report has been prepared, he goes to the governorate himself to meet all the primary leaders, including head teachers and representatives of their staffs to discuss the report and their problems. In 1975 he concentrated on improving the quality of teaching reading and writing, linking the educational process with activities of the community and the inculcation of religious and social values. Teachers are likely to appreciate his guidance, for, as President of the Teachers' Syndicate, he is appalled by their low status, admires their enthusiasm and struggles for their rights.

The one-class school

In recent years Egypt has been adding to her agricultural land by various reclamation schemes and distributing it to worthy members of the population, such as families of war victims, displaced farmers and successful agricultural students. In the areas under discussion all the problems of rural areas are accentuated. It is very important that the children do not miss what is now their legal right – to reach at least the first rung of the educational ladder. It is also essential not to add to the literacy problem. In 1975 a new scheme was launched by the Ministry of Education to run one-class schools in those areas where the child population is scattered and relatively small. The plan is to open five thousand such schools over five years. The first thousand have already started, but the scheme is still in its experimental stage, so it is too soon to report progress. The first teachers are mainly drawn from the mosque and from teachers in retirement living within reach of the schools. They receive in-service training in the zone and a lesson-by-lesson guide. Children are accepted from six to fifteen years old, but in the Alexandria governorate, for instance, which has started with ten classes, accommodation for all six-year-olds is found in the normal schools, so the one-class school is only needed for late starters. The arrangement is flexible, to fit not only the agricultural cycle, but the

TABLE 4 *Preparatory education: teachers by qualification and sex*

Year	Qualified		Unqualified		Total			Percentage	Percentage
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Total	qualified	females
1963–4	9,653	2,439	4,776	1,318	14,429	3,757	18,186	66	21
1964–5	10,102	2,838	5,539	1,237	15,641	4,075	19,716	66	21
1965–6	11,242	3,305	5,730	1,344	16,979	4,649	21,628	67	21
1966–7	12,883	3,826	5,950	1,344	18,833	5,170	24,003	70	22
1967–8	13,197	4,237	7,647	1,639	20,844	5,876	26,720	65	22
1968–9	13,136	4,552	7,199	1,755	20,335	6,307	26,642	66	24
1969–70									
1970–1	13,004	5,030	7,487	2,370	20,491	7,400	27,891	65	26
1971–2									
1972–3	12,730	6,161	6,764	3,100	19,494	9,261	28,755	66	32
1973–4	12,176	6,334	6,932	3,474	19,108	9,808	28,916	64	34

(*Source:* by courtesy of the Ministry of Education, Cairo.)

convenience of the teachers available. Among suggestions being discussed are the three-month summer session for the training of teachers, a 'mother' school in the nearest town or village, which will accept children whose intelligence obviously qualifies them for a more normal education, and the acceptance of rural candidates at a lower level in the teacher training schools, in order to encourage them to return as teachers.

Preparatory schools

If the amount of space taken in the public Press indicated the relative interest in the various educational institutions, the primary school, which educationalists rank as of vital importance in the educational ladder, appears to be lacking in 'news value'. The preparatory school receives even less publicity, perhaps because, in spite of its independence and re-defined functions, it is regarded as less than a school in its own right than as a bridge between the primary and secondary stages. Yet it has a distinct function in the present Egyptian system, since it marks the next stage in compulsory education.

The preparatory school can claim to be the product of the Revolution of 1952, having been created in 1953/4 by the Education Decree No. 2 of 1953, but it did not receive its independence until 1957. It is now a free intermediate school between the free compulsory primary school and the highly selective secondary school. In the intervening period, it has, itself, become less selective. Boktor (1963), reported that it received 20 per cent of the primary school population, although some of the successful candidates had to be accommodated in private schools owing to the shortage of rooms in the state schools. The 1975 estimate is 70 per cent, representing an expanding educational demand. Originally the school had a dual function: to prepare able children to continue their education in secondary or technical school, while the less able were prepared for practical work. Thus, like the primary school, it had the disadvantage of being a transitional stage for some pupils and a terminal school for others. The term 'practical', according to Boktor (1963), covered a variety of offerings later sorted out and distributed to other sections of the school system. He lists them as:

> Preparatory Technical Schools (Agricultural, Commercial or Industrial) for males, and similar ones for females. Also under this

heading there are co-educational schools, combining males and females.
Preparatory Practical Schools, for the pupils in the School of Light (Blind), Schools of Hope (Deaf and Dumb), Schools of Thought (Mentally Defective).
Schools and/or studies at a preparatory level, combined with apprenticeship. The pupils of these schools combine the usual academic course with practice in certain trades.
Schools of Caligraphy. The pupils of these schools specialize, more particularly in the various types of caligraphy (thuluth, riqa'a, kufi, etc.).
Experimental schools. These were opened in 1960–1 in ten localities: four in Cairo, two at Alexandria and the remainder at Giza, Zagazig, Tanta and Fayoum. . . . All of them have been intentionally concentrated in sections of the country where they will serve as laboratories for teacher training institutions.

Five years of experimentation showed that early specialization gave neither a good educational foundation nor skills that could be utilized in industry, so a ministerial decree of 1962 made the preparatory school an institution for general education only. Pupils study religion, Arabic language, a modern language, social studies and citizenship, mathematics (algebra, geometry and arithmetic) general science and hygiene, art education and music, physical education, home economics for girls and agricultural education for boys. It will be seen that the only distinctive feature is the addition of a foreign language to the subjects studied at the primary level.

Developments over the years have included modifications of the syllabuses, upgrading of teachers in this section by employing university graduates as far as possible, expansions of building and equipment, especially the provision of science laboratories and an increase in co-education. Modern mathematics was introduced in some schools in 1974/5. This is the result of a drive begun in 1971, the year that the Ministry of Education provided £E 100,000 to pay for modern laboratories in preparatory schools. An agreement was reached with the universities to develop the curricula of science faculties to include modern mathematics and to train the necessary teachers. An experiment was started in Alexandria and, while university professors were made responsible for following up the teaching of modern mathematics

and science in the schools, the teachers themselves were offered £E 8 monthly as a bonus.

Competition for places in these schools has increased rapidly, especially since fees were abolished. The number of pupils has increased from 250,903 in 1959/70, to 1,203,038 in 1975. Owing to its general character, education in preparatory schools is mainly regarded as an opportunity for pupils to sort out their interests and abilities prior to the next stage in their education. To make this a reality, even more libraries and workshops, as well as vocational guidance facilities, are required, as only about 60 per cent will qualify for any kind of secondary education.

The eight-year school

With the help of an Eastern bloc country, Egypt is at present experimenting with an eight-year school which will give valuable experience in planning a framework for primary and preparatory education when she is in the position to raise compulsory education to fifteen years. At present the two schools cover nine years, and allowing for one repeat year following failure in the final preparatory examination, pupils in the top class may be eighteen years old. Of course demand for increased education may result in pupils wishing to continue their courses after reaching the compulsory limit, as happened in England in secondary schools when the same compulsory limit was reached, but 'compulsory' brings many problems related to the desire of older, non-academic children to throw off school restrictions and get a job. Scarcity of education creates a demand which may be a factor in the willingness of young men to take their lessons side by side with young boys who often outshine them.

The experimental school gives the Ministry of Education the chance to come to grips with such problems. The aim is to get children into school at six years old, so that this will eventually reduce the incidence of over-age children. The range of ability is likely to increase when selection no longer operates, and the Ministry, which is determined to switch from traditional to modern methods of teaching, will inevitably include group and individual methods which, together with remedial classes and groups, make possible automatic promotion at the early stages of education.

Studies at present include Arabic language, religion, English and

German, mathematics, biology, physics, chemistry, polytechnical subjects, home economics, history and geography, art education, music and physical education. This is a formidable list in view of the fact that pupils are admitted in the sixth grade, which is considered equal to the first grade in a preparatory school, so losing one year of primary education.

Currently the Ministry is thinking of expanding the experiment by establishing another eight-year school in Assiut, where the programmes would be linked to community development. This would be a step in carrying out the expressed policy of making education more meaningful in the governorates, where the social pattern differs in some respects from that found in urban Cairo.

Secondary schools

Egypt provides a very diversified programme of secondary education. This was not always so, since this stage of education was created originally to provide lower grade civil servants during the periods of foreign occupation. At that time it was élitist and fee-paying. Education was in such short supply that to accept any other than a white-collar job would have been unthinkable, especially as the guaranteed post offered security, prestige, and, for the very able, a chance of being sent to a foreign university.

The fortunate 60 per cent of preparatory pupils who continue their education at the state's expense are distributed in the following types of secondary school:

a. the General secondary school, which, after a common first year, divides into two branches: the humanities and the mathematics-science;
b. the Technical secondary school, which specializes in industrial, commercial or agricultural studies;
c. primary teacher-training schools; and
d. training institutions attached to other ministries.

