

2013 CEC

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Documentation

كتيب

Civic Education Conference
Alexandria

8-10 December 2013
Bibliotheca Alexandrina

مؤتمر حول التعليم المدني
في الإسكندرية

١٠-٨ ديسمبر ٢٠١٣
مكتبة الإسكندرية





CIVIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE ALEXANDRIA (CEC)

Bibliotheca Alexandrina 8 - 10 December 2013
مكتبة الاسكندرية ٨-١٠ ديسمبر ٢٠١٣

مؤتمر حول التعليم المدني في الإسكندرية

IMPRINT

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EDITORS' NOTE

The uprisings in the Arab world have provided a new, unprecedented space and an opportunity to rethink the role of civic education in the region. A politically educated citizenry serves as the corner stone of any stable, democratic and harmonious society and state. The plurality of opinions and mindsets should not only be accepted and tolerated, but also viewed as enriching the development of a country. Citizens who understand and seek to claim their human and civil rights and who are aware of the makeup of their state can actively participate in shaping their civil society. They have the chance to be involved in politics, the economy and in shaping their society's culture.

Within the framework of the German-Egyptian transformation partnership, the Goethe-Institut in Cairo and Tahrir Lounge @ Goethe jointly organized the *Civic Education Conference Alexandria* at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina from December 8 to December 10, 2013. The conference offered a platform for the transfer of knowledge between German researchers and professionals of civic education and civil society representatives from Egypt and Tunisia. More than 200 participants from over

15 countries attended the conference and discussed issues such as consensus building, neutrality, tolerance and inclusion. The conference resulted in 56 recommendations for civic education principles and strategies in Egypt and beyond. The Tahrir Lounge @ Goethe and the Goethe-Institut will pursue the most applicable recommendations by organizing workshops and publishing educational material.

We thank the Hanns Seidel Foundation in Cairo, the Federal Agency for Civic Education in Germany, and the Center for Democracy and Social Peace Studies at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina for their cooperation, and we thank all participants for their impressive engagement in the field of civic education.

Gabriele Becker

Regional Director of the Goethe-Institut
in the Middle East and North Africa

Mona Shahien

Founder and Director of the Tahrir Lounge @ Goethe



Gabriele Becker



Mona Shahien

PROGRAM

Civic Education Conference Alexandria CEC
December 2013 ,10-8, Alexandria - Bibliotheca Alexandrina

Sunday, 8 December 2013

15:00 - 16:00

Registration

16:00 - 16:30

Opening Remarks

Dr. Azza Elkholy, Head of the Academic Sector, Bibliotheca Alexandrina
Dr. Kai Boeckmann, Deputy Head of Mission, German Embassy Cairo

Conference Moderation

Nelly Corbel, Civic Engagement Manager, The John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement and Amira El Ahl, Journalist and Moderator

16:30 - 19:00

Opening Keynote Speeches

Prof. Dr. Dieter Rucht, WZB Berlin Social Research Center
Prof. Dr. Abdul-Monem Al-Mashat, Future University Egypt

Panel Discussion

Civic Education - National and International Perspectives (followed by Q&A)

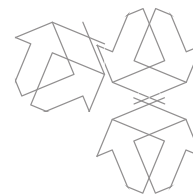
Prof. Dr. Dieter Rucht, WZB Berlin Social Research Center
Prof. Dr. Abdul-Monem Al-Mashat, Future University Egypt
Dr. Yousry El Komy, Association for the Advancement of Education & Development (AAED)
Dr. Noha El-Mikawy, Ford Foundation, MENA Office Director

Moderator: Nelly Corbel

20:00 - 22:30

Dinner Reception

Goethe-Institut Alexandria



Monday, 9 December 2013

09:00 - 9:45

Lecture (followed by Q&A)

The Role of Civic Education after the Fall of the Berlin Wall
Thomas Krüger, Federal Agency for Civic Education, Berlin

09:45 - 11:15

Panel Discussion

Consensus-building as a basis for civic education (Historical and global future Perspective)

Fady Ramzy, Chairman of Messry Group for Development and Awareness
Dr. Susanne Ulrich, Center for Applied Political Research (CAP)
Farid Antoun, Management Consultant
Thomas Krüger, Federal Agency for Civic Education, Berlin

Moderator: Nelly Corbel

11:15 - 12:15 **Coffee Break**
 Official Opening of the Civic Education Market Place Presentation
 Mona Shahien, Tahrir Lounge, Egypt

