



Max-Planck-Institut zur Erforschung multireligiöser und multiethnischer Gesellschaften  
*Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity*



# **Missing Pieces in the Social Contract Puzzle: Education as a Mirror**

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## **A Postcolonial Arab Social Contract?**

- Regime Stability predicated on a tradeoff between socioeconomic and political rights
- Arab Spring as breakdown of contract?  
Neoliberalism without Political liberalisation
- Missing pieces: rule of law and legitimation
- Insufficient Problematization- need for focus on lived experience



## The Four Ps Framework

- Citizenship+ Hegemony + Duties+ Lived Experiences
  - Citizenship: 3Ps Protection, Provision, Participation
  - 4<sup>th</sup> P: Production of Hegemony or legitimation
  - Duties: Abidance, conscription, taxation, allegiance
  - Lived Citizenship Focus the ways in which people's social and cultural backgrounds and material circumstances affect their lives as citizens
- Macro trends mapped against lived realities



## The Social Contract

The 4Ps	State Role	Citizen Role
<b>Protection</b>	Territorial integrity Life, property, public safety Environment Law and order	Law abidance Military or social service (compulsory or voluntary) Allegiance to state
<b>Provision</b>	Infrastructure and public spaces Education & Healthcare Social welfare & affirmative action Employment opportunities	Taxation and other contributions Enrolment in compulsory schooling Disclosure of private information
<b>Participation</b>	Freedom of expression, belief, association, organization, information Participatory representative governance structures and mechanisms	Participation and recognition of elected bodies (compulsory or voluntary)
<b>Production of Hegemony</b>	Collective identity Common values Economic model	Participation in rituals of legitimation (voluntary or involuntary) Refraining anti-systemic challenges

*Source: own design*



## Education as Lens

- Anthropology of education as a way of understanding power and legitimacy
- Post-Bourdieu: Not hegemonic reproduction, but contingent subjectivation
- Examine Practices *and* discourses (relations & texts)
- Case study: destruction of Egyptian pre-university education



## So Much Access, So Little Provision

- Privatization + austerity = Low inequitable Spending
- **Cit Role:** Tax (cap20), 50% informality, 90% “enrol”
  - Avg Teach Salary: 152 USD, Avg **spending/stud:** 217, 35% of **Const. Min.-** at 1.4% of GDP
- TIMSS: half below low benchmark
- PIRLS: second to last
- Mafish Ta‘lim: KSA, Truancy, Tutoring, HR Mismanag



## Stripping down Protections

- Basic state funct: Territorial Integ, Insurgency, Water
- Permissiveness: Rule-Law, Corrupt 32, 50% Informal
- **Roles:** Conscrip: emot/phys/fin cost, civilian jobs
- Everyday rule of law, repression, security
- 1) Disintegration of functioning school (cheating Tech)
- 2) Gendered emotional & physical punishment (80% of boys), undermined public safety (crime, harrasment)



## Poverty of Participation: Securitization, Impoverishment and Islamization

- Limits on: expression, org, assoc., representation
- **Role:** Legitimizing participation, State Functionaries
- Everyday: student participation, teacher unionization
- *Surveilled:* Oppos. express., hand-picked participation
- *Impoverished:* no teachers, no activities, shift schools
- *Islamized:* wall journals, school radio, artwork





## Unneeded Legitimation? Nationalism, 'Moderate' Islamism, Shy Neoliberalism

- Arab Socialism to Anti-Jihadist Nationalism
- **Role:** Photo of leader, Participate in rituals
- In Schools: Textbooks, Rituals & Discourses
- Love & Defense of the nation (legitimize conscript)
- Centrality of Islam: non-oppositional (Salafi, Evangel)
- Poor regime legitimation in discourses and rituals
- Students: No Nationalism, neoliberalism, only Islam



## Conclusions

- Breakdown of social contract: Not only decline in Provision, but critical changes to protection: corruption, informality, everyday repression
- Production of hegemony requires capacity



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