General secondary schools

The majority of candidates opt for these schools, as the final goal of most parents, especially from the middle and upper classes, is a university education for their children, preferably by a direct route. The

choice is limited to the cream of the candidates, very few of whom would reject such an opportunity. Within that group, which may exceed in number the capacity of the school, priority is given to pupils under eighteen years of age and those who live in the school district.

The course lasts three years, which, according to English standards, means that a minimum of four years' previous education is needed to be at the secondary level. This would cover the three-year preparatory period (which could be considered as lower secondary) and the sixth primary class, or the fifth primary class from the eight-year school. It is therefore not surprising that, in order to cover the various syllabuses and achieve high standards, pupils are sometimes burdened with so much homework that they complain bitterly of having to work far into the night. Frequent tests and the supervision of anxious parents, as well as coaching ensure that the required assignments are fulfilled.

The first year's courses, common to all pupils, are religion, Arabic language, history and geography, Arabic society, mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, art education, physical education, military preparation and practical studies. Results of examinations and assessment in about twelve of these subjects is the deciding factor for choosing to spend the next two years studying the humanities or mathematics-science. Humanities students take all of the following subjects: Religion, Arabic language, first foreign language, second foreign language, history, geography, Arab society, sociology, economics, philosophy and psychology, art education, physical education, military preparation and practical studies, besides a choice of one or two subjects at a specialized level. Mathematics-Science students take all of the following subjects: Religion, Arabic language, first foreign language, second foreign language, Arab society, mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, physical education, military preparation and practical subjects, besides one or two subjects at a specialized level.

These specialized subjects were introduced during the period of 1973–5 without reduction in the number of subjects taken or an extended course. This means that, allowing for physical education, military preparation and practical studies, the student who gets high enough marks enters the university after passing an examination of up to fourteen subjects, which may include two at the specialized level. It could be argued that such a broadly placed education is a better foundation for the university aspirants than the narrow specialization associated with 'A' and 'S' levels of school certificate which occupy the English

TABLE 5 *General secondary education: teachers by qualification and sex*

Year	Qualified		Unqualified		Total qualified	Total teachers	Percentage qualified	Percentage females
	Males	Females	Males	Females				
1963–4	5,689	1,408	2,036	494	7,097	9,627	74	20
1964–5	5,931	1,891	2,038	541	7,822	10,401	75	23
1965–6	6,416	2,137	1,910	529	8,553	10,992	79	24
1966–7	7,087	2,320	1,988	539	9,407	11,934	79	24
1967–8	7,847	2,553	2,096	542	10,400	13,038	80	24
1968–9	8,057	2,674	2,223	592	10,731	13,546	79	24
1969–70								
1970–1	7,972	2,730	2,428	811	10,702	13,941	80	25
1971–2								
1972–3	7,882	3,087	2,680	924	10,969	14,573	75	28
1973–4	7,596	3,099	2,782	1,143	10,695	14,620	73	29

(*Source:* by courtesy of the Ministry of Education, Cairo.)

student two or three years prior to his university entry. In practice it means that the university courses must take longer, especially in the sciences. The relative cost of school and university places may be a factor in a future extension of the secondary courses, as well as the manpower wastage involved when the weeding out of less academic students takes place at university level. Perhaps with this in mind, in 1971 the secondary education conference called for an extra secondary year to take the place of the lost year when the eight-year compulsory primary school becomes a reality. This would solve the problem if junior colleges or sixth-form colleges also become part of the system. The problem is how to distribute the academic load with the least expense and the least wastage of manpower.

Technical and vocational secondary schools

These schools, designed to serve industry and agriculture, are an interesting development in a country where manual labour has been cheap and plentiful, supplied by an ignorant populace trained to be content to live 'in that state of life in which it had pleased God to call them'. Mabro (1974), had analysed at length the problems of land reform and the development of industry from the Revolution of 1952 until 1972. A very brief summary of a few of his points will supply the background to the comprehensive provision for technical and vocational education which, apart from the literacy campaign, has been the most spectacular educational advance since the Revolution.

According to Mabro, after the rapid expansion of the nineteenth century, agricultural production, concentrated on the export of cotton, did not increase much owing to multiple cropping, the perennial irrigation which damaged the soil and inadequate drainage. He quotes E. R. J. Owen's comment covering the first quarter of the century that 'much of the investment in the agricultural sector was necessary to repair damage already done to soil fertility'. In the 1930s the second heightening of the Aswan barrage and a dam built by Egypt in the Sudan increased water supply and improved its regulation. Increase in crops was accompanied by the establishment of a modern textile industry leading to nearly a tenfold increase in local consumption. This was followed by advances in other industries: Portland cement, chemicals, paper, petroleum goods, industries supported not only by foreigners, according to Mabro, but by Egyptian capitalists. More

money was released for education, but not yet for education directly related to industry and agriculture. There was no prestige or government security for the artisan. In the 1950s, according to Qubain (1966), vocational schools were mostly for orphans and destitute children.

Since 1952, the expressed policy has been not only to provide the necessary manpower to modernize existing and serve new industry, agriculture and the army, but also to reduce pressure on general secondary education resulting from the population explosion and the abolition of school fees. Such is the prejudice against manual labour that, given the choice, parents will pay large fees for having their children coached or educated privately rather than see them enter what they consider to be an inferior type of school. As recently as 1970 a research report (Fahmy M.S., 1973), showed that the overwhelming majority of fathers in both rural and urban areas sampled, regardless of income, preferred a general rather than any other type of secondary education for their sons, in spite of propaganda and inducements.

In 1971, the Central Council for Technical Education, established in the previous year, saw as its main task the preparation of long-term plans for developing all kinds of technical education, even including courses in the prestigious general secondary schools, particularly with a view of increasing the number of skilled workers. Part of the plan was the linking of this type of education with the production and services sections of industry so that courses would meet the requirements of specializations. These included chemical industries, electronics and architecture. The system of work in these schools, their status and administration were regulated by a group of ministerial decrees. To cover the cost, the Minister of Education allocated £E 1·5 million for 1973 and, for future projects, £E 2,767,000. Meanwhile, a number of schools in Alexandria, Aswan and other parts of the country were to be changed into technical schools.

There are two types of technical schools: a three-year school for training skilled workers and a five-year school for training technicians. However, if the three-year pupil shows the right aptitude, he may continue his studies and become a technician. Also the five-year pupil theoretically has the opportunity for training in a higher institute or university, although his chances of acceptance are not high at present. Technical education at both levels includes industrial education, agricultural education and commercial education. (Law No. 75: Technical Education for the year 1970)

There is no co-education in technical schools, but the schools are similar in aims, quality, entry requirements and examinations. They are usually chosen by children who fail to get into the general secondary school and without means to get a private education. With attention being drawn to the increasing importance of technical education, it is hoped that these schools will attract some children of higher calibre. This might happen if, for abler pupils, some higher science and mathematics courses were introduced, making possible the Ministry's intentions to open the way to higher education and the university. At this level such courses might be more useful than industrial psychology, for example, which is usually offered at the postgraduate level. At present, students study the following subjects: religion, Arabic language, a foreign language, science and mathematics, vocational fitness, first-aid, grouped under 'General Culture'; scientific principles for vocational and technical subjects and their application; practical vocation and technical subjects. In addition they have workshop drill and field experiences. Whatever the specialization, the course lasts five years.

Industrial secondary schools At present, according to the Ministry reports, the divisions and branches are:

Mechanical engineering division: machine-operating branch
motor car engineering branch
Electricity engineering division: electricity power and network
wire and wireless communications

The three-year courses for skilled labourers include the following branches:

For boys: tractors and agricultural machines
air-conditioning and freezing instruments
ships-motors
fishing: tools and equipment
general upkeep and maintenance of equipment

For girls: fur and leather industries
metal industries
electronic composition
mechanical instruments
beauty and hairdressing
laboratory specialists
clothes – mass production
decoration and arrangement

Agricultural secondary schools There are fifty-two agricultural secondary schools in Egypt, the largest, in Giza, educating 1,200 pupils, including five girls in the first year and more in the other years. Over 70 per cent of them hope to continue studies at an agricultural higher institute. The agricultural courses are general during the first three years, covering horticulture, livestock, milk-production, production of fruit juice (including mango and guava), making yogurt, other agricultural products, flowers, soil analysis, machinery and tropical plants. A mini-chemistry laboratory, equipped by an enterprising teacher, enables the science to be taught with the minimum of outlay. It seems quite clear, however, that, as in many Egyptian educational institutions, standards will not be able to be maintained or improved with the pressure of existing space and equipment. Some kind of compromise between the pursuit of educational democracy and educational excellence appears inevitable in the short term.

At the level of preparing technicians there are two divisions in agricultural education: general agricultural studies, with the purpose of preparing agricultural supervisory helpers, and specialized agricultural studies to prepare technicians for specialized fields. In the latter, students are given opportunities of practical experiences in schools and out-of-school farms and institutions. This is designed to enable the technician to relate school studies to community activities and to see the relevance of scientific theory to specific practical processes. The schedule of study gives a nice balance between general culture, scientific and technical studies with application and practical experience.