12:15 - 14:00 **Plenary Session and Q&A**
 The Basics of Civic Education

Stakeholders
 Dr. Noha El-Mikawy, Ford Foundation, MENA Office Director

Neutrality
 Prof. Dr. Anja Besand, TU-Dresden, Germany

Content / Issues
 Ayman Shehata, Cairo University/Nama' Initiative for Sustainable development

Moderator: Amira El Ahl

Summary of the Morning
 Nelly Corbel

14:00 - 15:00 **Lunch Break**

15:00 - 17:00 **Parallel Sessions: The Basics of Civic Education**

Challenges	Neutrality	Stakeholders	Content
Civil society law Mohamed Zaree, Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies	Public Space Anna-Lisa Müller, University of Bremen	Media Hisham Kassem, Freelance Journalist	Human Rights Dr. Peter Kirchschräger, Centre of Human Rights Education (ZMRB), University of Lucerne
Traditions Aly El-Nowihy, Head of Domestic Media Sector, State Information Service	Tolerance Dr. Yousry El Komy, AAED	Government Farid Antoun, Management Consultant	Gender Gihan Abu-Zaid, Human Rights Professional
Consensus building Ayman Shehata, CSR Strategy Manager	How to ensure neutrality Dr. Salwa Thabit, Future University	Civil society Ahmed Hassan, Intercultural Youth Dia- logue Association	Civic participation Ghada Louhichi, Al Bawsala
Facilitator: Amira El Ahl, Moderator & Journalist	Facilitator: Prof. Dr. Anja Besand, TU Dresden	Facilitator: Moushira Elgeziri, Ford Foundation	Facilitator: Rania Hamoud, Mansour Foundation

17:00 - 18:00

Refreshments and Snacks

18:00 - 19:00

Cultural Program - moderated by Sara-Duana Meyer
 The Role of Art in Civic Education: El Fann Midan, Mahatat, Salam Yousry

Tuesday, 10 December 2013

09:00

Sum Up of Previous Day (and outlook)
 Nelly Corbel

09:30 - 11:30

Parallel Workshops: Basics of Civic Education

Stakeholders

Facilitator:
 Moushira Elgeziri, Ford
 Foundation

Neutrality

Facilitator:
 Petra Gruene,
 bpb

Challenges

Facilitator:
 Rana Gaber, Majal

Contents / Issues

Facilitator:
 Rania Hamoud, Mansour
 Foundation

11:30 - 13:30

Refreshments and Snacks

Civic Education Market Place

13:30 - 14:30

Results Panel (presented by the workshop facilitators)
 Stakeholders - Moushira Elgeziri, Ford Foundation
 Neutrality - Petra Gruene, Federal Agency for Civic Education
 Challenges - Rana Gaber, Majal
 Contents / Issues - Rania Hamoud, Mansour Foundation

Moderator: Amira El Ahl

14:30 - 15:00

Closing Words by Nelly Corbel

15:00 - 16:00

Late Lunch
 Conference Ends

17:00 - 18:00

Press Conference: Feedback & Next Steps
 Nelly Corbel



PRESS RELEASE

CIVIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE ALEXANDRIA

During the Civic Education Conference Alexandria (CEC) more than 250 participants have discussed ways and opportunities Civic Education offers on the long road to democratic transformation.

The Tahrir Lounge and the Goethe-Institut Cairo together with the German Federal Agency for Civic Education and the Hanns Seidel Foundation have organized a conference on models and methods of civic education. Speakers came from Egypt, Europe and the MENA-Region. The conference was hosted by the Center for Democracy and Social Peace Studies (CDSPS) at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina.

After three consecutive days of discussing possibilities and chances of Civic Education in four core groups the participants democratically decided on the following basic recommendations:

Neutrality should be a principle of citizenship education in Egypt; to ensure that we should:

- take into consideration the direct and indirect connection between the religious principles/values and citizenship education,
- have more flexible curricula for citizenship education to cope with the different cultural and traditional backgrounds, e.g. in Upper Egypt, Sinai and the Western Desert,
- ensure the diversity of background of the committee setting the curriculum,
- train the trainers/teachers on citizenship education principles through formal and non-formal education.

Content: Citizenship Education should be based on

- tolerance,
- respect,
- inclusion,
- interdependence/solidarity,
- self-responsibility,
- acceptance of diversity,
- accountability,
- peaceful values,

while setting a unified framework for a Civic Education content that is based on all fundamentals of human rights with putting an emphasis on the balance between rights and responsibilities.

