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Background Paper

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION: A PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS OF EGYPT AND ITS YOUTH GROUPS

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Introduction

As I understand the objective of a background paper, it is primarily to help guide data-collection and research in the case at hand. Focusing specifically on the topic assigned to the AUC Forum, Political Participation and International Cooperation, I suggest to zoom in directly on the issues at hand. These issues concern data-collection (either through surveys and/or interviews) and especially data-analysis, including the crucial aspects of the policy-making process and its dynamics. At heart of political participation and international cooperation is Public Policy Analysis (PPA) which is -par excellence- problem-oriented, in our case focusing on youth aspects. Other aspects will be treated in as far as they are related to this primary focus.

This paper is divided into four parts and includes four annexes. The first part makes explicit the focus on youth. The second part assesses briefly the public policy literature and presents the framework used in the paper. The third part- the largest- deals with youth groups and youth policy-making in Egypt. The last part four concludes with what is going at the very moment concerning youth policy-making. Since this is really a process very much in the making, it is suggested that interviews should be conducted with principal actors: government, other institutions and youth groups.

The four annexes are part and parcel of the paper. Annex I details indicators of Egypt's present continuous politics and its socio-political impact according to the HDI, the Failed/Fragile Index and Global Peace Index for the five-year period 2009-2014 and Egypt's rank in the Happy Planet Index in 2012 (The only year available). Annex II lists thirteen youth organizations/initiatives in Egypt. Annex III lists seven organizations at the international level dealing with Egyptian/Arab youth. Finally Annex IV maps international activities/initiatives related to youth, especially in the Arab Spring context.

This preliminary analysis focuses on Egypt, but it implicits that the discussion of public policy-making, the framework used as well as the methodology (quantitative and qualitative) can be extended to other countries and cases.

I- FOCUSING ON YOUTH: A YOUTH-CENTRIC APPROACH?

This paper, as the SAHWA project, is based on the assumption of the existence of distinct generations, i.e. the idea is that the 15-29 years old could be conceptualized as a distinct unit of analysis. But youth should not be conceived as a biological life stage. In this paper, this generation is primarily considered a social-rather than a biological- category with a distinct culture, values, mind-set and problems on assets. They are also living- contrary to previous youth generations- in an era of globalization, the so-called global village. They are for instance both the embodiment and driver of the ICT revolution.

There is another specific point that should guide the analysis and has to be explicated at the outset. Similarly to East Europe, for instance, the analysis of youth in the Arab Mediterranean countries has to include as a prime and even conditioning context the ‘Arab spring’ and its dynamics. After all, Bouazizi -the unemployed Tunisian graduate – who set fire on himself became literally and metaphorically the spark of this ‘Arab Spring’. Khaled Saeed’s death from police torture in Egypt, was another spark.

II- THE SUGGESTED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: DYNAMICS OF POLICY-MAKING

In dealing with any issue of PPA, the literature seems to separate two aspects: the stages approach and the different components of the policy-making process. This is unwarranted, not only will the different components in the analysis of the policy-making process be integrated together, but so will be also the distinct phase of the initial stages with analysis of policy making process. Discussing the stages helps to give an initial overview and facilitate understanding the policy-making process itself.

The stages approach emphasizes at last six elements:

- 1- Problem identification
- 2- Agenda setting
- 3- The policy-making process itself
- 4- Implementation
- 5- Evaluation and feedback
- 6- Possible reconsideration of initial orientation, policy and its tools.

This stages approach has the advantage of imposing order and meaning on a complex process with multiple variables and participants. It provides a start or a good mapping device. It thus serves as a useful umbrella to bring in other variables and disciplinary approaches – for PPA on youth has to be interdisciplinary par excellence.

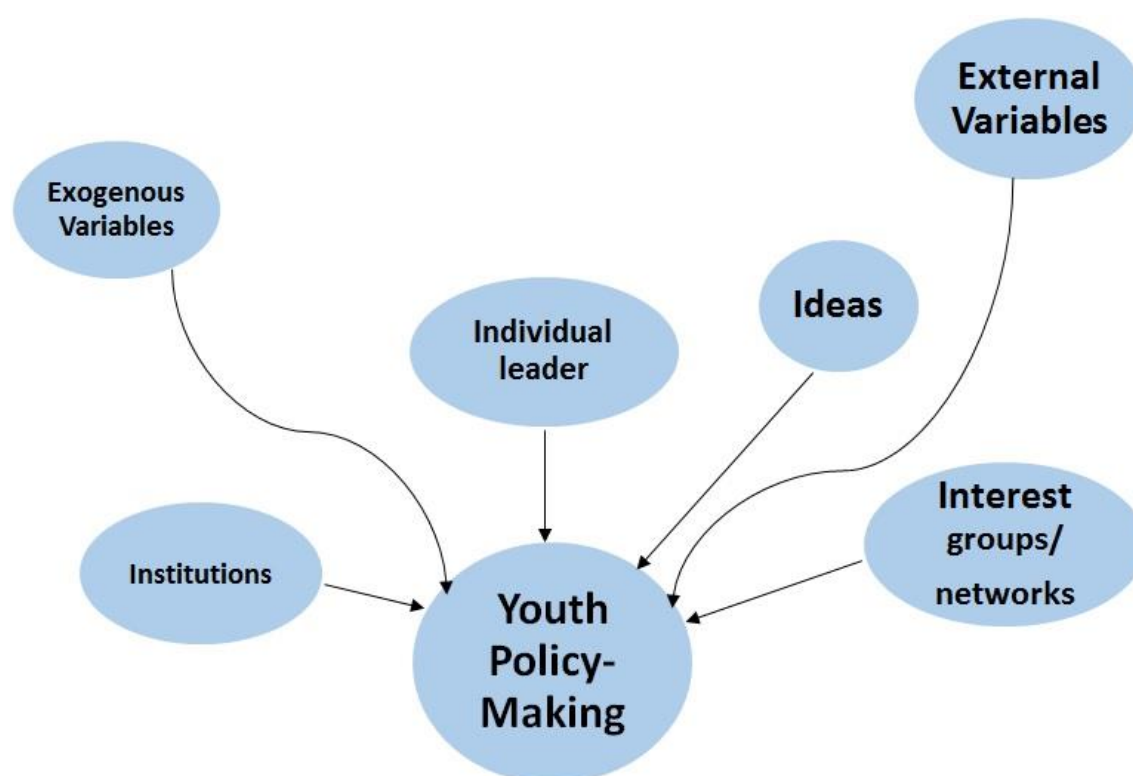
However, though functional as an umbrella approach, the stages tool has at least two limitations:

- A) Despite its attractiveness as a amplification device, the actual policy-making process rarely divides into such neat stages. Lines of distinction are much more blurred and their reality can be sometimes messy.
- B) The stages approach is much more heuristic than explanatory of a specific policy. This is why it is coupled here with a policy-making approach that emphasizes ‘reasons’ or drivers of action.

As regards this policy focus, the inventory of the standard most recent literature distills at least five distinct and dominant approaches. Each approach emphasizes the primacy of a certain explanatory variable, even its sufficiency. These are institutions; interest groups/networking; individual (sometimes dubbed as national choice) ideas/ discourse; and exogenous impact (i.e. coming from society or polity at large and impacting policy-making on the youth issue. Exogenous is thus distinguished from external- which comes from outside the state, and which has to be also factored in the policy process.

Each of the mono-variable approach tends to over-emphasize its assets and overlook its limitations. It is true, for instance, that socio-economic structures or other institutions indicate good clear parameters or even constraints for a certain youth policy, but they also tend to over- emphasize continuity rather than change- This continuity bias is quite a drawback in the analysis of a changing context of an Arab-Mediterranean region in the post-Arab Spring era. On the other hand, drivers of action such as interest groups, networks, ideas as the impact of individual leadership and their skills add a very important element to the dynamic characteristic of the policy-making process, and especially its change and variations across sectors and issues. But these tend to neglect the fact that change is never complete; and that, structures- formal and informal- tend to persist openly or in disguise. This is why the five approaches have to be combined and in different degrees, to be used as variables in shaping/influencing policy-making on youth, as the following diagram makes clear.

AN ILLUSTRATIVE FIGURE OF YOUTH POLICY-MAKING AND ITS VARIABLES



III - YOUTH POLICY-MAKING IN EGYPT

III. 1. Identification of youth as a policy problem/issue has not been absent in Egypt

In fact, there has been – on and off – specific ministries of youth affairs. But the approach has been usually rather authoritarian, designed and even directed from above, and politicized – both for the government of course, but also for some civil society organizations, e.g. the Moslem Brotherhood.

For the government, and dictated from above, youth policy primarily aimed to control youth rather than adopt an elaborate specific policies to attack and solve their problems; e.g. health, education or migration. Civil society organizations – especially ideological/Islamist ones – tended also to be authoritarian and politicized Moslem Brotherhood youth summer camps, for instance, were rather indoctrinating and emphasized oppositional mobilization. However, and because the Moslem Brotherhood was closer to its communities especially in poor areas and the countryside, the Organisation's youth initiatives provided some clinics and some educational/tutorial support, especially in Islam-based education. Other civil society organizations did not manifest a specific overall vision toward youth and tended to use only very little of their funds for developing/implementing identifiable or effective youth policies. Briefly, the youth sector manifested no effective policy – governmental or civil society – directed toward solving basic youth problems: e.g. employment, housing, or even marriage and family-formation.

III. 2. Youth Groups and Their Political Participation/Socialization

Youth commonality as a unit of analysis notwithstanding, multiple youth groups existed and was even institutionalised before Jan.25th. Despite feverish efforts of coordination in Tahrir, multiplicity persisted and was even accentuated after Mubarak's departure. In fact many analysts attribute the difficulties of the post-February transition as well as some successes of the 'counter-revolution' to the fragmentation/division of the youth groups. When SCAF launched one of its "national dialogues" in the fall of 2011, it announced that as many as 153 youth groups had accepted to join! These were not all the existing youth groups, as many and some of the best known ones declined participation. The main point here is that in the hazy post-Jan. era, many organizations were established, and many in name only. Therefore for analytical credibility the emphasis here on group multiplicity/diversity will focus on those organizations which conducted their protests both in public and before they actually came en masse to Tahrir.

Many members of these youth organizations got their initial political socialization and public training NOT in established political parties, but in emerging mass protest organizations. Kefaya is a prime example of such socializing grounds.