At the level of preparing skilled labourers, the branches include general agriculture, production of sugar cane, production of orchards, production of vegetables (each with up-keep of agricultural machines and tractors), animal production and plant production.

Commercial secondary schools These schools, which attract both boys and girls, have a single programme. Subjects studied are religion, Arabic language, first foreign language and translation, second foreign language, accounting, financial and commercial mathematics, applied secretarial work, English and Arabic typing, general knowledge, elected professional subject, economic geography and history, citizenship and physical education.

In general, there is a constant reassessment and modification in all branches of technical education, attention being taken to revision of

curricula and textbooks, teacher-training and provision of equipment. The main concern is to link by every possible means, such as student work in community institutions during vacations, the relationship between school studies and factory, workshop and farm.

Diversity of courses at the secondary level is an important achievement in terms of modernization. Freedom of choice at this period of her development is a luxury that Egypt cannot afford, but flexibility is essential if manpower resources are to be fully exploited. In other modern systems of education, rigidity, as expressed in examination systems that determine a child's future at an early age, and training schemes that tie a man to one trade for life, are giving way to the concept of flexibility. Egypt is striving for continuous education but the insufficient overlap between different types of secondary school makes transfer from one type to another impossible, thereby practically excluding the technical child from the chance of getting to a university.

As found in England, parity of esteem between different types of secondary school is difficult to achieve when entry depends on examination success rather than choice, but, if the curricula have a common core, transfer at certain stages becomes possible. Egyptian educators, who have a special difficulty in attracting able students to technical education, are wondering whether the comprehensive secondary school would be an answer to their problem.

Teacher education and practice

The teachers' role in Egypt

Teachers, especially at the lower levels, are the natural target for complaints of the defects of an educational system. They are accused of ignorance, stupidity, lack of sensitivity and professional failure by parents, administrators and the public at large. They are expected to act as professionals in spite of an inadequate education, a too short training, having to teach large classes in the worst available buildings, lack of amenities, low status and low salary. Until these conditions are improved, the primary school teachers, having laid the foundation of learning, see their pupils pass on to other teachers with smaller classes, more amenities, better buildings, higher status and higher pay. Before the 1944 Education Act was passed in England, making necessary the employment of primary school staff to fill the gaps in the secondary

schools, and the institution of a basic common salary scale, there was no social contact between the primary teachers who prepared pupils for the secondary schools and the secondary staff who received them.

From the literature, it appears that the Egyptian primary school teacher has not lacked the kind of criticism that should be more justly aimed at a system that regards the primary school as the least important rung of the educational ladder in terms of buildings, equipment, manpower and salaries. It may be years before Egypt is able to support a unified salary scale, post-secondary training and appropriate status for all her teachers, but, particularly during the last five years, there has been a growing awareness of the crucial role of teachers in every sphere of Egyptian development. Since 1972, the teacher's importance has been publicized by the observation of a Teachers' Day each year, beginning with a lesson in each class devoted to explaining to children the role of teachers in bringing up good, educated citizens. Activities include meetings of parents' councils, teachers' committees and the honouring of 'ideal teachers' (five from each governorate in each of four categories), by the Arab Socialist Union, and a final speech-giving ceremony organized by the Teachers' Association, with awards to leading educationalists, the main speech being read on behalf of President Sadat himself. In these speeches over the years, emphasis has been on the teachers' political role, their role in the war effort, in the building of a modern state ('the national edifice') and in 'moulding the Egyptian personality'. Certificates and investment bonds are distributed to successful teachers on these occasions and the profession is promised conditions of service commensurate with the responsibilities it shoulders. To quote a typical message from President Sadat (*Egyptian Gazette*, 2 October 1973),

> While we reap today the fruit of the effort exerted in the field of education since the Revolution, we have to double the struggle for establishing the best educational system . . . which should be capable of realizing our hopes and objectives and coping with local, Arab and international changes. Education must play its full role in the process of building up the contemporary state based on science and faith within the framework of an integrated educational plan which can help us occupy a worthy position in the world. . . . Congratulations on your magnificent national role. Our hearts do encompass you while full of hope and

> optimism, for we know that you are fully aware of the greatness of the profession you are practising, a profession whose mention in the holy book of the Q'ran is proof of its greatness. May God guide your steps and peace be upon you.

Such a statement by the head of state is not surprisingly met by increasing opportunity for teachers to express their views with regard not only to professional but to political matters. This is done largely through the Teachers' Syndicate, which meets regularly to discuss professional problems or listen to invited speakers, but also through the Arab Socialist Union on whose educational committee it is represented and which keeps a watching brief on its needs and welfare. When a debate was launched on the desirability or otherwise of adopting a party system of government, it was the teachers who collectively voted for a party system. It is significant that the President thought that their views were sufficiently important to merit an address by himself during the final stages of the debate.

However, teachers, like other key workers, are subject to manpower considerations. They are guaranteed jobs, but the place of employment, transfer and promotion are determined, not by successful application in response to an advertisement, but by unified rules drafted by the Committee of Under-Secretaries and published as ministerial decrees. Thus it was stipulated in 1974 that the co-ordination department in each of the Ministry's sectors should fill the vacancies in any governorate by transference from other governorates to the same posts or corresponding ones. If there were vacancies left, the directorates of education would be entitled to appoint or promote their own employees, provided that, in Cairo and Alexandria, only 10 per cent of the total number of posts were locally filled and the rest through transfers. This policy seems to be aimed at ensuring a fair distribution of available manpower to provide equal educational opportunity, with special safeguards for governorates other than Cairo and Alexandria.

Teacher training

Teacher training has undergone many changes since Boktor (1963) gave details of the tremendous number and variety of institutions engaged in preparing teachers. Also the criticism levelled at the entire educational system by Egyptian experts, administrators and intellectuals in the

sixties, reported by Szyliowicz (1973), have been met by vigorous action on the part of the Ministries of Education in the seventies. Teacher training is still piecemeal, as though the teacher of Primary VI class needed no overlap in content or method or knowledge of child development with the teacher of the first preparatory class, but the hierarchy has been reduced and the lowest level of entry raised.

The primary student teacher studies for five years after gaining a preparatory school certificate. In practice the decision to enter the Teachers' Institute implies a rejection for entry to a secondary school, either at the general or technical level, since high-level opportunities for teacher training would be available to successful candidates. Theoretically the first three years in the Institute provide an education equivalent to the general education given in secondary schools, but this seems unlikely at present, as the student is not obliged to sit for the competitive examination before continuing with two years of professional preparation. During this period, which is mainly occupied with methods of teaching the various school subjects and a day's practice every week, where there are the necessary facilities, the students may specialize in one of the following subjects or groups of subjects:

Arabic language and social studies
Science, mathematics, home economics (for girls) and agricultural industries (for boys)
physical education
art education
musical education
nursery and kindergarten teaching

Within the limits imposed by inadequate buildings lacking modern equipment and the entry level, as well as the shortness of the courses, the maximum is being done to turn out teachers able to cope with the traditional-type curricula in an overcrowded classroom. A visit to male and female institutes showed them to be excellent of their kind, staffed by successful teachers or head teachers with invaluable experience and great enthusiasm for their task. Equally important, the students were lively and receptive as a group, giving the impression of growth possibilities in the course of in-service training. Each teaching institute has practising schools attached to it, which, if time allowed and the curricula were less rigid, would be suitable for experimentation as they are less crowded and have some facilities not found in every school.

The educational ladder

Although the Ministry of Education is responsible for preparatory and secondary education, the training for teaching for these schools, which takes place at the post-secondary level, is the responsibility of the Minister of Higher Education. Yet teachers in all stages of the educational system in Egypt up to the completion of the secondary stage are engaged by the Ministry of Education, which pays their salaries, promotes and transfers them, as well as providing for their professional growth and in-service training.

In-service training

In-service training originated from the acute shortage of teachers as the various school levels became free of fees and the primary stage lengthened and became legally compulsory. The position was worsened by the decline in the number and output of teachers from 1967 to 1971 at the same time as the population explosion was beginning to contribute to the problem of school accommodation. Before the Revolution, Egyptian leaders had attributed the ills of their country to the failure of public education. Afterwards they pinned their hopes and faith to its rapid increase in quantity and quality: education would solve all their personal and national problems. In the words of Safran (1961), 'Ever since Egypt first became aware of the challenge of modern conditions to traditional ideology, education has been rightly viewed as the most important instrument for accomplishing the necessary re-adjustment.'