Besides the government being the main actor in Egypt, there are other **stakeholders** involved in enhancing Civic Education:

- media - set a code of ethics for media personnel to use to promote civic education principles and freedom of expression,
- government - develop an educational program for local government, state media and other key state institution (universities, schools, etc...),
- civil society - create a dialogue with civil society towards a national strategy on Civic Education,
- political parties - adopt more inclusive practices so as not to exclude on ground of religion, ethnicity, gender, age, etc.

Among many **challenges** in the field of Civic Education in Egypt we find that those sets of recommendations have to be tackled first:

- developing a critical approach towards our tools and methods,
- increasing motivation for participation,
- enhancing communication between NGOs working in civic education.

The Goethe-Institut and the Tahrir Lounge, together with the aforementioned institutions, are encouraging a continuing debate about the role of Civic Education in transformation and will include those sets of recommendations in their future activities with partners, both locally and internationally.

Civic Education Conference Alexandria is a project in the framework of the German-Egyptian/German-Tunisian Transformation Partnership, funded by the federal foreign office.



Gabriele Becker (left), Mona Shahien (middle) and Nelly Corbel (right) present the recommendations at the press conference.



Participants vote on the conference recommendations.

NGOS OF THE MARKETPLACE





National Alliance of Civic Education For Youth (NACEY)
 Egyptian Association for Educational Resources (E-ERA)
 Qestas for Peace, Development and Human Rights
 John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagment
 Qabila TV
 Together towards Generations of Full Citizenship and Rights
 Tanweer Foundation for Education and Development (Minia)
 MasrTopia Alexandria
 Alexandria Declaration for Human Rights
 Selmeya (Alexandria)
 Al Bawsala (Tunisia)
 I Watch (Tunisia)
 Anna Lindh Foundation
 Intercultural youth dialogue association - IYDA
 Mansour Foundation for Development
 Hotep Center for Human Development
 Namaa Initiative for Sustainable Development
 Messry group for development and awareness

www.nacey.org
<http://egypt-era.org/>
<http://www.qestas.org/>
<http://www.aucegypt.edu/research/gerhart/Pages/default.aspx>
<http://www.qabila.tv/>

<http://www.tanweer-eg.org/home.html>
<https://ar-ar.facebook.com/MasrTopia>

[https://www.facebook.com/pages/Selmiya_\(Alexandria\)](https://www.facebook.com/pages/Selmiya_(Alexandria))
<http://www.albawsala.com/en/>
<http://www.iwatch-organisation.org/>
<http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/networks/egypt>
<http://www.iyda.org.eg/>
<http://www.mansourgroup.com/MansourFoundationForDevelopment>
<http://www.hotepcenter.org/>
<http://namaa.org;> <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Namaa-Association>
[http://www.messry.com/;](http://www.messry.com/) <http://www.myegyptmag.com/>

KEYNOTE SPEECH

NOTE

CHES



Dieter Rucht

CIVIL SOCIETY, CIVILITY, AND DEMOCRACY

Dr. Dieter Rucht, Head of the Research Group on Civil Society, Citizenship, and Political Mobilization in Europe and Professor at WZB Berlin Social Research Center

Each of the three concepts in the title of my presentation needs clarification. More important, however, is the relationship between these concepts. While shedding light on their relationship, the meaning and interdependence of these three concepts in social, political, and cultural practices will also become clear.

In an attempt to clarify these terms, I will focus only on civil society and civility. These concepts appear to be less common and more unclear than the concept of democracy. Only in the final part of my presentation will I refer to the link between civility and democracy.

CIVIL SOCIETY

What is civil society? Here are a number of potential answers:

1. Civil society equals society minus the state.
2. Civil society is a fortress to limit and eventually overcome the absolutist or interventionist state.
3. Civil society is the domain between the state, the economy, and the family.
4. Civil society is the sphere of all kinds of non-governmental and non-profit orientated groups and associations.
5. Civil society is characterised by respect, tolerance, and peacefulness.

As you will see in what follows, my answer is a bit complicated. My attempt will carry me from a discussion of different meanings of civil society to the idea of civility, and finally to the relationship between civility and democracy.

Civil Society, as a term, goes back to medieval times and even as far back to ancient Greek philosophers. Yet, it became prominent and politically relevant only in the modern era, specifically during and after the period of Enlightenment in the 18th century¹.