III.2.1 Kefaya ("Enough" or Egyptian Movement for Change)

Kefaya was truly a pioneer and catalyst in street protests. It worked outside the main opposition political parties and without any explicit institutional link with established civil society organizations. Its formal beginning can be traced to street protests against the 2003-US invasion of Iraq, and against Egypt's initial tacit approval of it. Kefaya's basis of

contention, however, was the regime's domestic policies of corruption, nepotism and especially the preparation of Gamal Mubarak to succeed his father. Such opposition came formally into existence in Aug. 2004 when about three hundred signatories called for a political reform, instituting direct presidential elections among competing candidates. These signatories included mainly middle class intellectuals, journalists, professionals, university professors Their Dec. 12th protest was a 'first', that is historical. Between 500 and 1000 activists stood on the steps of Cairo's High Court, surrounded by an almost equal number of anti-riot police and secret service elements. To avoid violent confrontation when they were outnumbered at this early stage, the activists were silent with the word 'Kefaya' written on tape covering their lips.

In public parlance its members attacked the government for its gravely deficient social welfare policy, lack of job creation, deteriorating education and widespread corruption. Journalist, Abdel-Halim Khandil, the spokesman for the movement until the beginning of 2007, explicated: "Our movement targets Egyptians. We want them to put away their fears and demand their political and economic rights".

It is this domestic focus, this call for the end of fear, and explicit public politicization of the middle class that justify naming Kefaya as truly pioneering. Khandil was kidnapped, beaten up, then thrown half-naked and with broken spectacles into the desert outskirts of Cairo. But this intimidation did not prevent the fiery Khandil from writing two books. His second title announced daringly but prophetically "The End of the Mubarak Regime" with a quasi-disfigured Mubarak's face on the cover. Thus Kefaya criticism was not only explicit and political, but it no longer spared the head of the regime. In retrospect it was a precursor of the youth shouts in Tahrir in Jan. "Yaskot yaskot hukm Mubarak" ("Down, down with Mubarak").

Kefaya was also a precursor of the Tahrir youth mass protests in two other cardinal aspects. First it acted outside the main established political parties, usually mistrusted by the youth as part of the outdated established system. Other than coordination/collaboration with some Human Rights activists, Kefaya kept its distance from many civil society organisations perceived as sold out and/or foreign-financed—willingly or not. Kefaya even kept its distance from other mass-based opposition movements such as the Moslem Brotherhood. Such distancing by Kefaya from established structures attracted some youth to its ranks. Secondly, Kefaya was not only secular but emphasized all along its 'non-ideological' character. It acted as a national front organization, bringing in all shades of Egyptians: Moslems, Copts, liberals, leftists, and many human rights activists, including those for women's rights. Kefaya's example and orientation inspired other branch organizations such as 'Journalists for Change', 'Doctors for Change', even 'Youth for Change'. In 2005, Misr Digital became Kefaya's online source of information, emphasizing the impact of new media that would become Al-Tahrir's trademark. It was not Google's executive, Wael Ghoneim, and his electronic proficiency – as we will see – the basis of Kullena Khalid S'eed, a pillar of Tahrir?

Kefaya did not gain at the time the success it merited because it was narrow in its mobilization. It was mainly an urban phenomenon, even of downtown Cairo, and tended to remain so. Moreover, it was not only middle class, but also led by middle aged men. The young within its ranks were rather marginalized. But Kefaya was not helped either by the then existing context. Characteristics of the Egyptian political milieu and the prevalence of the feelings of fear and futility of protest worked against its efforts of mass mobilization. At the time, Bouzizi's self-immolation and Zein Al-abdin's hasty flight from Tunisia had not taken place yet to create a favourable political context needed for Al-Tahrir's protests and help mass mobilization by youth organizations. Three of these organizations deserve special attention.

III.2.2 The National Coalition for Change/ El-Baradei.

This group is a mid-way organization between Kefaya and overtly youth organizations such as April 6th Youth Movement and Kollena Khalid Sa'eed. As the name suggests, the National Coalition for Change is identified with the 69-year old Mohammed El-Baradei – former diplomat, former head of the International Atomic Energy agency, and Nobel Prize winner. These are impressive credentials that provided needed leadership and worked as valuable assets (and also liabilities) in his leadership of mass protests on the eve of al-Tahrir.

Even before retiring in Dec 2009 from his highly visible international post, El-Baradei went on record to criticize the Egyptian regime, insisting on the necessity of drastic political reform. He suggested reducing the mandate for the presidency, the necessity of multiple candidates, and complete transparency in the election process. Before these criticisms Mubarak had initially received and honoured El-Baradei with the highest Egypt award following his 2005 Nobel Prize. But once el-Baradei criticized the regime and insisted on immediate political reforms, the tone completely changed. An orchestrated media campaign littered the governmental press, reaching as low as bad-mouthing his family (e.g. the diffusion of carefully -chosen pictures of his daughter in a swimsuit amidst wine glasses) – an utter character assassination. This strategy, however, backfired. If anything, the regime's volte face toward El-Baradei confirmed the regime's hypocrisy and obsession with eliminating any potential rival to Gamal Mubarak's succession to his father. Indeed, this governmental persecution made El-Baradei a martyr, and contrary to the established opposition parties, he appeared the honest "outsider" and a credible political alternative.

When I saw El-Baradei's airport arrival in Cairo on Feb. 19th 2010, the scene struck me as one of a national celebration, worthy of a national hero. Though numbers of the welcoming crowd were relatively limited, about 2000 people, these were the courageous ones who managed to overcome police barriers and harassment. Headed by a few political activists they included a large number of young people especially from governorates outside Cairo who raised Egyptian flags and banners of support for his various calls for political reform. The scene looked like an all-national protest movement in support of immediate political change, a movement keen AND happy to find its national leader.

Boosted by the flood of such enthusiastic support, El-Baradei met with different currents of political activism. They all reiterated the need for immediate constitutional change and abolition of the 30-year state of emergency law as a prelude to general political reform. As with Kefaya, El-Baradei acted outside established political parties. He ignored and was ignored by official media. But such official neglect did not hurt in the least his political visibility. On the contrary, private media outlets – newspapers and TV talk shows at peak hours – had him for interviews. Moreover, Facebook and various chat rooms of young activists added to his visibility among the youth. Many of these activists joined his campaign once it was launched. The Times correspondent, Ashraf Khalil, documents this youth involvement and enthusiasm.

"In the summer of 2010, I accompanied a group of El-Baradei volunteers gathering signatures in Hadayek Helwan, a middle class Cairo suburb The evening was a clear window not only into the power of El-Baradei's appeal,.. The volunteers, led by volunteer Maha El Gamal were a diverse bunch – Moslems and Christians, veiled women alongside fashionable ladies in tight jeans with bejewelled belt buckles. They worked their way up the street, approaching passers-by, local fruit sellers and store owners, even calling up to residents looking down from their balconies.

El-Baradei's seven-point list of petition demands amounted to sweeping domestic reform and would have required the re-writing of three separate articles of the constitution. It included the

establishment of international polling station monitoring and the removal of legal obstacles designed to prevent an independent presidential candidacy.

But it was the first demand – the immediate repeal of the emergency laws – that struck the strongest chord with ordinary citizens, and El-Baradei’s volunteers knew that was their strongest card to play”. (A. Khalil 2012)

El-Baradei’s initial success was due not only to his courage and sincerity but his immunity to that formidable obstacle plaguing many Egyptians at the time: fear. As a well-known international civil servant and Nobel prize-winner, he knew that the regime would hesitate long before risking to hurt him. “I had a sort of immunity so I could speak a little louder”, he told Khalil in the summer of 2010.

But El-Baradei’s immunity to fear/police torture was not enough to cancel out other odds and guarantee the sort of success that ensued later in Tahrir. For El-Baradei, though an important symbol, was has not been a part of the local protest movement, and even behaved to stay so. For a political figure and potential presidential candidate, El-Baradei valued too much his international schedule and ended by spending more time outside Egypt in 2009-2010 than inside. One of his senior deputies, fellow political scientist Hassan Nafaa, repeated to me how frustrating, dysfunctional and even demoralizing El-Baradei’s absence was. Nafaa, as many others, was sad to drop out of the whole project, despite his absolute commitment to the cause. These repeated absences increased El-Baradei’s inability to be at one with the masses. Ashraf Khalil tells of the experience on the spot:

“A pivotal moment {in understanding this handicap} came on June 25th 2010 when he attended - amid great hype - the protest in Alexandria in memory of Khalid Sa’eed. Anger was running high, especially in Alexandria, and ordinary apolitical citizens were starting to uncharacteristically take to the streets. El-Baradei’s planned attendance had stoked expectations that this would be the real start of his street-level campaign against the Mubarak regime.

Instead he lasted less than ten minutes in public, waving to the crowd and giving a short interview to CNN before departing. The disappointment among spectators was palpable....

Six months later, I interviewed El-Baradei for more than an hour at his home in a posh gated community near the pyramids. He struck me as a sincere, intelligent man who clearly understood the depths of Egypt’s problems and was upset about all the right things

I could not help but ask him about that day in Alexandria. When I put forth the theory that he just didn’t seem comfortable being the centre of attention in large crowds, the normally self-assured and verbose El-Baradei actually stammered a bit, seemingly lost for words. His wife, Aida, who was sitting with us, chimed in reassuringly, “don’t worry; you will get better at it”.

In recalling that demonstration, El-Baradei made a comment that speaks volumes about his life experience. He remembered emerging from the downtown Alexandria mosque after noon prayers and surveying the three-thousand strong crowds, surrounded as usual by a massive deployment of black-clad riot police.

‘It was the first time I’ve seen all this Central Security. It was like a war zone. It was an amazing scene to me to realise how repressive and how much of a police state we have become’, he told me. I was shocked; the fact that he had never seen a Central Security deployment basically meant that he had never attended a single demonstration in Egypt.” (Khalil 2012)

Disillusioned, El-Baradei's young members were again left to themselves. "It was a disaster", exploded Maha El-Gamal – the long-time activist with El-Baradei. She added "El-Baradei surrounded himself with amateurs and opportunists who were never on the same page with each other." (Khalil 2012)

Young protestors had no choice but to depend on themselves and establish their own organizations. Two of these have been central in El-Tahrir: Harakat Shabab 6 Abril (6th of April Youth Movement) and Kollena Khaled Sa'eed.

III.2.3 Harakat Shabab 6 Abril.

Its establishment coincided with the mass labor protests on April 6th 2008. These took place in El-Mehalla Al-Kobra, an industrial textile town in the middle of the Delta. In that year labour unrest intensified against police repression, and for higher wages to counterbalance rising food prices. The Harakat founders were all young men and women, notably Ahmed Maher, Asmaa Mahfouz and Israa Abdel-Fattah, who later became very active in Tahrir, indeed household names. By 2009, the movement could count on connections with about 70,000 young and educated sympathizers.