To meet the demand, various schemes were adopted for training at all levels, for primary schools, secondary schools and special subjects. Selection for suitability was not essential, since, in spite of all efforts, more than twenty thousand teachers were appointed without training (Sarhan 1974). After the Revolution the Ministry of Education adopted progressively higher standards for teachers at all levels by raising entry requirements and lengthening courses, but was still employing a vast army of untrained teachers who did not reach these standards. In-service training was the answer to this problem, which was accentuated by the lack of sufficient trained teacher-educators. Comprehensive plans were made to supplement training on the job with evening courses, vacation courses and careful inspection. Nevertheless, in 1963, Boktor could write:

> With the exception of occasional refresher courses of a more routine nature, there is nothing being done to enrich teachers

> culturally and professionally. Books of real value are too expensive to buy, school libraries with a few books and periodicals are locked up most of the time and are beyond the reach of those who want to read. As a result, teachers, on the whole, do not grow. They teach the same thing in the same way and entertain the same ideas and methods to such extent that they become stagnant, plodding along in the same groove from the time that they start teaching until the time they retire.

To get Boktor's gloomy picture into perspective, it is necessary to keep in mind the size of the problem and the limitations imposed by financial and manpower inadequacies. The general training centre at the Ministry of Education was not established until 1955, only three years after the Revolution and only eight years before Boktor make his comment. This is not a very long time for covering the deficiencies of more than twenty thousand untrained teachers, as well as those who received insufficient training. In fact, the centre, as well as those established in the educational zones, catered for the needs of a wide variety of educationalists, including qualifying programmes, refresher courses, courses on new methods of teaching audio-visual aids, schools administration, guidance and special courses leading to promotion.

Although the Ministry is still concerned with 'modern' methods of teaching, an almost impossible achievement at the primary level where large classes prohibit group teaching and no provision is made for the slow and backward, attention is also being given to the quality and personality of the teacher. Obviously the thousands of inadequately educated teachers cannot be replaced, so why not give them the opportunity for self-improvement throughout their working life? In-service training is now viewed not just in terms of minimal qualifications, but as a continuous process linked with the concept of life-long education. Future candidates will, it is hoped, be in sufficient numbers for selective processes to be used. Says the Ministry,

> We have a well-organized teacher-training system which provides for a first accelerated training stage, followed by in-service training cycles. We have laws and regulations which regulate training cycles for teachers and other personnel in education. Professional growth and promotion depend mainly on the programmes of in-service training which teachers and educators attend.

The co-operative process whereby educational authorities, universities, teacher-training institutions and schools share in-service training of teachers is matched by the part played by industrial enterprises and socio-cultural institutions in programmes for technical school teachers. All personnel in education are covered: teachers, supervisors, administrators and non-professional staff. However, whereas all this activity is covered by a law of 1966, entitled 'Recommendation of the Status of Teachers', which provides that 'authorities should promote the establishment of a wide system of in-service education free to all teachers', further training for teacher-educators is regulated by the laws of colleges of education and universities, administered by the Ministry of Higher Education.

The changing role of the teacher, its influence on preparation for the profession and on in-service training

The Egyptian government was, with other member states, invited to participate in the 35th session of the International Conference on Education which was held in Geneva in September 1975. In answer to an enquiry from the UNESCO International Bureau of Education, a paper with the title above was prepared, the term 'teacher' covering 'all those persons in formal education who are responsible for and directly involved in the education of pupils in both public and private schools up to the completion of the secondary stage of education'. Owing to the shared responsibility for teacher training between the Ministries of Education and Higher Education two reports were prepared covering primary and post-primary teachers.

The primary section covers seventy-nine points which clarify the Ministry of Education's deep concern for teacher training at all stages. It can be regarded partly as a record of achievement and partly as a statement of intent, a blueprint for future development. The following is a summary of some of the points, which range from philosophical aims and objectives to declared policies already in practice or planned for the future. The headings are those used in the paper, and the brackets enclose comments by me.

The changing role of the teacher The teacher is formally concerned and intentionally prepared to educate the young with the purpose of bringing them up to live effectively in a society which is putting constant

pressure on education to keep pace with all the recent changes and developments in Egyptian society. This involves a continual revision of aims and objectives requiring the teacher to perform new duties and assume new functions, to be a guide and leader rather than a transmitter of knowledge and bearer of information. His role will depend not only on the size of the school but the type of the community: he will need to adjust to new methods, new syllabuses and increasing facilities.

The relationship between changes in society and the role of teachers In Egypt social and economic changes have directly influenced the changing role of the teacher, especially the development of science and technology and the increased rate at which new knowledge is produced and circulated. It is necessary to prepare well-informed teachers capable of self-development and the pursuit of a life-long education.

Changes in Egyptian society which recently have affected the teacher's role

1. *Rapid increase in population* which raises the number of children who should be in school. Although only 75 per cent achieve compulsory education, the great pressure on school buildings and facilities leads to over-crowded classrooms and working in shifts. Accordingly teachers must cope with large groups needing individual attention, diverse activities and evaluation of growth and development.

2. *Economic and social development* which during the last two decades has been planned with specific aims to raise the standard of living and provide a decent life for every citizen. Accompanying social changes include urbanization and the drift from the villages to big towns and cities, creating demand for new educational opportunities. Thus schools and teachers must cater for pupils from widely different social and economic backgrounds and traditions. Teachers must study the environment in order to help parents understand their children and solve their problems. Their tasks cover parent education ranging from informal meetings and talks on social and religious occasions, such as preaching in the mosque and church, to formal teaching of adults in occupational and literacy classes.

3. *Changes in educational aims and objectives* relate to the quantitative expansion of education in Egypt, including universal education up to the age of twelve by 1980 and thence to fourteen or fifteen, demands to be accompanied by qualitative improvements in curricula, methods of teaching and the development of suitable aids and materials for learning. For this purpose a national budget has enabled the National

Council for Education, Technology and Research to make a plan for the school year 1975/6. (Here follows the one-room school project above.) Priority is being given to rural areas in order to remedy regional disparities and discrepancies. Pupils in deserts and remote areas will get school meals and transport, while their teachers will enjoy a 25 per cent pay increase and earlier promotion. Preparatory (intermediate) schools provide opportunities for the pupils to be guided towards the right kind of secondary education or transfer to a vocational centre in which they are prepared for employment. The whole educational system aims at preparing the young to participate effectively in re-shaping society and to contribute in the movement of reconstruction and development. The teacher is now considered to be the agent of innovation and change in his community.

4. *Changes in the structure of the education system* (Most points have already been discussed.) Large schools in big towns, cities and industrial areas need certain educational services such as counselling guidance and health care, including meal facilities and better sanitary conditions for pupils. Such schools can extend their services and offer their buildings to the community, the school staff providing personnel to help with, for example, family planning, agricultural affairs and difficulties in small industries. (This pre-supposes that the present over-use of buildings for the shift system is ameliorated.)

5. *Changes in content and method of education* (Most of this section is discussed elsewhere in the document.) The reviewing and up-dating of the contents of courses is required as well as the introduction of new courses, such as new mathematics, popular education and contemporary problems. 'Discovery' methods of teaching will help children leaving school at twelve years to develop their knowledge through self-learning. As leader of the community, the teacher, in his/her role as counsellor and guide, plans for all the activities of the children inside and outside the classroom.

6. *Diversification and integration of teaching personnel* Large classes add to the many functions of the teacher already mentioned, including playground supervision, clerical work, and grade records. The help is needed and sometimes provided of other personnel outside the teaching profession, such as doctors, nurses, social workers, secretaries, guidance personnel, specialists, vocational trainers and technicians, all working in close relationship as a team. These are augmented by part-time and temporary teachers.

7. *The need for improved status of teachers* whose roles and responsibilities should be matched with raising the level of their preparation and improving their social and economic status. Unfortunately primary teachers are still considered an inferior category. However, their status and career prospects have improved, as has that of vocational and technical teachers. Career advancement within the teaching profession is parallel to that of other professionals employed by the government. The same level of preparation leads to the same level of advancement. Young men now find advantages in joining the profession.

8. *The implication of the changing role for pre-service and in-service training of teachers* (The most interesting part of this section is that, in the selection of future teachers the academic standard is held to be overstressed. By 'academic standard' is meant 'examination results' since these are decisive in deciding at what level, if any, a student will be trained. It could be argued that the over-crowding of the syllabuses, often with subjects not usefully studied at the school level, leads to a cramming of textbook information that militates against high academic standards, which imply a creative approach to learning, an ability to evaluate and relate information.)