Liberal theorists and philosophers of that time, especially John Ferguson and John Locke as key representatives of the Scottish Enlightenment, conceived civil society as a counterweight, fortress, and corrective to an all too powerful state—a

state that seeks to regulate and control the economy and intrude into private matters of the citizenry. For example, the state's influence on the citizenry's choice of a religion. According to this understanding, which is also upheld by some contemporary theorists, non-state economic actors are seen as important pillars of civil society.

I think the driving force toward liberalism, and, accordingly, the defence of civil society was a class-based economic interest, namely overcoming the feudal and absolutist system by setting up a free market-based capitalist economy centred around the idea of possessive individualism². This is the economic underpinning of liberalism and, consequently, also of the call for civil society. In that period, political liberalism, which includes certain basic rights such as the freedom to organise, express opinions, and privacy, was only of secondary importance. However, in the same way capitalism was established, political liberalism became an overriding concern, namely to reduce the negative side-effects of a liberal capitalism by transforming it into a type of welfare capitalism or by overthrowing capitalism altogether and replacing it with a socialist or communist system.

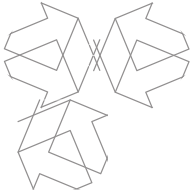
I argue that, depending on the context, the classical liberal understanding of civil society is partly still valid and, from a normative viewpoint, even desirable. It is partly outdated also, however, in regards to other contexts.

The traditional concept of civil society is valid and desirable when it comes to the challenge it presents. It would eventually abolish an authoritarian or even dictatorial political regime and/or a clientelistic or tribalistic system that, by definition, is not based on effort, achievement, or talent. This is why the call for a strong civil society was so resonant in several Latin American countries between the 1950s and 1970s, in addition to Eastern Europe in the 1970s and 1980s. This is also why the call for a strong civil society resonates in some North African states, including Egypt, and in a number of Sub-Saharan countries, but also in countries

¹ Jürgen Kocka: "Civil Society in Historical Perspective."

In John Keane (ed.), *Civil Society*, Berlin Perspectives. New York: Berghahn Books 2006, pp. 37-50.

² See C. B. Macpherson: *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*. Hobbes to Locke. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1962.



such as Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. In such a context, the struggle for and of civil society represents a call for human and civil rights. Also, it may represent a call for a market-based economy instead of an economy controlled by the state, a single party, a clique, or a clan.

However, the traditional concept of civil society is, at least to some extent, outdated in regards to fully developed liberal-representative states in combination with a largely market-based economy that includes elements of a welfare system. In such a context, society and the state cannot be treated as separate units as in classic liberal thinking. Instead, they are closely intertwined. One could speak of a system in which society is "nationalised" and the state is "socialised" (in German: *Verstaatlichung der Gesellschaft und Vergesellschaftung des Staates*). Under such conditions, the recourse to civil society is a rhetorical tool rather than resting on a substantial idea. It becomes politically meaningful only when state authorities begin to expand their powers and intrude in citizens' private lives.

Also, the positive reference to civil society can become a strategic device for economic players, especially large corporations, to be counted as constitutive parts of civil society and thereby profit from the positive image of the notion of civil society. This is why large corporations are keen to promote concepts such as Corporate Citizenship and Corporate Social Responsibility, and to present themselves as genuine elements or carriers of civil society. To this aim, corporations, and some of their academic allies³, stick to the traditional and liberal understanding of civil society in which economic actors were indeed a liberalising force in both economic and political terms. In a way, neo-liberalism, on the ideological level, is a revival of a one-sided interpretation of economic liberalism that remains silent on the ideas of classic political liberalism. This is also why neo-liberal and neo-conservative strategies could be implemented in former authoritarian regimes such as Chile and Argentina.

In general, however, I contend that the classic liberal concept of civil society versus the state is not applicable to highly differentiated modern societies that are composed of quite a number of sub-systems. According to a post-liberal understanding that I was still endorsing ten years ago, a modern society consists of four basic subsystems that each have their own specific primary steering mechanism or «medium» (Talcott Parsons) of internal co-ordination, namely:

1. The economic with money as the key medium,
2. the state with power as the key medium,
3. the family (and other affinity groups) with affective bonds/solidarity as the key medium,
4. and the civil society whose medium is not so clearly identified as in the other three cases.

For a moment, I bracket this problem of identification. If society is conceived in this way, it is obvious that

corporations are not to be located in the sphere of civil society but in the economic sphere.