Because some of its members went to Serbia to see on the ground how non-violent means toppled Dictator Slobodan Milosovic, they tended to promote the same tactics in Egypt. But such silmeya (non-violent) approach did not prevent police attacks and repression. On April 6th 2009 the Harakat was attacked, its websites hacked, and many of its members arrested. Though their demonstrations did not rally more than a few hundred, they learned how to organize to converge from many street directions simultaneously. This was truly a technique that finally overpowered police forces around Tahrir during the January revolution and forced them to run away. Harakat members also learned how to mitigate the effects of tear gas by covering the face with handkerchiefs soaked in vinegar and how to make rudimentary armour against the riot police. These tactics became in fact the trademark of success in Tahrir. National/international networking was a characteristic of these youth movements as we see with Kollena Khaled Sa'eed.

III.2.4 Kollena Khaled Sa'eed.

Sa'eed was a 28-year old who was arrested and publicly beaten to death by the police in Alexandria in June 2010. Against police claims that he choked to death on drugs, photos of his mutilated body were taken by his brother in the morgue and circulated on the internet. Like Tunisia's Bouzizi who triggered the long-suppressed resistance against Ben Ali, Khaled Sa'eed became the symbol of police brutality and the callous state in Egypt. Mass protest movements usually need a spark to ignite them, and Sa'eed's torture/mutilation – like Bouzizi's self-immolation - provided this spark. The Times correspondent witnessed on the spot how El-Baradei's militants, for instance, used the Khaled Sa'eed case to incite people to mobilize and rise up.

".... Mehitab Jellani, a young veiled woman and long-time political activist, kept a copy in her purse of Khaled Sa'eed's iconic autopsy, pulling it out to remind the undecided about the casual daily police brutality that had become commonplace under the emergency laws." (Khalil 2012)

Wael Ghoneim, the Google Middle East executive, and the secret admin of Kollena Khaled Sa'eed, starts his book about the organization with the event of his kidnapping on the streets

of downtown Cairo just a few days before the Jan. revolution erupted in Tahrir. He recounts how the illuminated downtown streets became suddenly shrouded in darkness when he was pushed into a car, handcuffed and blindfolded. One of the two security police holding him constantly pushed his head down to his knees so that nobody outside could see what was happening, differently from the public beating of Khaled Sa'eed. But once Ghoneim arrived at the Secret Police headquarters, the beating started in earnest amidst a mixture of sadistic police laughter and insults. Contrary to Khaled Sa'eed, as he was blindfolded he did not know where the flood of kicks and slaps would come. Ghoneim appropriately titles his first chapter "the Republic of Fear". (Ghoneim 2012)

The subtitle of Ghoneim's autobiography and documentation of the Kullena Khaled Sa'eed site is revealingly: "The Power of the People is Greater than the People in Power". This life history and personalised testament amply confirm it. The website and its admin are an embodiment of the mobilizing impact of social media on the road to Tahrir. The call for the Jan.25th event was diffused through the website and its networking with the results we shall see below.

Though social media did not make the revolution, they certainly fuelled it. They also substantiated that third pillar of contentious politics paradigm: framing. Instant messaging among even the hesitating and introverts activated a community of frustration that acted as a collective force in the streets. Social media impact continued self-generated when Ghoneim remained in solitary confinement for 11 days. Moreover, if Google did not publicize around the world the cry "Where is Ghoneim?" he could possibly have been another Khaled Sa'eed. The book's chapter 2 details how social media assets were put in the service of what the youth had thought and hoped to be Egypt's saviour: El-Baradei. Though El-Baradei was extremely appreciative of having that social media asset with its 150 thousand visitors, Ghoneim became, as we saw above, disappointed and dropped out. The death of Khaled Sa'eed, however, brought him back to political activism through the effective use of social media.

The establishment of Kullena Khaled Sa'eed site came as an immediate reaction to Ghoneim's traumatic experience of seeing the disfigured face of a young man like himself publicly beaten to death. In fact, his wife surprised him crying feverishly in his home office and she had to turn off the picture to calm him down. What he needed to reduce his suffering, however, was to take some positive action, to wake others from their passivity. The site was then designed as a call for action against this widespread and extreme police brutality. It is written in colloquial Arabic to avoid any elitist tendency and to reach as many as possible. The reaction was indeed impressive: 300 subscribers in the first 2 minutes, 3000 in the first hour, then 100 thousand about a week later before settling at 250 thousand frequent visitors. The language used is indeed angry, rebellious, lively and very mobilizing, with folkloric songs to energize mass feelings of protest and incite their translation them into action. The site was also connected to other website pages such as El-Naggar's of the El-Baradei campaign, and to well-established bloggers such as the award-winner Wael Abbas. With such networking, this site substantiates the idea of social media as an alternative revolutionary forum to established press and TV media. As the Kullena Khaled Sa'eed repeatedly insisted: Egypt, after this young man's death, should not be the same as before. Indeed, the change was taking place.

Analysis of the site before Jan. 2011 reveals the flow of suggestions about how to carry out this change. Ideas focused on means of protest and the practice of street politics. They proposed starting with mobilization in Alexandria but to soon spread to Cairo and other Egyptian cities. Reuters estimated that one of these protests in Alexandria amounted to 8000 participants. (Ghoneim 2012)

Part of this mobilization strategy was to shame the regime about some of its actions, e.g. the excessive and crude fraud in the 2010 parliamentary elections orchestrated by close Gamal Mubarak confidante, businessman Ahmed Ezz. In these elections, the governing NDP "won"

90% of the seats. The site repeated street jokes and commented sarcastically on Ezz' three self-congratulatory Al-Ahram articles claiming how popular the NDP was. A special file, "Black Day of Egypt's Elections", included lots of photos to document the widespread fraud. The strategy made clear that this election fraud was part and parcel of continuous regime failings, the tip of the iceberg.

Thus a few days before Jan. 25th, the site diffused what it sarcastically called regime "achievements". For instance, the number of suicides in the previous four years was 12000, five thousand in the year 2009 alone; more than 100,000 attempted suicides per year – more than five times the 2005 rate. More than two thirds of these suicides were young people less than 25 years of age. The site's source of data was no less than the government's Central Body for Statistics, as reported by the equally governmental Al-Ahram newspaper.

In preparation for the 25th, mobilization efforts intensified. The site published a long 6-page reminder of governmental "achievements". These included youth unemployment, systemic corruption at the top level, widespread poverty, increasing levels of child anaemia, and even growing rates of national depression. The site specified four demands to be immediately met to cope with the disastrous situation, demands such as abolishing the state of emergency laws, and limiting the presidential mandate. It ended by specifying meeting points for mass protests: four in Cairo, two in Alexandria, two in Ismailia, as well as others in Mahalla El-Kubra, Tanta and Souhag. There were suggestions for mobilizing slogans, including two inspired by the Tunisian revolution. Also included were practical guidelines for demonstrator protection and maximum effectiveness.

And the Jan. 25th demonstration took place. After a long day and night in Tahrir, the site admin wrote: "Jan 25th is not the end of the regime but the beginning of its end". The social media were not only key in mobilization for that day in Tahrir, but also saved Ghoneim from Khaled Sa'eed's fate. When he was released on Feb. 7th, he was received by no less than the Minister of the Interior. He was accompanied home by the newly-appointed Secretary General of the governing NDP, Dr. Hossam Badrawi. When negotiating to appear on one of the most popular talk shows, "The 10 p.m.", he imposed his conditions: to talk uninterrupted as much as he wanted, and to receive in return one million Egyptian pounds, to be given in his name to the families of the 25th January martyrs. Both conditions were immediately accepted. During the programme, Ghoneim's collapse in tears over the discussion of martyrs and his storming out of the studio publicized even more the ugliness of the callous regime. Its end was in sight, as Mubarak finally stepped down three days later, on Feb. 11th.

III. 3 EGYPT'S PRESENT CONTEXT OF YOUTH POLICY-MAKING: Contentious Politics

Protest in Egypt has consisted mainly of strikes and labour sit-ins not sanctioned by the official, government-controlled labour unions and professional associations or syndicates. Egypt experienced more than 1,000 episodes from 1998 to 2004, with more than 250 social protests in 2004 alone. After the 2005 elections, protest activities continued to gain momentum in number and scope. Egypt's daily newspaper al-Masry al-Youm reported 222 strikes, labour sit-ins, and demonstrations in 2006 and 580 in 2007.

In 2007, strikes even extended to public sector employees, with 55,000 real estate tax collectors striking for weeks in Cairo to demand wage parity with other collectors. Other strikes, like those organized by the spinning and weaving workers in the Delta town of al-Mahalla al-Kubra in 2006 and 2007 even took on political undertones, with workers

demanding the impeachment of members of the local trade union committee and shouting slogans questioning the legitimacy of the government. 2008 witnessed over 400 instances of workers' collective action involving an estimated 300,000 to 500,000 most important event was a massive general strike led by networks of young activists and workers' groups that took place on April 6, which expanded from urban centers such as Cairo and Alexandria to other large towns such as al-Mahalla al-Kubra. Around 25,000 Mahalla workers led demonstrations that with the parties and movements, such as the liberal Wafd Party and the Muslim Brotherhood supported the strike, but did not participate actively. But the general strike could not be sustained for more than one day and efforts by young activists and bloggers to replicate the success on the anniversary of the event in 2009 and 2010 failed. Instead, the focus of protest returned to socioeconomic demands. Egypt witnessed approximately 1,000 strikes and other forms of industrial protest and 300 labor strikes in the first half of 2010, leading up to the 25th of January revolution led by millions of Egyptians.

In 2011 following the revolution and the military take over until elections were to take place, Workers staged many protests against rising living costs and to demand better wages and working conditions. On 9 October, a demonstration mostly by Copts outside the Maspero state television building in Cairo, was broken up with extreme force by the security forces, who alleged that groups of armed men in plain clothes were responsible for triggering the violence. Twenty-eight people, mostly protesters but including one soldier, were killed, and others were injured, many having been shot with live ammunition or run over at speed by soldiers driving armored vehicles.

Protests took place in November in front of the ministry of interior Affairs for victims of the 25th of January revolution. Some 51 people died and more than 3,000 were injured, while others were arrested to face charges such as illegal gathering, attacking protesters with shotguns, obstructing traffic, destroying property, and attacking officials.

In December huge protests took place in front of the Ministerial cabinet building, military police and other security forces used excessive and disproportionate force and live ammunition to disperse protesters, at least 17 were killed.

Protests in early 2012 were mainly against military rule, but after the election of Morsi, by November 2012, tens of thousands of protestors arose against the constitutional declaration of his absolute power. Anti Morsi protestors were around 200,000 and pro Morsi around 1,000,000. After several protests and sit-ins due to deteriorating economic, social and political situations in Egypt, such as large protests in port-said were 500 people were injured. On June 30th Millions of people demonstrated in all the governments eventually leading to the removal of Morsi after continuing demonstrations and protests for 3 days.