9. *The problem of teacher-educators* The Ministry recognizes that the provision of teacher-educators of high quality is a key problem in teacher education. The standards are set, but at present very difficult to apply, owing to the shortage of suitable candidates. The Ministry is doing its best in the circumstances, trying to involve the staffs of the training institutions in research in the fields of curricula and method. Special programmes for training educators are carried out by the joint efforts of the universities and the Ministry. Before appointment for training primary school teachers they need at least six or seven years of successful teaching at preparatory and secondary schools (notably none in primary schools!) plus a university degree and diploma in education. They receive 25 per cent more salary than colleagues working in other institutions. The Ministry concedes that not only the problems of shortage in staff but the question of where and how to qualify and train such personnel have not been solved. (It appears that five years' minimum experience in primary schools with the freedom to experiment with modern methods, group and individual teaching, which can be done, even with classes of forty children, remedial teaching of reading and number and an accent on courses in child development would be more valuable than experience in subject teaching at preparatory and

secondary level. During the period when attempts were being made to introduce the modern approach into the formal, subject-orientated, English primary-school system, 'discovery' courses were arranged by the Ministry of Education, attended by groups of inspectors and teacher-educators who temporarily became 'primary school pupils'. The situation was not without comedy, especially when dignified officials, entering into the spirit of the venture, tried to 'express themselves' by distorting their bodies in response to various kinds of music, and toured London underground stations to gather information for an environmental project, as an alternative to watching coots for hours by a Wimbledon pond. However, the message was communicated: all were agreed that to be not merely instructed but educated involved active participation in the information-gathering process, opportunity for creativity and a closer understanding between teacher and pupil.)

10. *The need for continuing training* This section of the paper consists of a summary of the needs and provisions for the initial and continuous process of education for Egyptian teachers with emphasis on the complexity of the problems and the hope that clarification would result from the international conference on education, for which the paper was prepared.

Adult education

Egypt has accepted the opinion of the Third Regional Conference of ministers of education and ministers responsible for economic planning in the Arab States, held in Marrakesh (January 1970) that

> Efforts on behalf of adult education and literacy based on the new concept of 'functional literacy' and 'life-long education' and conducted by modern methods and techniques should be reinforced and extended as an important and integral part of national plans for educational development.

Until 1946, adult education was provided only by agencies outside the government, but in that year the idea of 'popular culture' was born, and government 'Institutions of Popular Culture' were opened initially in Cairo and Alexandria, but later in all the governorates. At first the concept of a popular university was favoured, but perhaps under Russian influence, the idea of 'culture palaces' emerged. The government, which since 1952 has always been willing to experiment with

educational schemes from overseas, East or West, has now had time to assess her needs in adult education, both in terms of formal education and the dissemination of her culture. The importance attached to both these aspects is seen in her mobilization of every ministry, the Arab Socialist Union, trade unions and all the corporations in the public sector to take part in the literacy campaign, and the development of a cultural policy by the Ministry of Culture, which not only integrates the work of all the other cultural agencies, but initiates its own research and acts as a guardian for the conservation of Egypt's rich cultural heritage.

Literacy

Illiteracy is the legacy of a feudal social system associated with an agricultural economy supported by cheap labour. In a population which increases by about a million babies in a year, where education is compulsory only in the legal sense, and 'dropping out' during the early stages is tolerated owing to the large classes, while poverty and ignorance fortified by tradition makes the education of females a wasteful luxury, in some people's eyes, it is not easy to gather reliable statistics. The absolute number may increase while the percentage decreases so that, unless the basis of comparison is very clear, the fact, for example, that it is estimated that there were 7·3 million of illiterates in 1907 but 12·6 million in 1960 may be misleading. It is not surprising that, as Magdi Wahba (1972) states, 'Periodically since 1925, illiteracy has been regarded with a mixture of despair and frantic activity.' The latter, which increased in momentum in the wake of the Revolution, with its ideal of social democracy, became less frantic and more efficiently organized with the passing of the new literacy law of 1970 (No. 67) which tried to avoid the difficulties of the previous law (No. 110, 1940) by defining illiteracy and classifying illiterates. An illiterate was held to be a male or female between the ages of eight and forty-five years not participating in organized study and who had not previously reached the level of the fourth primary class.

For the purpose of the campaign, illiterates were divided into two groups, the first of which were to be given priority. These were about a million workers in the public sector of industry and government departments. The intention was to have the sector of the population literate by 1976. Each organization was split up into units so that

responsibility could be shared, although the organization was legally obliged to give facilities and was answerable to the government. This part of the campaign was financed by profits made from industry and the budgets of various government departments. All workers were informed that their promotion depended on acquiring a literacy certificate by 1976. The response from both teachers and taught has been enthusiastic and the campaign is deemed to be highly successful in achieving its object.

The second, larger group is the population at large, a much tougher proposition, since it includes fellahin (peasant) women with large families and no motivation or time to change their way of life, often with husbands who are only interested in getting more money. In 1970, a Higher Adult Education Council was formed under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education to represent ministries concerned with production and services, including vocational trainee organizations, labour unions, the Arab Socialist Union Central Committee and the ASU Feminist Committee. Its task was to devise an integrated national plan to be supervised by central authority under the auspices of political organizations. President Sadat himself charged the local branches of the ASU with the duty of exposing the dangers of illiteracy and of co-operating in the task of its elimination. The ASU, whose main function is to watch over the welfare and interests of the masses, regarded the campaign as a vital humanitarian and social scheme. By 1972, through the organizations in the governorates, the ASU had made lists of the level of literacy of all the members of the families in the various neighbourhoods. Meanwhile the Higher Council in Cairo approved the establishment of a similar Higher Council for the Education of Adults and elimination of illiteracy in every governorate. No organization escaped involvement, since these councils, chaired by the governor, included the ASU secretary, five members of the People's Council, representatives from the Teachers' Association, workers' Trade Unions Federation, the Ministries of Education, Higher Education, Social Affairs, Manpower, Culture, Treasury, Public Health, Industry, Land Reclamation and Interior, the Director of Statistics and the Director of Education in the governorate.

It is not proposed to itemize all the activities and contributions of this vast army of officers in a war against illiteracy only second in importance to the war to regain Egypt's lost territory. A few examples will illustrate the single-minded response of the country's leaders in all walks of life

to the challenge of the Minister of Education, who said in 1970,

> If we could live any kind of life with this stigma in the past, we cannot occupy our position in today's world – the world of modern science, advanced technology and the tremendous intellectual and political conflicts – without eradicating illiteracy and arming the people of our Arab nation with the weapons of the age.

By 1972 the agricultural workers' trade union were already carrying out a year's plan for combating illiteracy among agricultural labourers in 1,500 villages. Activities had begun in 420 villages in Dakahlia, 443 villages in Sharkia, 30 villages in Menufia and 60 villages in Minia, Fayoum and Beni Suef. Teachers in the villages who had attended fifteen-day training courses for teaching adults, participated with the co-operation of one labour instructor for every five teachers. In 1973 (and since) the Cairo governorate has arranged for university students to work as teachers in literacy campaigns during their summer vacation. Two students were entrusted with the job of teaching each of the twenty-four classes in Cairo. In the same year the governorate of Menufia decided to open 245 anti-illiteracy classes in the squares and cities, with the aim of educating half a million illiterates in the governorate. Also Law 76 (1973) made it compulsory for all graduates from the university or an institute of higher education who do not join the army to spend a year in community service, including literacy teaching, after training for one month in classes organized by the Ministry of Education all over the country. Although help has also been sought from private organizations and individuals, the main burden of the campaign falls on the teacher, whose role was decided at a meeting of the Higher Council in 1972. Financial and moral incentives were to be offered in the form of a premium of £E 1 for every pupil to every teacher whose pupils distinguished themselves in their studies, priority in promotion and secondment to Arab countries and the possibility of being honoured on Science Day, as well as a medal if they instructed ten persons outside the literacy classes. There were also to be sanctions for 'negligent' teachers who would be barred from secondments abroad and from any privileges such as teaching at the services classes, where teachers receive premiums for extra work, and, on top of this, a cut of one month's salary by 50 per cent if his pupils had poor results owing to his negligence. (*Egyptian Gazette* 29 March 1972).

In her campaign, Egypt has been greatly helped by the Sers el-Layyan Educational Centre funded by UNESCO to handle educational problems confronted by Arab countries in general. Founded in Egypt, which was one of the first countries in the Middle East to face the literacy problem, on a recommendation of the first conference of education and Ministers responsible for economic planning in the Arab states (Beirut 1960), it aims at studying, analysing and finding solutions for educational problems within the framework of overall national development planning.

In the field of literacy, Sers el-Layyan has much to offer. Regular conferences are attended not only by delegates from Arab countries, but by workers in the field from any part of the world, who exchange experiences and have access to the latest audio-visual aids. It is here that experts are trained for three months in order to be able to organize courses for teachers in their own countries. Demonstrations are arranged in the local villages, curricula discussed and a vast amount of literature printed and distributed, including textbooks.