In a somewhat similar way, a number of scholars define civil society as the so-called «third sector» alongside the state and the economy, as indicated before. Others define civil society as the realm between the state, the economy, and the family. In both cases, these are essentially negative or residual definitions, implying that civil society is none of the other sectors. From an organisational perspective, these scholars perceive civil society as the domain of associations or NGOs or, more specifically, the domain of non-profit orientated associations and NGOs.

To me, these definitions of civil society are insufficient insofar as they miss, or largely ignore, a key element, which is the *normative dimension* of civil society. In fact, there are some scholars who deliberately refrain from any normative understanding of civil society. Some even tend to use the formula «overall society minus the state equals civil society,» the first definition I have listed before. Such definitions are oblivious of the term «civil» which qualifies a person, group, institution, or society as moderate, tolerant, respectful, civilised, non-violent, etc., hence in opposition to being intolerant, disrespectful, uncivilised, violent, etc.

The normative underpinning of civil society has partially different shapes, depending on historical and cultural contexts, but it has a common denominator. Civil society is an open and non-exclusive concept, to be analytically separated from concepts such as tribe, ethnicity, nation, and so forth. These communities rest on in-group solidarity, affective bonds, and a sense of belonging. They mark boundaries.

The normative underpinning of civil society is different. Though born in the Occident, civil society is meant to be universal. In other words, as a normative concept, it cannot be limited to a particular group, nation, or culture⁴. Therefore, an important yardstick for the normative quality of civil society is the recognition of «strangers,» «outsiders,» «minorities,» etc. Accordingly, one could say that the medium of civil society, when understood as a societal sub-system apart from the state, the economy, and communities, is tolerance, respect, or recognition of the other.

Whatever specific words and qualities we associate with the term «civil» and «civil society»—they bear, in the context of a political debate oriented towards humanitarian values and procedures of deliberation based on a free exchange of views and arguments, a positive meaning—something that is desirable and, once achieved, needs to be protected.

When taking into account this normative dimension, it becomes clear that the existence and quality of civil society cannot be measured by the mere presence and number of NGOs, as proponents of the Third Sector Approach tend to assume. A given society may include a densely populated

³ See Victor Pérez-Díaz: "Markets as Conversations. Markets Contributions to Civility, the Public Sphere and Civil Society at Large." In Victor Pérez-Díaz (ed.), *Markets And Civil Society: The European Experience in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Berghahn 2009, pp. 28-76.

⁴ Dieter Rucht: "Europäische Zivilgesellschaft oder zivile Interaktionsformen in und jenseits von Europa?" In: Michèle Knodt and Barbara Finke (eds.), *Europäische*

Zivilgesellschaft. Konzepte, Akteure, Strategien. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 2005, pp. 31-54.

sector of associations without qualifying as really «civil.» To the extent that many associations are exclusive, intolerant, nationalist, xenophobic, racist, chauvinist, and/or prone to violence, why should we call such a sector *civil* society? In this regard, what really matters is not bonding and in-group solidarity, but bridging between different groups and a generalised sense of solidarity beyond kinship, closeness, sameness, and the like. This is why the German society in the 1920's and 1930's hardly qualifies as a civil society⁵, and it was mainly for this reason that the largely uncivil German society of this period became receptive to the ideas of the National Socialists, including their blatant racism and war-mongering.

CIVILITY

Contrary to my earlier way of conceiving civil society as a sub-system apart from other sub-systems such as the state, the economy, and a number of communities based on bonds of solidarity, I think that another conceptualisation of civil society is more adequate. To some part, this change of viewpoints was triggered by literature on the dark side, the uncivil shadow, of existing societies⁶. But, why should we name an existing sub-system of a society *civil society* when this subsystem includes a significant proportion of uncivil elements. A second question is why we should use the terms society or civil society, when only referring to a sub-system? What would be the appropriate term for the composite of all subsystems when one of them is called society? A third question is whether we can imagine an encompassing society called civil society in co-existence with an uncivil state, an uncivil economy, and uncivil communities.

In response to these questions, I think a paradigm shift is needed: a shift from the concept of civil society (defined as a distinct space or sub-system) to practices of civility in society as a whole⁷. This shift does not necessarily imply the need to reject the notion of civil society altogether. First of all, it implies an emphasis on the actual practices of a society in all its spheres or sub-systems. Hence, the decisive criterion is not the status or location of individual or collective actors but their actual practices. In this regard, a count of voluntary associations is meaningless; it does not tell us anything about the quality of civil society. Accordingly, a society should be called a civil society only to the extent it applies norms of civility in all societal sub-systems—including the state, the economy, and communities ranging from the family to nations to groups of nations.