IV- AN EXAMPLE OF PRESENT POLICY-MAKING ON YOUTH

Following the 30 June 'democratic coup', there is a sort of anti-youth, especially anti-activist-mood at the highest level, and even in some media quarters. The positive image of youth following the 25 jan2011 uprising is now changing and many activists are either in detention or in fight. Yet on the eve of his departure to attend the U.N. General Assembly meeting in September, President Sisi suggested a dialogue with different youth political groups about their problems and also their future vision of Egypt. He entrusted Al-Ahram – one of the most established 'national' newspapers – to carry out this dialogue. A first preliminary meeting took place around mid-September at the newspaper's highest level. It was chaired by no less than the head of the Board of Directors, the editor-in-chief and the vice-chair of the prestigious Al-Ahram Center of political and Strategic studies. The meeting

was attended by youth representatives of eight political parties, as well as two organizations: Kefaya and Tammarod (i.e. 'Rebellion', the one group that initiated rebellion against former President Morsi in June 2013 and provoked the June 30 coup by the Minister of Defense, General Abdel-Fattah El Sisi. The meeting continued for over three hours in the prestigious Tawfik El Hakim hall. All was set then to convince the youth elements that government meant business and is seeking their collaboration, even their partnership.

A preliminary content analysis of the meeting published deliberations, shows that controversial issues were raised, e.g. attempts to tarnish the Jan 25, 2011 revolution and its activists in favour of the 'coup', increase of arbitrary detention restrictions on right to demonstrate and other human rights.. But information (page 28) above is still sketchy about the criteria of selection of youth representatives, of agenda-setting, of the time-table...

This is why plans are now set to contact Al-Ahram top leadership for interviews to seek answers to these questions, and indeed to have as much as possible of the 'inside story', and specifically why and how Al-Ahram was specifically chosen.

But from this most recent care of political participation and PPA, we can already see some aspects of the relevance and applicability of the proposed conceptual framework:

- 1- Identification of the problem at the highest level
- 2- The leader/individual variable was in this case the immediate driver/initiator of the policy-making process
- 3- Official institutions (e.g. Ministry of youth or other governmental units) are side lined in favour of semi-official ones.
- 4- Though we do not know ye the criteria for the choice of Al-Ahram, it is a safe guess that some discussion has taken place between, on the one hand, the newspaper management and high officials in the presidency, the government or even the army (i.e. 'interest groups/networks')
- 5- The impact of such variables as 'groups/networks' will be even more apparent during discussion about setting the meeting, 'when', 'who to be invited', functioning rules
- 6- 'Exogenous impact' issues outside the specific youth sector per se are certainly present, including the continuous fights with and within the Moslem Brotherhood and its officialities
- 7- Concerning the 'external impact', the fact for example that President El-Sisi suggested the dialogue in the eve of his departure to New York where he will address the U.N. General Assembly and meet some World leaders certainly shows his concern about impressing the regime's image at the international level.

Annex I: The conflict context of Egyptian Policy-making

Perceived criminality in society

Qualitative assessment of the level of perceived criminality in the society: (1-5 from the lowest to the highest)

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
2.0 /5	2.0 /5	3.0 /5	3.0 /5	4.0 /5

Security officers & police

The Use of force by the internal police (1-5 from the lowest to the highest)

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
4.0 /5	4.0 /5	4.0 /5	4.0 /5	4.0 /5

Homicides

Intentional and deliberate homicide level in society (1-5 from the lowest to the highest)

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
1.0 /5	1.0 /5	1.0 /5	1.0 /5	2.0 /5

Jailed population

Prison rates per 100,000 (1-5 from the lowest to the highest)

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
1.0 /5	1.0 /5	1.0 /5	1.0 /5	1.0 /5

Access to weapons

Qualitative assessment of small and light weapons accessibility in society. (1-5 from the lowest to the highest)

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
3.0 /5	3.0 /5	3.0 /5	3.0 /5	3.0 /5

Organized conflict (internal)

Qualitative assessment of levels of organized crimes in a society (1-5 from the lowest to the highest)

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
2.0 /5	3.0 /5	3.0 /5	3.0 /5	4.0 /5

Violent demonstrations

Qualitative assessment: The likelihood of violent demonstrations (1-5 from the lowest to the highest)

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
3.0 /5	3.0 /5	4.0 /5	5.0 /5	5.0 /5

Political terror

Countries are coded 1-5 according to the level of terror in the state

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
3.5 /5	3.5 /5	4.0 /5	4.0 /5	3.0 /5

Terrorist activity

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
2.0 /5	1.5 /5	1.5 /5	3.0 /5	3.0 /5

Deaths from conflict (internal)

Number of deaths resulting from internal conflicts between groups and each other or groups and the state

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
1.0 /5	1.0 /5	1.0 /5	1.0 /5	3.0 /5

The Human Development Index (HDI):

It is an index developed by the United Nations Development Programme setting forth that the criteria to assess the development of nations is through acknowledging that the assessment of the people and their capabilities is the goal. This is done through a summary of yearly average achievements in key dimension of human developments. These dimensions set indicators in the following areas: long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and have a decent standard of living. The HDI uses these three main dimensions to assess the ranking of every country based on available data. The report produced each year is based on the gathered data from the previous year. It should be noted that since 1990 the report has been published on a yearly basis except in 2012, no report was published.

Country	Rank in 2009 (based on 2007 collected data)	Rank in 2010	Rank in 2011	Rank in 2012	Rank in 2013	Rank in 2014
Egypt	123	101	113		112	110

**The
Failed**

State Index:

The Failed State Index was published in 2005 to highlight the risks that people faced as a result of their "failed states". The main purpose behind terming it failed was not to call a state failed but to gather attention to the degree of the failure of the state. The term gathered several controversies as and took away from the aim of the index, thus it was changed in 2014 to the Fragile State Index. The aim is to help states with conditions provided by the state and to increase protection of human security. There are several Indicators that set the ranking in the Index and these are:

Social Indicators: Demographic Pressures, Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons, Group Grievance and Human Flight

Economic Indicators: Uneven Economic Development and Economic Decline

Political and Military Indicators: Legitimacy of the State, Public Service, Human Rights and the Rule of Law, Security Apparatus, Factualized Elite and External Intervention.

Those indicators make up the country ranking where by the country with the worst indicator results in a number 1 ranking.

Country	Rank in 2009	Rank in 2010	Rank in 2011	Rank in 2012	Rank in 2013	Rank in 2014
Egypt	43	49	45	31	34	31

The Global Peace Index:

This is an indicator of national peacefulness. It uses 22 quantitative and qualitative indicators to come up with the global ranking. Such indicators include but are not limited to : criminality in the society, security officers and the police, homicide, percentage of those jailed from the population, access to weapons, violent crimes, political instability, terrorist activity, displaced people, UN peacekeeping funding, military expenditure, death resulting from conflict. The Countries ranked 1st have a lower score and are the most peaceful.

Country	Rank in 2009	Rank in 2010	Rank in 2011	Rank in 2012	Rank in 2013	Rank in 2014
Egypt	68	52	64	111	112	143

Happy Planet Index:

It measures in 151 countries the extent to which a country can produce a long, happy and sustainable live for its citizens and people living in it . Thus the main components of the index are: life expectancy, experienced well-being and Ecological Footprint. Countries with the highest overall score are ranked as the happiest countries. The results of the index were only reported in the year 2012

Country	Rank in 2012
Egypt	91

Annex II: Mapping of Youth organizations in Egypt

1) AIESEC (International Youth Exchange Network), Cairo

AIESEC is the global youth network impacting the world through leadership development experiences. AIESEC has been facilitating youth leadership activities as well as international internships & volunteer experiences for over 65 years, developing a global learning environment across 124 countries & territories.

AIESEC's Scope: AIESEC is a global, non-political, independent, not-for-profit organization run by students and recent graduates of institutions of higher education. Our members are interested in world issues, leadership and management.

AIESEC does not discriminate on the basis of race, colour, gender, sexual orientation, creed, and religion, national, ethnic or social origin.

2) Development No Borders Association (DNB), Cairo

Development No Borders (DNB) is an Egyptian NGO based on voluntary work of young people aged between 18-35 who aim to develop themselves and their society. DNB is working in youth development since 2003. Their activities are categorized under social, Cultural and Voluntary activities as non formal educational methods.

In the international level they care about subjects like culture understanding and diversity, xenophobia, racism and discrimination and for sure other topics related to youth development. DNB is Member association of the Egyptian Federation for Youth associations, Youth for Exchange and Understanding (YEU) in the Euromed region and a member association of Anna Lindah foundation for culture understanding and dialogue.

3) Dreamers of Tomorrow (DoT), Cairo

Their vision is to seek a community of an empowered generation of young change agents who are capable of contributing to the development process of Egypt.

Objectives:

- Increasing youth employability through innovative Education techniques
- Fostering Cross-Cultural understanding and Inter-Cultural Dialogue
- Raising awareness for health and environmental protection
- Rooting youth active engagement in the civic life

Dreamers of Tomorrow strive to reach out for underserved communities all over Egypt, and also welcome transnational activities.

Themes:

- o Youth employment
- o Youth life skills
- o Education and Innovative learning
- o Gender equality
- o Cross-cultural understanding
- o Volunteerism
- o Health and environmental awareness
- o Youth participation

- 4) **Egyptian Association for Youth and Community Development (EAYCD), El Minya**
- 5) **Entrepreneurship Business Forum (EBF), Alexandria**
- 6) **Fat'het Kheir Community Development Association (FK), Cairo**

NGO made up only of volunteers, works with a poor community towards a more decent life for its people. They offer microcredit schemes, emergency funds, and literacy training among others. The intuition is, that many more volunteer-based organizations work in the same area but numbers and concrete figures are still missing.

Fat'het Kheir accepts proposals from needy people, mostly women, to carry out small business ventures. Fat'het Kheir volunteers, many of whom have business backgrounds, assist the would-be businesspeople with writing proposals, and the organization then funds the most feasible ones. Most loans are in the range of 250-500 Egyptian pounds (approximately \$40-80 U.S.). No cash actually goes to the small business owner—Fat'het Kheir volunteers accompany the entrepreneurs to purchase whatever supplies or commodities they need.

The entrepreneurs pay back the money—typically at a rate of 12.5 Egyptian pounds per week for 25 weeks for a loan of 250 Egyptian pounds. The money charged on the loan is not interest, which is discouraged in Islam; rather, it is deposited into an account for the business owner.