To pinpoint the urgency of the literacy problem, 1971 was selected as Arab Literacy Year. Egypt has not only received but contributed much to the value of the Centre. Its Director at the time of writing was an Egyptian and it was the Egyptian Minister of Education who stressed that the new message of the Centre lay in providing all the Arab countries with leaders of functional education, to turn literacy projects from mere teaching of the three R's to linking education with production and public services. In practice this meant providing functional literacy classes, that is, training people to read in their own specialization, whether it be in the home, the factory or on the land. Thus, reading would become part of the process of learning technical skills, giving an incentive to increase production and linking literacy to economic development. In Egypt the two main projects for functional literacy were carried out experimentally in the clothing industry at Mahala and the sugar factory at Howamdya. It was an expensive venture because a whole series of books had to be printed which included technical language not suitable for general use in classes. Also it was necessary to find personnel trained for teaching who were also able to train workers in the skills required for their jobs. However, the principle of relevance to real life and interests found expression in the publication of different sets of readers for use in an industrial or rural environment and with bedouins or women. More recently the Centre

is experimenting with lesson courses on cassettes which can be used without the presence of a teacher in the home or at work, in conjunction with graded readers. These appear to be very successful both because of the novelty and the pleasure derived from knowledge of results. Their usefulness in village classes appears to be less appropriate or effective: the pupil does not get the benefit of a stimulating class lesson or of individual programmed learning.

Fundamental and workers' education

Experience has shown that literacy classes do not fulfil the educational needs of adults whether they are 'drop-outs' from primary schools or people who have never been to school. The reading lesson is now part of a group of lessons which may include practical subjects like sewing for women and sport for men. The search for incentives is particularly important for women who form the largest group of illiterates. Many projects are under discussion or being tried out. An example is the 'Productive Family Project' emanating from the Ministry of Social Affairs. Women first have dressmaking lessons at a centre, then, when they are proficient, are given material to use in their own homes. After learning to master a sewing machine, they are given one to take home. Instruction continues in the Centre which distributes and sells their products. Another suggestion is to license pedlars in the streets, the licence being a reward for gaining a literacy certificate.

Egypt is gradually increasing adult education at every level in accordance with the principle of continuous education. Evening classes range from extra-mural university courses to vocational-technical evening schools. Mosques, churches and clubs are encouraged to organize voluntary classes and increasing use is made of radio and television, as well as correspondence courses. There are also part-time courses for workers at different levels. An excellent example was seen in Cairo, where the Higher Institute for Co-operatives was visited. The 15,000 students who occupied the building in shifts for a four-year period were being taught largely by visiting professors from Ain Shams University, who only accepted expenses. The curriculum included religion, commercial and managerial studies, accountancy and business administration, the main aim being to supply suitable leaders for the 8,000 co-operatives throughout the country. Currently the fourth-year students were making a survey of the governorates to evaluate the co-operative movement in Egypt.

On the other hand, the important function of clubs in adult education can be illustrated by the activities of the Science Clubs, which participated towards the end of 1976 in the sixth international conference for science clubs sponsored by *al-Ahram* newspaper in collaboration with an international club body. These clubs, which are on the increase, help to make science understandable to the ordinary citizen, helping him to keep pace with the modern world.

TABLE 6 *Comparative statistics for the teaching staff in the general and technical education in 1973–74 comparing with 1974–75*

Stage of education	School year and (+) or (−)	Number of teachers		
		Male	Female	Total
Primary	73/4	42,151	51,351	93,502
	74/5	49,183	51,718	100,901
	Difference	+7,032	+ 367	+7,399
	Percentage	+ 1·67	+ 0·7	+ 7·9
Preparatory	73/4	19,108	9,809	28,917
	74/5	20,242	10,673	30,915
	Difference	+1,134	+ 864	+1,998
	Percentage	+ 5·9	+ 8·8	+ 6·9
General secondary	73/4	10,378	4,242	14,620
	74/5	10,859	4,306	15,165
	Difference	+ 481	+ 64	+ 545
	Percentage	+ 4·6	+ 1·5	+ 3·7
Technical secondary	73/4	13,748	3,017	16,765
	74/5	17,363	3,354	20,717
	Difference	+3,615	+ 337	+3,952
	Percentage	+ 26·3	+11·2	+ 23·6
Teacher training schools	73/4	1,422	960	2,382
	74/5	1,603	1,070	2,673
	Difference	+ 181	+ 110	+ 291
	Percentage	+ 12·7	+11·5	+ 12·2

(*Source:* by courtesy of the Ministry of Education, Cairo.)

5

Higher education

The role of higher education in finding solutions to Egypt's problems

The following pages will indicate that higher education in Egypt faces many problems but also that they receive prior attention from the government which looks to its intelligentsia for solutions to all the obstacles in the path of its rapid transition from an agricultural to an industrial state, independent and viable.

Politicians and educators alike stress the vital role to be played by the universities in building up the modern state. President Sadat himself set the pattern for public speeches on this subject, when, in 1971, he spoke of his concept of the university and its mission:

> The university is a complete unit with its professors, students and workers who seek the shortest way to the building up of the modern state. . . . Our universities have to work out their regulations in the manner that suits them best for the sake of the greater objective of building the state of technology and faith, so that every citizen may feel his true, active and realistic participation. . . . University men have a great trust placed in their hands for the coming generations. . . . Change has already begun, and you are entrusted with preparing this generation. . . . Every one of us should have his equal share of responsibilities so as to achieve what we want for our homeland, security, safety and welfare for every citizen and the realization of all our dreams and aspirations.

Sadat's Cromwellian approach ('Trust in God and keep your powder dry') is not just rhetoric; the Egyptian 'Utopia' is to be built on a base of science and technology which can only be taught at the required level in the universities and institutes of higher education, which are also the sources of the manpower vital to its achievement.

The scope of higher education

Higher education in Egypt is in the process of expansion and reorganization both with reference to administration (see Chapter 3), entry requirements, rationalization of subjects offered by the different universities, balance of provision for academic and applied courses and geographical distribution of institutions. Basically the classification includes courses provided at a post-secondary level, whether they take place in a higher institute, college or university, thus excluding at present the secondary teacher training schools which draw their students at the preparatory (middle) school level, combining secondary level teaching with professional training. Theoretically these students study for two years at a post-secondary level, but it is unlikely that their academic level at the end of their first three years would qualify them for entrance to a university if they so desired.

TABLE 7 *Comparative statistics for the students who were registered in the faculties, higher institutes and training institutes for commercial and industrial technical (73/4–74/5)*

	1973/74			1974/75		
Stage	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
The four universities	—	—	232,448	—	—	268,280
The higher institutes affiliated to the Ministry	31,426	11,500	42,926	36,074	13,613	49,687
The higher institutes not affiliated to the Ministry	20,717	7,883	28,600	—	—	—
The training institutes for commercial technical	10,431	6,527	16,958	—	—	19,570
The training institutes for industrial technical	—	—	8,733	—	—	10,446

(*Source:* by courtesy of the Ministry of Education, Cairo.)

According to Qubain, in 1966 there were four state universities (Cairo, Alexandria, Ain Shams, Assiut) and about forty independent state colleges and higher institutes besides the religious university of al-Azhar and the American University in Cairo, which is a private enterprise. Expansion has been rapid in the last ten years: the 1976 review of the Supreme Council of Universities speaks of eight universities in addition to al-Azhar and the American University (now recognized by the Egyptian government), the new additions being Tanta, Zagazig, Mansoura and Helwan. These eight comprise one hundred and five faculties and institutions. Of the new universities, three had been branches of older universities, while Helwan is a technological university incorporating higher institutes of technology. Thus they are an expression of the two main trends in higher education; to provide universities in the governorates to relieve the congestion in the older cities while providing courses relevant to local needs, and to up-grade technical education by making the higher technical institutes part of the university system.

Scientific planning, research and organizations

No account of higher education in Egypt whether in universities or institutes makes sense unless viewed in the context of scientific planning and research. Until recently, it was a free-for-all provision, turning out graduates as on an assembly line in far greater numbers than could ever be absorbed in appropriate occupations, and taking up far more than its share of the national budget. In the last few years, Egypt's determination to harness all her resources, including manpower, to transform herself into an efficient, modern, industrial state, is becoming effective; expansion in higher education is still taking place, but at least it is now subject to decisions based on overall planning and research into the country's needs. It needs research not for the sake of adding to the number of PhDs in the country, but for helping to solve the problems that beset industry, agriculture, medicine and other aspects of life in Egypt itself. For example, in 1973 the Minister of Agriculture's seminar on 'Cotton marketing today' needed scholars able to discuss scientific research papers on modern trends in cotton marketing and export and scientific solutions for related problems. The new aluminium complex at Naa Hamady, the project for the development of Safaga Port on the Red Sea, the mine design centre for handling mining affairs in Egypt,

including the construction of roads, transport and housing projects related to mining, the new industrial city to be constructed west of Alexandria and all the other projects in hand demand planning at every stage based on scientific research, its discussion and assessment.