This idea, however, does not imply that civility is, or has to become, the first and overriding coordinating mechanism in all societal sub-systems. This would be a naive position. In fact, civility cannot replace the coordination function of

money in the economy, the function of power in and by the state apparatus, and the function of love or solidarity within communities. In these sub-systems, civility can be a secondary medium in the way people interact, for instance in the way a minister treats his or her subordinates, a manager or owner of a firm interacts with employees, parents talk to their children, and vice versa. Civility cannot replace, for example, the role of money in the economy.

However, civility can be a primary medium in the public and semi-public sphere where matters of society and politics are discussed and evaluated, where representatives or different private and public interest groups confront each other, and where, for the most part, people from different social strata, ideological and political leanings, cultural backgrounds, etc. come together and interact. From a normative viewpoint, the norms of civility and not money, power, and the internal bonds of group solidarity should be the decisive coordinating mechanism in the public sphere. From a functional point of view, however, civility must have a different weight in different sub-systems of society. Foremost, civility is a matter of a deliberate personal practice, and an internalised way of behaviour in daily interaction—a practice that, ideally, should be rooted in deep convictions and not so much driven by the fear of negative social or judicial sanctions.

Second, the criterion of civility should also be applied to *legal norms* (constitutions and laws) and informal institutional rules and practices, for example in hospitals, shelters for poor people and asylum seekers, but also in prisons and military barracks. The more civility is enshrined in binding legal rules and actually practised in all spheres, settings, and institutions of a society, the more this society qualifies as a *civil society*. Accordingly, the concept of civil society should not be considered as a matter of either/or but rather as a matter of more or less. When comparing across time and place, we then can assess whether a given society is more or less advanced as a civil society.

In common understanding, but also in several scholarly publications, there is a tendency to reduce civility to being friendly and nice⁸, having good manners, knowing about the etiquette—for example, behaviour at the dinner table or in an opera house. Yet, these norms are highly variable when considering different social classes and cultures. Depending on context and function, the desirability and effects of such norms differ. Some norms are simply a matter of tradition without implying a common benefit or damage—they do not pose a problem and other norms can be a discriminatory tool to demonstrate superiority and mark boundaries between social classes, therefore weakening rather than strengthening the core idea of civility.

⁵ Sheri Berman: "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic". *Mittelweg* 36 (2006), pp. 33-48.

⁶ See Helmut Dubiel: *Unzivilisierte Gesellschaften. Soziale Welt*, 52 (2001), No. 2, pp. 133-151. Sven Reichardt: "Gewalt und Zivilität im Wandel. Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zur Zivilgesellschaft aus historischer Sicht." In Dieter Gosewinkel et al., *Zivilgesellschaft – national und transnational (WZB-Jahrbuch 2003)*. Berlin: edition sigma 2004, pp. 61-81; Arnd Bauerkämper, Dieter Gosewinkel, and Sven Reichardt: "Paradox oder Perversion? Zum historischen Verhältnis von Zivilgesellschaft und Gewalt." *Mittelweg* 36 (2006): 22-32.

⁷ See Dieter Rucht: "Von Zivilgesellschaft zu Zivilität: Konzeptuelle Überlegungen und Möglichkeiten der empirischen Analyse." In Christiane Frantz and Holger

Kolb (eds.), *Transnationale Zivilgesellschaft in Europa. Traditionen, Muster, Hindernisse, Chancen*. Münster: Waxmann 2009, pp. 75-102; Britta Baumgarten, Dieter Gosewinkel, and Dieter Rucht: "Civility: introductory notes on the history and systematic analysis of a concept." In Dieter Gosewinkel and Dieter Rucht (eds.), *Civility in history. Concept, discourse and social practice*. *European Review of History*, 18 (2011), Number 3, pp. 289-312; Adalbert Evers: *Civility and Civility: Their Meaning for Social Services*. *Voluntas* (2009) 20, pp. 239-259.

⁸ See Forni, Pier Massimo, 2002. *Choosing Civility: The Twenty-Five Rules of Considerate Conduct*. New York: St. Martin's Press.



