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

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A Postcolonial Arab Social Contract?

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Limits on: expression, org, assoc., representation
- **Role**: Legitimizing participation, State Functionaries
- Everyday: student participation, teacher unionization
- **Surveilled**: Oppos. express., hand-picked participation
- **Impoverished**: no teachers, no activities, shift schools
- **Islamized**: wall journals, school radio, artwork
Unneeded Legitimation? Nationalism, ‘Moderate’ Islamism, Shy Neoliberalism

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

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