Fat'het Kheir has created small businesses like embroidery and sewing shops, chicken and rabbit breeding farms, and bakeries, among others. More than 150 families have been directly helped by the loans, and Abdou estimates that more than 500 families have been helped by the organization's other projects, which include a nursery school, a kitchen selling prepared food to local grocers, and an employment office

7) Meshwar Association for Community Development (Meshwar), Giza

Meshwar is a non-governmental organization registered under number 1917 for the year 2003 under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Solidarity. Brief Mission Statement of the Organization The improvement of the quality of human resources within the community through development of the abilities and capabilities of the beneficiaries, volunteers and donors through charity activities and development programs such as food and health supplies, educational and awareness programs.

8) Nahdet el-Mahrousa (NM), Cairo

At Nahdet El Mahrousa, they believe in empowering the ideas of young Egyptian professionals to create new, innovative initiatives that lead to real, impactful social change. These ideals, embedded deep in our roots, have their own story to tell.

It Began With a Dream

Nine years ago, Ehaab Abdou, a young Egyptian, felt the need to do something for Egypt's development. Ehaab's experiences in development had shown him that despite civil society's best efforts, social problems were persistent.

Ehaab began sharing his thoughts with friends on how to improve Egypt. Through email, these thoughts resonated and soon enough, they created a virtual circulation of ideas addressing Egypt's social wills.

A “Renaissance”

Ehaab and his friends felt Egypt needed a renewed push for change—something grassroots, bottom-up, and Egyptian-led that would allow Egyptians to take control of our future. They formed a team, and co-founded Nahdet El Mahrousa, meaning “Renaissance of Egypt”. They believed development in Egypt needed a push towards innovation. Believers in the power of ideas to make transformative social change, They felt that invention is as important to social development as it is to the private sphere. By harnessing new ideas, they believed they could make real change.

And they believed young Egyptians needed to be at the forefront of this movement. Youth, especially young professionals, were often disregarded as too “inexperienced” to be leaders in society. But the founders saw it differently. They saw the youth as the thinkers and drivers for progressive social change.

Supporting Ideas

The team's aim was to create a platform to support the development of ideas. Their virtual dialogue had shown that alone, an idea was not enough. It needed to be paired with a platform that supported the shaping, testing, piloting and implementing of ideas. The platform, empowering young professionals with knowledge, tools, resources, and connections, would help turn their ideas into stand-alone enterprises, and at the same time, create a new community of Egyptian social entrepreneurs.

A Record of Success

Nahdet El Mahrousa is the first incubator of early stage social enterprises in the Middle East and the region. It is also one of the few in the world incubating young social entrepreneurs at the conception or “idea” stage. Since its founding, Nahdet El Mahrousa has incubated over 40 social enterprises in areas such as youth development, education and employment, health services, environment, scientific advancement, arts and culture, and identity. Nahdet El Mahrousa's social entrepreneurs currently reach and impact approximately 50,000 individuals in Egypt annually.

Over the past years, Nahdet El Mahrousa has developed strong capacity, know-how, staff, and capabilities to support social enterprises and has achieved prestige as an influential contribution to Egyptian society. Nahdet El Mahrousa's programs have included a wide range of partners, including Sawiris Foundation for Social Development, Misr ElKheir, Yahoo! Maktoob, the MasterCard Foundation, the Ford Foundation, UNICEF, USAID, UNDP and Samsung Electronics.

In 2007, Nahdet El Mahrousa's co-founder Ehaab Abdou was named an Ashoka Fellow. In 2010 Nahdet El Mahrousa was the sole Egyptian representative of the prestigious 2010 King Baudouin International Development Prize and one of 20 non-governmental organizations (out of 27,000) chosen as a “best practice” in the United Nations Development Program's 2008 Egypt Human Development Report.

9) Sustainable Development Association (SDA), Alexandria

Sustainable Development Association SDA is the NGO which YES (Youth Entrepreneurship and Sustainability) Country Network Egypt has established to develop and implement youth projects in Egypt. SDA is the legal entity of YES Country Network Egypt.

Their mission is both motivates and guides us through our long journey. It is a Youth Vision for a better world where all Youth World come to be hand in hand solving what they want to solve and building what they want to build. "Helping ourselves as Youth to identify our dreams, find out our abilities and improve our qualifications to meet the requirements of the Job Market" is their mission. What do they do? SDA serves as an interface tool between the Private Sector and the Public Sector on the one hand, and Youth on the other hand. their aim is to help the Youth to believe in themselves and their dreams. They want everyone to come up with meaningful ideas and creative project to serve their local community and their country, and they will help them make their voices heard. Opportunities for Youth SDA is established, managed, developed by Youth, which is its main target.

SDA offers youth various opportunities, such as: Projects, Scholarships, Workshops and Educating Sessions .

10) Youth Association for Population and Development (YAPD), Cairo

The Youth Association for Population and Development was founded during the second half of 1995 by a group of young volunteers who participated in the work of the organization and management of the International Forum on Population and Development held in Egypt, in which it adopted the Egyptian government on a group of young Egyptian universities were the 1,200 young men and women received intensive training for three months to volunteer in organizing the work of the Forum, and through the participation of these young people in the Forum stemmed the idea of establishing a youth unite through which their efforts to benefit the development in Egypt of their efforts and energies, where they founded the first association to be the main component of the young and the board of directors of all the members of the youth has been cramming Statute of the establishment of the Association is to increase the effectiveness of the youth in the development process in Egypt in terms of planning, implementation and evaluation through reliance on volunteerism as a key driver for development, as well as participating with all the bodies in the range of local, regional or international in terms of follow prevention system before the emergence of the problem.

11) Alashanek Ya Baladi (AYB), Cairo

"Alashanek Ya Balady" Association for Sustainable Development (AYB) is one of the most innovative, dynamic and successful youth NGOs in Egypt. It was first established as a student club at the American University in Cairo back in 2002 to promote the concept of volunteerism among Egyptian youth and to introduce them to "development" as a wider domain and a demonstration of collective social efforts combating poverty and complementing traditional charity.

Since 2003, AYB student club model at the AUC has been replicated and applied across several other universities in Egypt that include Ain Shams University and Cairo University. It is still continuing to reach more and more universities in Egypt. Later in 2005, AYB was registered as an Egyptian NGO. AYB student clubs continued their activity and are expanding as members of a franchising system innovatively designed and adopted by AYB. (Please refer to the franchise system) AYB believes in the power of the civic sector to create innovative opportunities for the underprivileged to sustain their lives, and stimulate the effective engagement of youth in solving society's problems. In addition, there is a firm belief in the necessity of involving the private and public sector in the course of social change where the

partnerships among the civic, private and public sectors collectively lead and empower the transformation of the inefficient social structures of society.

AYB carries the vision of the social change that does not offer temporary solutions for developmental challenges, but is rather identified with its ability to eradicate the root causes of these challenges. AYB aims at changing stereotypes, advocating for labor rights and minimum wage, supporting profitable projects that can progressively turn into an effective instrument contributing to the economic environment, along with tailoring its learning and coaching approach to private sector needs to ultimately serve a successful placement. These aspirations do not go without comprehensive family development that supports the inclusion of every member of society. The success of AYB's development model enhances community and youth participation and creates a sense of social responsibility on both the national and regional level to eventually reach a better reality for Egypt and the region. "Alashanek ya Balady" is completely composed of a team of young Egyptian leaders. It is an organization built upon the unconditional commitment and devotion of the young social change agents – both full timers and volunteers - who believe in their ability to lead the way towards a better tomorrow for Egypt.

12) Tala'i' el-Tanmiya, El-Arish, North Sinai

13) Youth For Understanding (YFU) – Egypt

Youth For Understanding (YFU) was established in 1951 as a private, non-profit educational organization dedicated to promoting international understanding and world peace through exchange programs for high school students. As one of the oldest and largest exchange organizations in the world, YFU has arranged for nearly 200,000 high school students to live with families worldwide.

Youth For Understanding (YFU) prepares young people for their responsibilities and opportunities in a changing, interdependent world.

Youth For Understanding (YFU) is a worldwide movement of committed individuals and organizations working together to prepare young people for their responsibilities and challenges in a changing, interdependent global community. YFU exemplifies excellence through leadership in the field of exchange. YFU national organizations share a common mission and vision for the future. Fully autonomous, YFU embraces our interdependence. Worldwide, we seek to set the standard for quality service and support to all our participants. Driven by the YFU mission, it is committed to finding new and innovative ways to inspire and engage a growing base of participants inclusive of racial, ethnic, and geographic diversity and increasingly open to all regardless of socio-economic status. Results-oriented, YFU demonstrates its impact through measurable performance indicators. YFU values innovation in response to the rapidly accelerating pace of change.

Most of the work of Youth For Understanding is done by the volunteers in participating countries who provide services and support to students, families, and schools. Without volunteers around the world, YFU would not be able to function.

There are many types of YFU volunteers, including:

- Families who take an exchange student into their home.
- Individuals who recruit qualified host families and place exchange students with host families. These people develop and maintain a positive relationship with school personnel. They also monitor, advise, and support students and their host families during the exchange experience.

- Individuals who recruit qualified students to participate in YFU programs in other countries.
- Individuals who make special presentations to groups of students in schools or other settings.
- Volunteers who plan and conduct orientations for YFU students, their natural families, and host families.
- People who manage activities of YFU alumni in a region or country.
- Area coordinators or field managers who provide leadership and supervision for volunteers and coordinate all YFU activities in a geographic area.
- Individuals who provide training for YFU volunteers.

Annex III- List of International Organizations working with Arab Youth:

1) The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty (FNF)

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty (FNF) is the Foundation for liberal politics. Established in 1958 by Theodor Heuss, the first president of the Federal Republic of Germany, it promotes individual freedom and liberalism.

The Foundation follows the ideals of Friedrich Naumann who at the beginning of the last century was a leading German liberal thinker and politician. He resolutely backed the idea of civic education. Friedrich Naumann believed that a functioning democracy needs politically informed and educated citizens. According to him, civic education is a prerequisite for political participation and thus for democracy.

The Foundation promotes liberalism in cooperation with her local partners through civic education, international political dialogues, and political counseling. The Foundation has a network of institutes in Germany and also numerous offices in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, America and Asia. It also enjoys close links with Germany's Free Democratic Party (FDP) and Liberal International (LI).

The Foundation has been represented in Egypt since the seventies. In the early years, our project work focused on assisting the development of cooperatives and the training of journalists. Supporting educative and training programs for journalists, particularly for professionals working in the electronic media television and radio, has all along been a cornerstone of the Foundation's work in this country.

For many years the Foundation has partnered with the **Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU)** with whom we conduct trainings in Cairo and many other parts of the country. Of a more recent date is our cooperation with the **Ministry of State for Youth Affairs**.

This long term cooperation with the governmental partner aims at promoting civic education among the Egyptian youth and increasing the awareness of the young for political issues and also the importance of political participation.