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مؤتمر
البيانات
في المملكة العربية السعودية

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University Dresden
Germany



These norms are problematic, though not necessarily destructive; still, other norms are meaningful and deserve full respect insofar as they are a specific expression of the more profound and substantial norms of civility. In general, however, I think these kinds of group-specific behavioural norms cannot serve as a central yardstick for civility.

So, what could be the real yardstick? Regarding the content of civility, I conceive it, together with some of my former colleagues, as an encompassing concept that can be broken down into four dimensions:

1. human rights as the cornerstone of any kind of civility (by the way, today is the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, launched on December 10, 1948 in Paris),
2. political rights as citizens,
3. social rights as citizens and, more generally, as human beings,
4. and tolerance and respect in daily interaction.

If asked about an overriding formula for the normative essence of civility, I would refer to the principle of *recognition of the other* as formulated by the German philosopher Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831) or the contemporary sociologist Axel Honneth⁹. Though I do have a few criticisms regarding the concept of recognition of the other, it probably comes closest to my understanding of civility.

Norms and practices of civility are not simply a natural given. Instead, they are a cultural and political product—ridden with prerequisites. This position could lead to a highly problematic interpretation of human history by assuming that the so-called most “developed societies” are those having the highest standards and practices of civility—either by “nature” or by “achievement.” The historical background of this assumption is an ethnocentric view, which qualifies the western world as basically “civilised” whereas the non-western world, and especially the formerly colonised societies, are perceived as uncivilised, primitive, or even barbaric. This derogative perspective, I think, is

empirically wrong. Some of the so-called primitive societies have normative standards and habits that, to a considerable extent, conform to the idea of civility in terms of mutual respect, solidarity with the weak and needy, acceptance of and support for strangers, etc. Their standards may be higher than those in the west. Some other so-called primitive societies, at least in some respects, hardly conform to civil norms. Yet similar degrees of respect or disrespect of norms of civility can be found, less so in codified rules but in actual practice, in the so-called developed societies—and not only further back in history but also in present times. Death penalty, torture, slavery, rape, corporal punishment, mistreatment of ethnic minorities and asylum seekers—all this can be found in quite a number of “developed” societies, both in and outside the occidental world. Accordingly, I doubt that human history can be interpreted as a gradual and linear move towards civility, spearheaded by western societies.

Progress towards more civility in quite a number of societies was by no means a self-acting organic development during the last few centuries¹⁰. Dissenting minorities, especially social movements and protest groups, questioned the status quo and challenged the elites defending it. After all, norms and practices of incivility often serve the material and political advantage of those who dominate and exploit others; those in power tend to insist on the legitimacy of an allegedly natural order and hierarchy that distinguishes between groups that are superior (“we”) and groups who are inferior (“they”). I contend that almost all major steps towards more civility resulted from cultural conflicts and political struggles initiated by those who were suppressed or disadvantaged—often in an alliance with educated advocacy groups. But, these struggles were rarely initiated by the ruling elites.

If this observation is correct, we should refrain from disregarding and possibly avoiding cultural and political conflicts for the sake of securing “the order.” While conflict is not a value in itself and may have an aggressive and

destructive side, I maintain that starting and carrying out a conflict can be a necessary tool to clarify diverging values, interests, and aims, and eventually move toward more freedom, more social justice, more mutual respect, and more recognition of the other.

In a normative view, carrying out conflicts is bound to certain conditions and confines that, in turn, should be inspired by the idea of civility. This leads to a paradox. In order to move from conflicts towards a higher degree of civility in a given society, we must already practice civility in the course of the actual conflict. In other words, the way cannot be separate from the goal, or, in another formula, the way is the goal. This requires us to think in terms of circular rather than linear causation.

CIVILITY AND DEMOCRACY

The slogan "The way is the goal" needs to be qualified. Much depends on the context. In a *democratic* society with a considerable degree of civil rights and liberties as well as institutionalised ways to carry out conflicts, the normative standards and limits for appropriate conflict behaviour are quite explicit and strict. As a rule, conflicts have to be, and actually can be carried out, in peaceful ways within legal boundaries. In extraordinary situations, those waging a conflict may resort to civil disobedience—that is breaking legal norms but doing so in strictly non-violent ways and conforming to a number of further conditions such as acting and arguing in public, and accepting, at least in principle, negative judicial sanctions.

In an opposite context, say a full-blown *dictatorship* in which dissidents are severely suppressed and critics are imprisoned, tortured and/or killed, it may be senseless to engage in moderate conflict strategies. Still, some specific forms of critique and conflict behaviour, ranging from the subtle withdrawal of symbolic support to clandestine sabotage, may be feasible. As a last resort, and when all other means are unavailable or have failed, it may become necessary and legitimate to kill the dictator and his clique.