Since the Revolution, planning and research have been so closely related that the expansion of the former has almost implied expansion of facilities for the latter. The Supreme Science Council founded in 1956 was concerned with scientific policy whose functions and objectives were defined in Law No. 5. These were:

1. the progress and development of scientific activities, norms and standards;
2. making surveys of the needs for specialists and devising schemes for meeting these needs;
3. keeping track of the progress of science throughout the world and creating facilities for Egyptian scientific workers;
4. organizing on unified criteria the assessment of grants and awards for stimulating research, both pure and applied. (Cited in Qubain, 1966)

In the same year national planning in Egypt was started by the National Planning Committee which was founded as an advisory body to the President of the Republic. Its terms of reference were:

1. the study and preparation of national, comprehensive plans for economic and social development with a follow-up and evaluation;
2. studying the general economic and social course of development in the years before 1960, using the statistical and recorded information available;
3. to translate the directives of national planning, as formulated by the political authorities, into action at the national and regional level. (Imam Selim, Under Secretary for Planning)

Both these bodies had advisory functions only and both were directly responsible to the President. The National Planning Committee became the Ministry of National Planning, split into twelve main divisions composed of experts and researchers with the task of keeping the Ministry informed of the situation in their specific fields. According to Selim, there are also many study groups attached for analysing and appraising developmental projects, preparing records showing the year-to-year activities of the different sectors of the economy and making a continuous study of the structure of the economy in the past and as

projected. Meanwhile the Council for Scientific Research was abolished by the Ministry of Scientific Research, established in 1961, and eight specialized scientific councils developed its functions. A further development came with the creation of the Academy of Scientific Research and Technology in 1971, now the centre of scientific research in Egypt, carried out in the institutes attached to it. These include specialized research institutes, such as the Atomic Energy Organization and the main research organization in Egypt, the National Research Centre.

According to Moussa (1974), the president of the National Research Centre, the main functions of the Academy are:

1. the support of scientific research and the application of modern technology in all fields included in the programme of economic and social development;
2. the formulation of the policies which ensure the linking at a national level of the scientific and technological organizations with the principal trends of the scientific and technological research which serve the national development plans;
3. the formulation and co-ordination of research projects related to national problems, financing them and following up their execution;
4. co-ordination of the major research projects affecting the national economic and social plans, which are executed in the different institutes or departments;
5. participation in the study of the scientific and technological aspects of the major development projects, and, when necessary, recommending the establishment of new research institutes;
6. encouraging basic research as a means of building up research personnel, and supporting research schools working in the modern fields of science;
7. dissemination of information concerning the possibilities of exchange in international modern technologies;
8. participation in the development of science curricula;
9. developing incentives for scientific workers;
10. organization of scientific publications and the popularization of science;
11. supporting scientific societies and encouragement of holding scientific conferences;
12. developing international relations.

Two years after the foundation of the Academy, Dr Abdul Aziz Hegazy, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Economy and Foreign Trade, speaking at the first conference held in Egypt by the Central Agency for Organization and Administration, on the organization of scientific research, reminded his listeners that it was not an end in itself, but a means to an end: the objectives of scientific research must first be defined and a national strategy should be drawn up for scientific research priorities. He stressed that human and material resources should be properly used to serve the targets of economic and social development and that the best remedies for loss and waste in all sectors should be found through scientific research. He gave us an example that the scientific research on waste in the wheat crop as a result of bad storing had shown that the loss amounted to £E 7,000,000 a year and that this could be avoided in the future by establishing stores at a cost of £E 35,000,000. Stressing the importance of scientific documentation, he called for a national library or scientific documentation centre to help overcome the problem of financial shortage.

The Academy had begun its work by making a survey of the research conducted in Egypt during the previous ten years as well as drawing up lists of names of scientific researchers, to be circulated among the various departments of scientific research. Its first director, Dr Mustafa Kamal Tolba, and the Academic Board included in their first plan of scientific research such basic issues as the problem of lost and wasted resources, the rebuilding of villages, the association of rural electrification with environmental pollution, family planning and scientific publications.

The universities

Organization

The organization of universities is controlled by Law No. 49 of 1972 and subsequent adjustments made annually. The following is a summary.

Under the general administration of the Supreme Council of Universities, each university is internally governed by a university board with a president at the head, a deputy head for educational affairs and students, a deputy head for higher education and research, a deputy head for branch affairs and a chairman for university internal affairs. Colleges are organized by a board chaired by the head, a deputy head

and a college scientific council, while faculties have a similar structure. (It may be noted that there is a scientific council at every level.)

Law No. 49 covers hundreds of items and sub-items concerned with the affairs of members of the teaching board, teachers and assistants; teaching, examinations, student affairs, higher education and research (general laws, conditions of acceptance for BA and BSc degrees, course work, examinations and transfer); higher studies; attendance, training and coaching and general lectures; student services; scientific degrees and diplomas granted by the universities; discipline; and the financial system. A full coverage is not possible here, so a few items have been selected from the original document, followed by important amendments since 1972. A short account of the main universities will then be followed by more details of two of the largest universities, Cairo and Ain Shams. Finally, a few of the faculties are described in more detail.

The range of university studies is shown in the list of faculties (sometimes called colleges or institutes) which are entitled to award degrees and diplomas. Some can be found in all universities while others, as indicated, are attached to a particular university. The order is taken from Law No. 49.

1. Art faculties
2. Law faculties
3. Commerce faculties
4. Science
5. Medicine
   (a) Faculty of medicine
   (b) Higher institute for nursing
6. Dentistry
7. Pharmacy
8. Engineering
9. Agriculture
10. Veterinary agriculture
11. Teacher training
12. Economics/political science (Cairo University)
13. Arabic language and Islamic studies (Dar el-Uloum), i.e. 'House of Sciences'
14. Mass communication and journalism
15. Faculty of antiquities
16. Institute of African studies and research (Cairo University)
17. Institute of statistical studies and research (Cairo University)

18. Institute of cancer (Cairo University)
19. Higher institute of community health (Alexandria University)
20. Institute of medical research (Alexandria University)
21. Girls' college Ain Shams (most faculties represented)
22. Linguistic faculty (Ain Shams)

General rules are laid down for the handling of university finances, including the keeping of accounts, records of purchases, insurance and expenditure on scholarships and awards of various kinds, but an allocation for the year having been made by the Ministry of Finance, the university, advised by its various committees, is free to make its own financial decisions.

Entry to Egyptian universities is based on the results of the secondary school certificate for the current year. As more than 100,000 students are involved, acceptances are dealt with in stages. In 1975, for example, 18,000 students (approximately) were admitted during the first stage, leaving about 90,000 students to be distributed during the remaining stages. Minimum marks for admission are announced by the Ministry of Higher Education at each stage, after which those who qualify may submit an application to an admission office. In 1975, for example, the minimum total of marks for first stage admissions into universities and higher institutes was set at 320 marks for the scientific section and 195 marks for the literature section, representing the original total mark plus the mark achieved for advanced level answers. Out of the 18,000 students of both sexes qualifying, about 11,600 were from the science section and the rest from the literature section. It will be seen that there is a marked difference in the standards required for scientific and arts courses and that most able students elect to study sciences at the secondary stage. Candidates holding equivalent certificates receive a different treatment, their total marks having to be 36·5 per cent for the scientific section and 69·6 per cent for the literary section. The scientific bias is again shown in the distribution of places by faculty. In 1975 101 faculties and institutes admitted both specializations, 100 admitted only holders of the scientific certificate, while only 2, namely Dar el-Uloum and al-Azhar literary departments, admitted the literary section only. Naturally the first-stage applicants take all the available places for prestige subjects so that choice becomes more and more limited for those admitted in the subsequent stages. For example, in 1975, first-stage students on the science side took all the places available in the faculties of

medicine, pharmacy and dentistry, while those from the literary section took all the vacancies in the faculties of economics and political science, mass communication and commerce at Cairo, Ain Shams and Tanta (external) Universities and the Higher Institute for Foreign Trade, as well as the faculties of art at Zagazig and education at Mansoura. By the time the fourth stage is reached, vacancies are being filled in agricultural institutes, technical institutes, higher physical training institutes, technical training institutes, specialized institutes and al-Azhar University.

With so much of the daily routine of university life being subjected to legal decisions, amendments to Law No. 49 (1972) are largely a tidying-up process; for example, Item 139 (Law No. 54, 1973) concerning the qualifications of university assistants, states that all contradictory items in Law No. 49 are to be cancelled and that the new law is to be published in official newspapers and to become effective upon publication. Other adjustments are also concerned with the conditions of service of teachers in the universities. In this matter, Egypt is much stricter than many countries, showing a great anxiety to maintain high standards of scholarship. Thus a PhD degree is a prerequisite for a teaching appointment and the training of university teachers a matter of concern. Law No. 11 (1974) states that to be appointed as a professor the person should have occupied the post of assistant professor at a university subject to Law No. 49 (i.e. one of the state universities) for at least five years and should have had his PhD for at least ten years and his BA or equivalent for at least eighteen years. At the other end of the scale, professors who have reached the retirement age (sixty) may remain as sabbatical professors of personal status until the age of sixty-five unless they do not ask to stay on. This period is not considered for pension, but they receive a payment equivalent to the difference between salary and pension plus the pension. Reflecting the shortage of senior professors, the Minister of Higher Education may even, if a chairman of a department agrees, appoint to a vacant post a professor in the 'sabbatical' category above, after he has passed the age of sixty-five years (Law No. 83, 1974). Within two months it was seen to be necessary to make even further concessions, so Law No. 120 (1974) shows willingness to appoint assistant professors lacking five years' previous experience, reduces the period of eighteen years from BA to thirteen years, and from PhD to five years if the post has been advertised in a regional newspaper, and, if the vacancy is for a professor, requires an advertisement in another regional university.