Furthermore, as a liberal institute, the Foundation maintains close relations with numerous Egyptian civil society organizations and liberal political parties. One of the focal points of these programs is issues related to the promotion of human rights.

Target groups of our training programs are leadership personnel and members of liberal political parties, members of civil society groups and media workers. The foundation is particularly fond of her various educative programs for the Egyptian youth.

While the Foundation's activities in the field of civic education consist of seminars, conferences and publications aimed at promoting liberal values and principles, the international political dialogue program provides a discussion forum for a wide range of liberal issues. The Foundation's counseling programs focus on candidates for political office, liberal political parties and other democratic organizations.

2) The Anna Lindh Foundation

The Anna Lindh Foundation is an inter-governmental institution bringing together civil society and citizens across the Mediterranean to build trust and improve mutual understanding.

Mandate and Founders: The purpose of the Anna Lindh Foundation is to bring people together from across the Mediterranean to improve mutual respect between cultures and to support civil society working for a common future for the region.

Since 2005, the ALF has launched and supported action across fields impacting on mutual perceptions – education, culture and media – as well as developing a region-wide Network of over 4000 civil society organizations. Through its action and reflection the ALF aims to contribute to the development of an Intercultural Strategy for the Euro-Mediterranean Region, providing recommendations to decision-makers and institutions and advocating for shared values.

The main scope of the ALF is overcoming the misunderstandings and stereotypes which affect relations between and within the societies of the Region, a task which became of utmost importance in the last decade. As a contribution to the creation of a space of prosperity, coexistence and peace, the ALF works to restore trust in dialogue and bridge the gaps in mutual perceptions, as well as promoting diversity and coexistence.

Governance and Management: Co-financed by the 42 countries of the Union for the Mediterranean and the European Commission, the ALF is governed by a Board of Governors composed by representatives of those countries. The Board, which is chaired by Veronika Stabej (Slovenia) and has a Deputy Chair in Mohamed Mahjoub (Tunisia), is responsible for approving the ALF programme and budget. The President of the Foundation is André Azoulay (Morocco) and the Executive Director is Andreu Claret (Spain) who manages the ALF from its international headquarters in Alexandria, Egypt.

The countries which form the Union for the Mediterranean, whose Heads of State and Government were co-signatories of the Paris Declaration for the Mediterranean, are: Albania, Algeria, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Malta, Mauritania, Monaco, Montenegro, Morocco, Palestine, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, The Netherlands, Tunisia, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

3) International Youth Foundation

The International Youth Foundation (IYF) invests in the extraordinary potential of young people. Founded in 1990, IYF builds and maintains a worldwide community of businesses, governments, and civil society organizations — now spanning 70 countries — committed to empowering youth to be healthy, productive, and engaged citizens. IYF programs are catalysts for change that help young people obtain a quality education, gain employability skills, make healthy choices, and improve their communities.

Today, the world's youth cohort — 1.2 billion young people ages 15 to 24 — is the largest in human history. Each one holds the potential to lead productive, independent lives and contribute positively to society. Yet far too many young people lack the skills and opportunities to stay in school, find and keep a job, or get involved in their communities. Over half of today's youth aren't employed nor are they in school having lost hope for a better future. IYF seeks to address young people's most pressing needs and their highest aspirations by supporting effective, impact-driven programs that ensure this young generation can achieve its full potential. Our future depends upon it.

IYF programs help young people:

- **Learn:** Making sure youth have access to relevant, quality education and the skills to lead a healthy and successful life
- **Work:** Preparing youth for the world of employment and entrepreneurship and expanding their livelihood opportunities
- **Lead:** Equipping and empowering youth to lead and effect social change in their communities and their world In all programs, IYF incorporates its Passport to Success® “skills for life” training in such areas as critical thinking, conflict resolution, effective communications, healthy decision-making, and teamwork.

IYF seeks to increase the quality and quantity of investments in youth development by forging strategic partnerships among the business, government, and civil society sectors.

- **Customization:** IYF works with corporate and individual donors to co-create programs that target local needs. A sampling of current and past partners includes Caterpillar, General Electric Foundation, Hilton Worldwide, Johnson & Johnson, Laureate International Universities, MasterCard, The MasterCard Foundation, Microsoft, Nike, Nokia, Samsung Electronics, Starbucks, Walmart, and Wm. Wrigley Jr. Foundation.

- **Leverage:** IYF gains critical support from bi- and multilateral agencies and governments — including the Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF), the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and the World Bank — to leverage additional funds through strategic partnerships.

- **Grant-making:** Since 1990, IYF has mobilized over US\$200 million in resources to expand the opportunities for the world’s youth by helping to fund the programs and partnerships with 472 youth-serving organizations worldwide.

- **Implementation:** IYF maintains a world-wide network of youth-serving organizations that collaborate on a global level yet are deeply engaged in addressing youth issues in their home countries. This global network now includes 224 partner organizations in 70 countries and lies at the heart of IYF’s efforts to build sustainable and effective programs. This approach is a reflection of our belief that those closest to the challenges are best able to address them.

- **Outreach:** IYF provides high visibility for program successes and learnings through a variety of traditional and digital media outlets, in addition to offering speaking opportunities at high-profile conferences.

Important Programmes in Egypt:

Egypt@Work

Program Focus: Work

The Initiative:

Despite the fact that youth educational attainment is the highest in Egypt’s history, at least 90 percent of the country’s unemployed are under 30. Disadvantaged youth, particularly women, do not have access to relevant training to obtain jobs in the formal private sector.

The International Youth Foundation and Nahdet El Mahrousa (NM), an Egyptian NGO, in partnership with The MasterCard Foundation, are implementing Egypt@Work, a four year, \$5 million initiative that will address the need for increased youth employment and

entrepreneurship in Egypt. This program will build alliances between sectors and assist local organizations with capacity building, technical service strengthening and on-the-ground implementation of the program. Organizations participating in the program will provide 10,000 disadvantaged youth with the skills, knowledge, and opportunities needed to find and maintain employment or to start new enterprises. These essential programs are responsive to market demand and informed by youth workforce assessments as well as by ongoing input of the private and public sectors.

Outcomes:

- 10,000 disadvantaged youth, age 15 to 29 will have increased employment prospects.
- At least 50% (5,000) of the beneficiaries will be female.
- At least 80% (8,000) of the beneficiaries will complete training program.
- Of those who complete training and are entering the job market, at least 65% will find salaried employment or create their own businesses, and an additional 15% will return to school.
- Lessons learned will be documented and disseminated in order to adapt the model for scaling up in additional MENA and African countries.

4) GIZ Employment Promotion Programme

In 2012, Egypt's unemployment rate reached its highest level in ten years. Young people between the ages of 15 and 30 are particularly affected, and make up almost 90 per cent of the country's unemployed. At the same time, there is a large number of vacancies that cannot be adequately filled. Across all branches, the private sector complains about the low levels of young job-seekers' qualifications and employability. So far there has been no institutionalized cooperation between policy makers and economic actors, which would enable the joint development of approaches for promoting youth employment.

Egypt's new cabinet, formed in August 2012, made the promotion of youth employment a national priority. The gradually increasing political stability offers opportunities for institutionalizing new forms of cooperation and the development of structural reforms to promote employment among young people.

Objective

Public institutions and the private sector have the capacity to cooperatively implement new approaches in the field of youth employment promotion.

The programme supports the Egyptian government to develop new measures of active labour market policies. The focus is on the close cooperation between private sector representatives and the public institutions.

Main areas of support:

- Policy consultations and strategic planning for technical education: The programme is assisting the Ministry of Education to contribute actively to the national employment dialogue, and to develop monitoring and evaluation competencies that will allow it to develop evidence-based reforms and programmes.
- Stronger involvement of the private sector: Private sector associations receive advice on the development of demand-driven labour market services in the fields of further education and training.

- Provision of labour market information: The programme is working together with private sector associations to develop structures for monitoring and forecasting the regional labour markets. This will improve both the information base for policy design, and the services offered by career advisors for job seekers.
- Introducing new career guidance and counselling services: The programme supports private and public actors in implementing target group-specific models of career guidance and counselling leading to the better placement of young people in suitable jobs.
- Developing innovative approaches in the field of active labour market policies: Responding to emerging opportunities and requests in Egypt, the programme, together with public and private actors, implements innovative approaches to address labour market imbalances.

Results achieved so far

With the support of EPP, a planning and coordination unit is being established within the Ministry of Education, coordinating relevant efforts of public and private entities as well as international donor agencies and thus increasing evidence based policy making in the sector. The Ministry of Education is consulted and supported in further development and the implementation of the vocational training strategy (2012-2017).

A national employment dialogue with representatives from policy, economy and civil society has been initiated and proposals for reform strategies for the Egyptian labour market and employment policy have been developed.

The first Regional Labour Market Observatory of Egypt was introduced, providing the local policy level with information on current and future labour market developments. This decentralized approach addresses the local discrepancies between offered qualifications and the demand of the private sector and initiated a regional employment dialogue.

Career Guidance Services for young people have been introduced in the framework of a new transition management strategy. A strong focus lies on the integration of young women into the labour market. The first cohort of career guidance and counselling facilitators has been trained and started their work.

In a joint initiative with the GIZ Private Sector Development Programme, “icecairo” has been launched. ICE stands for innovation, collaboration and entrepreneurship, and is an innovation hub for creative ideas with social and ecological character.

An innovative network, promoting new approaches for a better orientation of technical education towards the needs of the labour market, has been established jointly with the Ministry of Education.

EPP Scope

Building on successful approaches and positive experiences with public-private cooperation (e.g. the partnership in the Dual System of technical education), EPP contributes to the development of reform measures for youth employment promotion in Egypt.

The approach of EPP to promote employment comprehensively aims at facilitating the development and transition process of students and graduates into decent employment. This is highly significant for the main implementing partner (Ministry of Education) as well as for the private sector and other entities that are engaged in employment promotion. In order to maximize the effect of the programme, cooperation is designed to extend to these entities.

In addition to supporting the development of active labour market policies (ALMP) and related instruments, the programme's advisory services and capacity development focus on supporting decentralized models for youth employment promotion.

5) Middle East Youth Initiative

The Middle East Youth Initiative was launched in 2006 as a collaborative project between the Wolfensohn Center for Development at Brookings and the Dubai School of Government. In 2009, Silatech began supporting the Initiative in its development of Taqueem, a program aimed at promoting the use of impact evaluation across the Middle East in the critical areas of employment and entrepreneurship to ensure more effective youth policy and program development.

Between 2006 and 2012, the Middle East Youth Initiative engaged an active, international network of researchers working together to improve outcomes for the region's youth. Serving as a hub of knowledge and ideas, the Initiative provided research aimed at informing and enabling effective policymaking and program development focused on youth social and economic inclusion across the region. The work of the Initiative enhanced our collective understanding of the socio-economic constraints facing young people in the region and to identify ways in which policy and programs can best respond to the changing needs of youth as they transition to adulthood. Moreover, the Initiative was able to translate research into action through strategic relationships with policymakers, youth-serving organizations and the private sector.

MEYI's research explores five important aspects of youth social and economic inclusion, five pathways to inclusion:

Education: Few regions invest more in the education of their young than the Middle East. Yet, in most countries in the region, the quality of education remains concerning and greater access to education has not led to greater economic opportunities for many of the region's citizens.

Employment: The Middle East and North Africa has the highest youth unemployment rate of any region in the world. The causes of this dilemma are varied and while youth seek to work, many are not finding employment options available to them.

Marriage: Marriage and family formation are important milestones for young people as they transition to adulthood in the Middle East. Today however, due to economic hardship and the financial costs associated with marriage, many young people remain unmarried.

Housing and Credit: While youth need credit to start a business, buy a house, or pay the initial start-up costs of forming a family, this need has gone largely unmet in the region, as many youth lack collateral, job income, or reputation capital helpful to obtain loans.

Civic Participation: While youth have shown themselves interested in shaping the future of their communities, there remain few formal avenues and institutions for youth to expand their voice and translate it into positive changes for their communities.

6) The SALTO-Youth (Euromed) Program

SALTO-YOUTH is a network of 8 Resource Centres working on European priority areas within the youth field. It provides youth work and training resources and organizes training and contact-making activities to support organizations and National Agencies within the frame of the European Commission's Youth in Action programme and beyond. SALTO-YOUTH's history started in 2000 and is part of the European Commission's Training Strategy

within the Youth in Action programme and works in synergy and complementarity with other partners in the field.

7) The Swedish Institute in Alexandria

The Swedish Institute Alexandria (SwedAlex) was established following an agreement between the governments of Sweden and Egypt in 1999.

It was inaugurated, on the 3rd of October 2000 by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Sweden and Egypt, Ms Anna Lindh, and Mr Amre Moussa. The Institute is housed in a building on the Corniche in the Eastern Port, which was established in 1922 and since 1925 has served as the Swedish Consulate and later also as a Seamen's institute. As part of the establishment of the institute the building has undergone a comprehensive renovation.

The Swedish Institute Alexandria (SwedAlex) is an autonomous part of Sweden's Foreign Service. Its main goal is to promote dialogue between Europe and the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) in order to make Europeans and people in the region better understand each other.

Currently the focus of the institute's activities is on human rights, democratic values and practices with as special attention to gender equality and representation of youth. During 2013 the Institute took on an actor's role in order to reach out to a wider audience. The actor's role chiefly concerns actively participating in the planning of major events that involve debates on current issues in the areas democracy and human rights, including the position of women in society.

In 2011 SwedAlex started actively to reach out to the general public in the region. One example is a series of TV debates dealing with these topics, including the position of women in the society. Another example is the Dardasha Masreya (Egyptian Chats) events when young people meet in different parts of Egypt in order to promote their role as active citizens. Besides organizing roundtable discussions, workshops and seminars, the Institute became engaged in debates (Hewarat Masreya) in March 2013 with participation of the general public. This gave citizens on a grassroots level the opportunity to be in direct contact with their political representatives and to listen to leading politicians live on the pattern of the annual "Almedalen week" in Sweden.

During the ten-day initiative "Stop harassment" in May 2014, about 750 young women and men participated in biking events in Cairo and Alexandria. A workshop on the topic sexual harassment gathered representatives of the civil society, the Ministries of Justice, Interior and Endowments (Awqaf) besides religious scholars.

Within the framework of the Institute's regional mandate, its activities are also taking place outside Egypt. In Tunisia two seminars have lately been organized on the role of labor unions in democracies as well as democratic experiences in a historic perspective within the region.

Annex IV: Mapping of activities related to youth and Arab Spring

Title	Focus	Theme / Summary / Objectives	Dates	Additional information
The EU-CoE youth partnership				
<i>Seminar 'Empowerment of youth organisations and youth-led civil society initiative on the South-Mediterranean framework'</i>	Empowerment of youth organisations	This seminar will focus on the role and status of youth organisations/youth movements and the young people they work with as crucial actors in the development and consolidation of inclusive, participatory and pluralistic democracies based on human rights and the rule of law. Alongside a joint analysis on the impact of youth (organisations) on the Arab revolutions and vice versa, their role within the resulting transition process will be the focus of this seminar.	21-24 March 2012, Malta	Expected outcomes: in order to come up with well-grounded recommendations, young people supported by experts will be given an opportunity for exchange of experiences and needs assessment in the framework of working groups. Proposals for concrete projects (e.g. in the field of capacity building) to be realised by/in cooperation with youth (organisations) should also be discussed in this framework.
The North-South centre of the Council of Europe				
<i>'Women as agents of change in the south Mediterranean region'</i>	The role of women as agents of political, economical and private changes but also the role of media as instruments for the promotion of the role of women.	The theme of the conference [...] was doubly topical. First, it is at the heart of historic upheavals facing the southern Mediterranean region since the beginning of 2011, which give a new relevance to the issue of promoting women's rights in the region. Furthermore, it enrolled in the continuity of initiatives, often for many years, on gender equality, of the Council of Europe and its North-South Centre, the United Nations, the euro-Mediterranean Partnership, the European Union, the parliamentary cooperation and the local and regional civil society.	24 – 25 October 2011, Rome, Italy	Main outcomes: the discussions [...] gave a broad overview of the place and role of women on both sides of the Mediterranean. Participants examined this issue in terms of political, public, economic, social, family, personal and private life. They also held two special sessions, one concerning the situation in Tunisia after the general elections of 23 October and the other about the role that the media can play in promoting women in North and South of the Mediterranean.
<i>The 2011 Lisbon Forum 'The Arab Spring: a major</i>	An analysis of recent developments in	The 2011 Lisbon Forum included a series of panels and workshops on the following topics: ▪ 1 st panel: 'Democracy on the move'	3 – 4 November 2011	Main outcomes and follow-up: As a follow-up, the main organisational lines were agreed as follows:

<i>step towards making universal rights real</i>	North Africa and the Middle East and that it should include a reflexion on the role of the Council of Europe and its North-South Centre, as well as the co-operation among international partners.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2nd panel: 'Democracy and development' Workshops on Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia 3rd panel: 'Citizenship as a key concept to build democracy and realise human rights for all' 4th panel: 'The role of media and new technologies (including social networks) as instruments to promote and develop democracy' 	<i>Ismaili Centre, Lisbon, Portugal</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To organise the 2011 Lisbon Forum in co-operation with the League of Arab States; To use a "universal human rights approach" as a basis for the discussions; To put a special emphasis on the importance of civil society, in particular youth and women, and the role of social networks; To draw on lessons which could be learnt from previous historical experiences and/or political models which could be seen as sources of inspiration; To alternate between plenary sessions, aimed at analysing common trends and co-operation prospects, and more specific workshops organised in parallel; To promote inter-active working methods, both at plenary sessions and during the parallel workshops.
The Anna Lindh Foundation				
<i>Training Seminar on Social Change and Youth Leadership</i>	Citizenship & Freedom, Connecting through Social Media, Youth Leadership & Social Change, and Democracy through	<p>The main objective of the training seminar was to bring together representatives of civil society organisations in the Arab world to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reflect upon the recent socio-political developments in the region from an intercultural perspective, Strengthen knowledge and skills to develop the capacity of those organisations as civil society actors in the democratic and social 	1 - 6 June 2011 Cairo, Egypt	<p>Main outcomes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developments of partnerships on citizenship and democracy among civil society operators, media and young activists; Empowerment and capacity building of civil society organisations, especially members of the ALF Arab networks;

	Intercultural Dialogue	<p>transition, and act as multipliers on the local and international levels.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The involvement of resource persons from different Euro-Med countries will enrich the training content and will encourage exchange. 	<p>transition, and act as multipliers on the local and international levels.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The involvement of resource persons from different Euro-Med countries will enrich the training content and will encourage exchange. 	<p>Development of a network of resource persons supporting the ALF national networks in fields of democracy and citizenship.</p>
<i>The Tunis Exchange Forum</i>	Promotion of exchange and debate on issues of citizenship, civil liberties and intercultural dialogue in the context of social changes, reforms and democratic transitions	<p>The overall objective of the Anna Lindh Exchange was to bring cultural and media operators, non-governmental organisations and young activists from the Euro-Med region together to exchange experiences and debate about the major challenges which the Euro-Med societies are facing in terms of citizenship and intercultural dialogue, especially those engaged in social change and democratic transition.</p> <p>In line with the above, the specific objectives of the seminar were as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fostering debate and facilitating exchange, contact in the field of citizenship, democracy, human rights; Offering tools and resources for the empowerment of civil society with respect to the relationship between dialogue and the above mentioned fields; Encouraging sustained interaction and mutual support between citizens from all participating countries and contributing to spreading awareness about intercultural citizenship. 	<p>23 – 26 June 2011 Tunis, Tunisia</p>	<p>Main outcomes: throughout the Tunis Exchange Forum, the ALF got not only a message of support but also a request for commitment and sustainability in the action of the Foundation. The triennial programme for 2012-2014 has been developed taking into account the conclusions of the Forum.</p>
<i>The Exchange Financial Mechanism</i>	Specific mechanism aiming at developing	<p>People-to-people contacts are important to promote cooperation and support, networking and partnership in the field of democracy and</p>	2011	<p>Outcomes: 21 Networks will benefit from the Exchange Financial Mechanism and more than 30 young journalists, activists,</p>

	interaction among Members of different Networks and enhancing cooperation and contact making between North and South Network for participation, democracy, citizenship and civil freedoms, through intercultural dialogue.	citizenship in the whole ALF Network of Networks. Therefore, a specific mechanism has been designed by the Foundation to support this exchange, aimed at developing interaction among Members of different Networks and enhancing cooperation and contact making between North and South Network for participation, democracy, citizenship and civil freedoms, through intercultural dialogue.		civil society operators and bloggers will be hosted. This tool has been well appreciated as it has given the opportunities to member organisations to welcome new voices coming mainly from the Tunisian and the Egyptian societies in a series of decentralised activities in the whole region.
<i>The 2011 Euro-Med Dialogue Award</i>	Dialogue - Best practices dealing with the culture of citizenship, the struggle for freedom, democracy, and human rights for all.	The Euro-Med Award for the Dialogue between Cultures is an annual prize, which recognises the achievements of individuals and organisations working for the promotion of intercultural dialogue. Each year, the Award is dedicated to a special theme. The annual Euro-Med award was for 2011 dedicated to Dialogue, giving recognition to local, national and/or regional initiatives in favour of the development of democratic values and practices through an intercultural approach.	2011	Outcomes: for the first time, an Egyptian NGO won the ALF Euro-Med Award for Dialogue between Cultures for their work on the promotion of citizenship and active participation among youth. Development No Borders (Tanmeya Bela Hodod) from Egypt has been named the Winner of the Sixth Edition. Based in Cairo, Development No Border (DNB) is a youth NGO working for fighting xenophobia, racism, and discrimination and promotion of citizenship and youth empowerment.
<i>The 2011 Mediterranean Journalism Award</i>	Youth participation and social change	The 2011 Mediterranean Journalism Award had a special section is devoted to the theme of 'Reporting on Youth Participation in Social Change'. This category recognised quality media	2011	Outcomes: Among the prize-receivers, Asmaa El Ghoul – Palestinian blogger and writer from Gaza - was awarded commitment to freedom of expression