Other adjustments are concerned with the establishments of new universities from existing colleges. For example, Law No. 18 (1974) formed the Zagazig branch of Ain Shams University, while Law No. 70 (1975) is wholly concerned with the organization of the new technological University of Helwan. A motion from the President of the Republic would be needed to determine the locations of the colleges and institutes of higher education which would form the core of this university, as well as the technical institutes and colleges which the university might establish in the future. Meanwhile, members of the teaching staff, assistant professors and assistants of the colleges and institutes involved whose qualifications did not fulfil the requirements of Law No. 49 (1972) at the time of issue of Law No. 70, were given seven years in which to qualify. Otherwise they would be transferred to other posts in the general structure equivalent to the posts held, according to a motion from the Minister of Higher Education, after the University Board's recommendation. The university head and deputy heads should have filled the posts of professors for at least five years at these colleges and institutes of higher education, but the Minister of Higher Education would assume the role of head of the university until the administrative and financial bodies had been established within the period of time ending in December 1975. Finally, BA degrees or their equivalent given by the university would have the status of other university degrees.

The motion mentioned above finally came from the Prime Minister, (No. 924, 1975). Details are given both as an example of re-organization adopted by Egypt in her attempt to attract high-grade students to technical and technological education, and to highlight the importance of Helwan University as the first technological university in Egypt, which in time is likely to be the focus of technological education in the Arab world. As the instructions to implement this motion were not issued to the Minister of Higher Education until October of 1975, it must be assumed that work is still going on in the various colleges and institutes while adjustments are in progress at the administrative level. The University of Helwan is to consist of:

Faculties of technology at Helwan and Mataria;
Faculty of agricultural sciences at Mushtuhur;
Cairo faculties of fine art, commerce and business administration, social services, tourism and hotel management, physical training for

boys, physical training for girls, musical training, art training, home economics, postal studies;
Alexandria faculties of fine arts, physical training for boys, physical training for girls, cotton sciences.

The same motion instructs the Minister of Higher Education to implement the incorporation of the High Institute of Nursing and the Institute of Physiotherapy into the faculty of medicine at Cairo University, the faculty of engineering and technology to the Elmenya branch of Assiut University, the faculty of engineering and technology at Shabin el-Koum to Tanta University and the faculty of electronical engineering at Menouf to Tanta University. A further motion of the Prime Minister (No. 376, 1973) is followed up by a reminder in 1976 to the Minister of Higher Education that the plan to incorporate the Technological Institute of Shubra into Ain Shams University as a faculty of engineering must be implemented. The logical outcome of these and similar changes will be a return to one Ministry of Education to cover its present responsibilities, while the Supreme Council of Universities covers the former functions of the Ministry of Higher Education.

The four older and well-established state universities are mainly concentrated in Cairo and Alexandria. It is proposed to give more detailed information of two of the largest, Cairo University which is the oldest, and Ain Shams University which is a more modern institution. The others will be mentioned briefly.

Cairo University

Between 970 AD and 1908 there was only one university in Egypt: al-Azhar, which serves Islam as a world centre, as well as being a university with a network of institutions serving its various religious and educational objectives. At the beginning of this century there was a growing demand for a national university with a more practical bias, so funds were raised and the small Egyptian University was officially inaugurated in 1908. With expansion, especially in the physical sciences, advanced mathematics, political economy, the setting up of faculties of arts and philosophy and the development of social studies and feminine studies, its potentiality for developing modern studies was recognized. The *Egyptian Gazette* reports in 1913 that

As soon as Ibrahim Pasha Neguib, Director-General of the Wakfs, was appointed Vice-President of the board of directors of the Egyptian University he submitted to that board a report in which he recommended:

1. the suppression of the literary sections because it is not as necessary as other studies for which there is a greater need in the country;
2. the creation in its place of a scientific section for the instruction of engineers, mechanics and other practical sciences;
3. the recognition by the Government of the diplomas given by the university so that the holders may be accepted in the Government service.

However, within ten years it was decided to found a state university, using the Egyptian University as a nucleus of the faculty of arts, and this came about in 1925. Starting with four faculties, arts, science, medicine and law, by 1960 it was well into the process of assimilating independent schools of higher learning and splitting up faculties that had outgrown their organizations. Also the Khartoum branch had become established in 1955 with three departments (later faculties) of arts, law and commerce. At present it has fifteen faculties and three graduate institutes (listed under Law No. 49 (above)) as well as the three Khartoum faculties. Details of the faculties will be found in Appendix 1.

Alexandria University

This University was a branch of Cairo University until 1938. Like other Egyptian universities, it has expanded rapidly and now covers most normal university studies. It is known particularly for its facilities for engineering, medicine and the social sciences. Engineering and medicine are discussed below. It is not possible to cover all the other exciting developments at this progressive university, so mention is confined to the most important current project of the Faculty of Arts, that is the establishment of the first centre for American studies in the Middle East, financed by American sources. The project involves joint research and interchange of faculty students. Already students from New York are attending courses concerning Arab society, Islamic thought, Egyptian civilization, the political situation in the Middle East, economic development problems and Arabic language. American

postgraduate students will have the opportunity to join in field research undertaken by the anthropology department, including a two-year project agreed with the United Nations to study environmental changes and their effect on life in the western desert.

Ain Shams University

Ain Shams University, opened temporarily in northern Cairo in 1950, was established in Heliopolis, an ancient cultural centre, in 1954. By 1959 it included the following faculties and colleges: arts, law, commerce, science, medicine, engineering, agriculture, education and the University College for Women, as well as a number of branches at Zagazig and Shebin el-Kom, which have now been incorporated in the new universities. It is not proposed to give details of all the faculties which follow the pattern at Cairo University but to describe briefly some aspects of the Faculty of Education, the University College for Women and the Department of Sociological and Psychological Studies in the Faculty of Arts which have achieved a reputation. The university also has a Public Service Centre which organizes free studies to meet the requirements of society as well as general lectures and cultural programmes. It includes five departments: modern languages, literary, artistic and social studies, hygiene and preventive medicine, business administration, and child welfare. In 1967 a Middle East Research Centre was approved to encourage, publish, interpret and exchange research, particularly related to the Middle East, to collect documents, prints, maps, statistics and periodicals dealing with the Middle East and to issue scientific magazines concerned with current problems. At present it has three branches, concerned respectively with natural resources, political and economic studies, and the humanities. In 1968 a Scientific Computer Centre was established to make use of a computer donated by the University of California. A brief description of some of its more important institutions will be found in Appendix 2.

Assiut University

The University of Assiut was established in 1957/8 to serve the needs of Upper Egypt, especially in science and engineering, which became the first faculties. Agriculture was added to its offerings in 1959/60, medicine in 1960/1, veterinary medicine in 1961/2 followed by

pharmacy and dentistry. Assiut has an exceptionally spacious campus, allowing for future expansion. Its tendency to follow the organizational pattern of American universities and problems posed by its aim to teach wholly in Arabic are discussed in the section on engineering.

Medical education

Medical education began in Egypt in 1824 with the opening of a College of Medicine and Veterinary Medicine. Thus it was the second institute of higher education to be opened in Egypt, having been preceded by the School of Engineering in 1820. It was incorporated with other higher institutes in the new Egyptian University (later known as Cairo University) in 1925. Since then, the history of medical education is one of expansion and prestige.

By 1827 Cairo Medical School had incorporated seven hospitals, including three among the most famous in the Middle East: Kasr el-Aini, al-Manial, the Children's Hospital and Institute of Infantile Paralysis plus Shubra Hospital for Women and a School of Nursing.

The Alexandria University included a Medical School in 1942/3 with four hospitals which were incorporated in 1955: the Central University Hospital, al-Hadra Hospital, the Paediatrics and Women's Diseases Hospital and the Children's Hospital, besides a School of Nursing and a Higher School of Nursing.

Ain Shams has had medical education since 1950, incorporating a Children's Hospital which includes women's diseases and two general hospitals. More recently, medical schools have been opened in the Universities of Assiut and al-Azhar and branches have been opened by Cairo University in Mansoura, Alexandria University in Tanta and Ain Shams University in Zagazig.

Dentistry, pharmacy and veterinary medicine started as branches of the medical schools but, as they expanded, they broke away and became independent faculties or colleges. The most recent and important expansion of medical educational facilities has been the establishment in 1974 of a Regional Training Centre for Medical Record Science at the High Institute of Public Health, University of Alexandria. This, the first Medical Record Centre in the Middle East, will open its doors to participants from any country and will serve all World Health Organization regions. It will particularly contribute to scientific and technological development in the health sector and health education in Egypt,