		works, which have provided a balanced and informed insight into the role of young people in the social transformations in the region.		and her courage in facing repression, while Mohamed El-Dahshan – Egyptian writer who was at the forefront of the Egyptian revolution–was awarded for his exceptional writings on social change in Egypt published in many international publications, and which made the voice of young Egyptian activists heard all over the world.
<i>Arts for Social Change</i>	Art as an instrument for social change	In the framework of the institutional activities of the Anna Lindh Foundation, and responding to the current social changes taking place in Egypt, the Anna Lindh Foundation launched an opportunity to the members of the Egyptian National Network, to collaborate into a number of local activities to take place in Alexandria.	October 2011	
<i>Young Arab Voices</i>		The purpose of the programme is to train young people in debating skills and facilitate youth participation in new processes of democratic transition and reform. It has led to the creation of debate clubs in a wide range of settings, from schools and universities to cultural spaces and grass-root NGOs.	Ongoing	The programme is actually running its first phase (2011-2012) in Egypt, Jordan and Tunisia. The ALF is responsible to implement the programme in Egypt (see YAV PDF attached), covering all the country, and to develop the regional communication strategy. Next phase should take place from (2012-2013) enlarging the geographical scope.
SALIO-YOUTH EuroMed				
<i>Seminar 'Euro-Mediterranean Youths: from indignation to contribution'</i>	The Arab spring - understand what has occurred and to try - thanks to the help of European youth	The objectives of the seminar were as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To analyse roots of young protests and to assess the political process sparked To support youth actors in producing recommendations focused on 	7-10 February 2012 Lyon, France	In the process to be compiled

	programme, to bring some solutions to youth expectations around Mediterranean	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - education (formal and non formal), participation and employability - society and knowledge society ▪ To increase the international institutions awareness in developing more targeted and effective cooperation program in youth field. 		
Swedish Institute in Alexandria				
<i>Youth in Politics Programme - Workshop I</i>	The role of youth in capacity building of political parties; developing party identity/ideology and programmes; develop principles into policies and programmes for implementation; communicate political messages; outreach; campaigning and recruitment of candidates and members	<p>The programme is an initiative set up in order for young people to interact on shared concerns. It encourages the exchange of ideas and interaction between youth in the Middle East and Europe in shaping a common future based on understanding, knowledge and respect. The main objectives of the programme are to promote young people to be active citizens in decision-making and civil action as well as to foster mutual understanding and social cohesion between youth in the MENA region and Europe. Political participation among youth is generally low in the Arab world, yet the momentum caused by the "Arab Spring" has created a quest among youth and their role in building a democratic society based on principles of dignity and human rights.</p> <p>Among the objectives of the first event were the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Promote networking between politically active youth in MENA region and (North) Europe; ▪ Create an understanding for each other's political contexts, inspire and explore approaches and capacities; 	7-8 April 2011, Egypt	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthen participation of youth in politics and community development Individual and organisational capacity-building, sharing best practices of organisational issues; Increased youth participation in politics; Create a productive environment for intra- and inter-party democracy debate; Promote a democratic culture and awareness. <p>Follow-up of the above</p>	13-15 June 2011, Sweden	<p>Twenty-five young Egyptians were invited to meet with politically active youth in Sweden and visited the political youth associations and the Swedish Parliament. Five young journalists from Egypt were among the group to write about the exchange but also learn about the media landscape in Sweden.</p>	
Youth in Politics Programme Workshop I				<p>October 2011</p> <p>The Swedish youth representatives changed to embrace representatives from minor parties currently represented in the Swedish parliament. There was a specific focus on gender equality and the role of the civil society in building democratic societies. The second day focused on social media as a tool for active citizens</p>	
Youth in Politics Programme Broadening the programme to Tunisia	Tunisia	In October 2011 the programme was broadened to include active youth from Tunisia.			
Youth in Politics Programme Youth-democracy and Citizenship	Democracy and Citizenship	In February 2012 youth from Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Sweden met in Tunis for a three days' workshop that focused on Youth- Democracy and Citizenship and how to strengthen youth participation in decision-making and politics. Further the workshop focused on how to build strong links between civil society and governing	February 2012		

		institutions, best practices and lessons learned regarding capacity building, organisation and advocacy on a national as well as international level.		
Alexandria Encounters (Dardasha Iskandarani) 1st Encounter	Arts for social change', 'Volunteering and civic participation' and 'Social media	The opening session of the encounters started with a round table debate on 'Social changes in times of transition' where the Ambassadors of Poland, Estonia and Turkey in addition to the Director of the Anna Lindh Foundation shared the experiences of their respective countries during the period of transition. Three parallel thematic sessions were then held on the topics of 'Arts for social change', 'Volunteering and civic participation' and 'Social media: its role for social change and its limitations'; with a final closing session allowing presentations of the main issues discussed during the thematic sessions and a discussion among the participants.	19 - 21 May 2011	
(Dardasha Iskandarani) 2nd Encounter		A follow-up activity was held to exchange information on the activities the participants organised since May, to discuss about common challenges and objectives, and set the basis for joint actions for the promotion of social change in Alexandria.	19 July 2011	
The Young Leaders Visitors Program	Provide the participants with new skills, networks and innovative tools to strengthen their work to drive social change in their respective	The programme combines intercultural leadership training with theory and practice in the fields of transparency, democracy and human rights. Cutting-edge social media solutions are used throughout the program, as tools for learning and for building networks that promote dialogue, knowledge sharing and openness.	13-17 November 2011	

Euro-Arab Dialogue Forum	contexts. Promotion of peace and social justice, through stronger cooperation at a bi-regional level by fostering intercultural dialogue and enhancing the exchange of experiences amongst European and Arab youth	<p>Young people in the Euro-Arab region promote and contribute to the transition of sustainable ways of living and a global society founded on a shared ethical framework that includes respect and care for the community of life, ecological integrity, universal human rights, respect for diversity, economic justice, democracy, and a culture of peace.</p> <p>The objectives are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ European and Arab youth work together (online and in person) to learn about sustainable ways of living, sustainable global development, shared ethics and intercultural dialogue; ▪ Concrete action, generate projects taking place in participants home communities; ▪ Vivid youth network where activists inspire each other to keep working for a more just, sustainable and peaceful future. 	May 2012	
<i>Euro-Arab Dialogue for Young Journalists</i>	Gather young journalists from both sides of the Mediterranean, to fight the stereotypes perpetuated by media in order to create better intercultural journalism.	<p>EMAJ 2012 aims to provide training on New Media in addition to inspiration and possibilities to reflect on the role of these technological innovations. As new media have played an important role in promoting social, political and economic change in many countries of the Euro-Mediterranean, the Academy will look at the insights of communication processes that occur through these tools.</p>	2012	

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom				
<i>Blogger for Freedom in the Arab World</i>	Create a network of Arab citizen journalists	Bloggers from all parts of the Arab world came together in Cairo from May 20 to 22, 2011 for a workshop entitled 'Blogging for Freedom in the Arab world'. The three-day event aimed at creating a network of Arab citizen journalists and providing spaces for exchanges of experiences and opinion. In Cairo, just a few steps away from Tahrir Square, the bloggers also engaged in strategic discussions on how best they could support the democratic revolutions and uprisings with their personal online media.	20-22 May 2011	The Regional Office of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty (FNF) launched a manual on blogging in the Arabic language. The 200-page-book published in cooperation with Al Mahrousa Publishers is considered the first hands-on guidebook on the topic in Arabic. Prominent Egyptian authors share their insights regarding the various aspects of blogging.
<i>Capacity building and the development of knowledge for young Libyans journalists and citizen journalism</i>	Citizen journalism	Twenty-one young Libyan journalists, including three females, recently attended a 'Capacity Building and the Development of Knowledge for Young Libyan Journalists and Citizen Journalism workshop', a five-day event that aims to build emerging Libyan journalists' capacity. The workshop is the brainchild of Friends of Libya-Egypt, developed in collaboration with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. After more than four decades of virtually no freedom of press, Libya's young journalists start the daunting task of building strong and capable local media.	July 2011, Cairo	
<i>'The People Demand' – The FNF launches a Political documentary on January 25 revolution</i>		'The People Demand. Liberal Features of the Egyptian Revolution' is the title of a documentary film sponsored by the Regional Office of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty (FNF), launched during a public forum at Rawabit Cultural Center in Cairo on September 26, 2011. The film features historic pictures of Egypt's Revolution and commentary by leading	26 September 2011	'The People Demand' is the second documentary film developed and sponsored by the Foundation in Egypt. It follows the widely popular 'Liberalism: Egyptian Story' produced two years ago which narrates the history of the country from a liberal perspective.

		representatives of the country's liberal movement who played an active role in the uprising.			That movie has been used during a large number of educative activities sponsored by the Foundation and distributed widely among her partners in Egypt and beyond.
<i>Online Conference 'Facebook revolution?'</i>	The role of social medias in the revolution	Nine months after the beginning of the Arab Spring the online conference 'Facebook Revolution?' the Virtual Academy tried to take stock. What is the role each of the media has played in the transition process in Arab countries? Do they promote democracy, freedom of expression and free access to information? Do they bring about a new diversity of opinions and media? Is the role of social media being overestimated or possibly assessed even dangerously wrong?	19-30-September 2011		In addition to the participation of international experts, bloggers from Egypt, Algeria, Bahrain, Jordan, Morocco and Syria have spoken about their activities and motivations
The League of Arab States and the World Bank					
<i>'Towards a new Era of Arab Youth Empowerment'</i>	Youth Empowerment	The aim of the workshop was to listen to key Arab youth leaders and organisations in the aftermath of reform movements in the region, in order to develop a better understanding of the impact of the Arab Spring on the Youth agenda and programming for increased participation and civic engagements.	25-27 September 2011 Cairo, Egypt		Four youth-led thematic consultation sessions were organised and the meeting brought together youth from civil society organisations and activists from different MENA countries.

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Researching
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