Whatever the political context may be, civility can be learned and practised even under unfavourable political conditions. In a dictatorial regime in which certain norms of civility are rejected or flatly violated by state authorities, practices of civility are largely restricted to private life and

informal circles, ranging from families to neighbourhoods to religious groups. The more these norms are upheld in spheres that cannot, or not fully, be controlled by the state authorities, the more the uncivil character of the regime becomes obvious and the more the regime's credibility and legitimacy is undermined, even though the power-holders may remain in place for quite some time. Upholding and practising civility in private or semi-private circles, for example by giving a role model as parents, nurses, teachers, neighbours, etc. can become, at least in the long run, a political weapon because the discrepancy between these values and the actual behaviour of the authorities becomes all too obvious.

In an *autocratic or semi-democratic regime*, the quest for civility is not completely restricted to small and informal communities. Civility can be claimed and even practised, though in limited forms that need both caution and courage, in public. Consider the protests currently taking place in Ukraine, where thousands of protesters take to the streets and occupy a central square in the capital Kiev. The protesters cry for more democracy. By enacting their protest in limited ways, they also request to be treated in a civil way by the forces of order, especially the police and the secret service. This way, the idea of civility becomes a public issue, and its practice becomes a tool for a mass-based political socialisation that, ultimately, may overcome the authoritarian heritage defended by the power-holders.

In *liberal-representative democracies*, the call for civility is basically unrestricted and mostly supported by the authorities, though uncivil practices may continue to exist in all societal spheres. With few exceptions, the crucial task is not setting up legal norms of civility but implementing, and probably extending and refining these norms in all respects. Ultimately, this implies not only implementing civility within a given society or nation-state but also norm-setting and a corresponding practice in the co-existence and co-operation between nation-states and broader cultures. In both respects, many unfinished tasks are still ahead of us. While it may be a utopian dream to fully realise a "strong" or truly "participatory democracy" and a perfect practise of civility, nothing should prevent us from moving in this direction. Democracy and civility mutually strengthen each other. They are precious assets for daily life, political culture, social integration and the peaceful co-existence of societies.

⁹ See Honneth's influential book entitled *Struggles for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Oxford: Polity Press 2005 (first published in German in 1992). Honneth distinguishes three forms of recognition, namely love (Liebe), legal norms (Recht), and - related to honour - esteem/merit (Wertschätzung). These "three equal-ranking principles" are not only relevant for the individual but also form the basis for social justice on the level of groups, and ultimately, societies as whole. To the extent that these forms of recognition are granted, they foster three corresponding qualities of a person characterized by a positive attitude to him/herself: self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem. The corresponding forms of violating the three forms of recognition are: physical aggression/rape (Vergewaltigung), deprivation of rights (Entrechtung), and dishonour (Entwürdigung, Beleidigung). When these violations occur, they may produce a reaction, a form of resistance which, as a collective reaction, can manifest itself as a social movement.

¹⁰ A number of social scientists maintain that, by and large, a process of civilisation is taking place over the last centuries (e.g., Norbert Elias: *The Civilizing Process. Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. Revised edition (originally in German 1939). Oxford: Blackwell, 2000). Also, it has been shown that the frequency of murder is decreasing in the long run. As for the latter observation, Pinker, based on statistical data, suggests that this is mainly a result of the monopolisation of power in modern nation-states. See Stephen Pinker: *The better Angels of our Nature. Why Violence has declined*. New York: Viking Press 2011.

THE ROLE OF CIVIC EDUCATION AFTER THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL

THOMAS KRÜGER, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL AGENCY FOR CIVIC EDUCATION IN GERMANY

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen,

You have invited the President of the German Federal Agency for Civic Education. Here I am! But you also see a craftsman for plastic and rubber material standing in front of you, as well as a vicar of the Evangelical Church of Germany and a politician. I have learned all these professions and I have practiced all of them for a number years. I was raised in the German Democratic Republic, and when the wall fell, I was 30 years old.

I think you should know this before I go into my topic "The Role of Civic Education after the Fall of the Berlin Wall."

Usually I do not start a lecture by talking about my biography or myself. But, in this case, I am sure it is eligible, because such crooked ways of life are a typical mode of surviving in a dictatorship—literally and politically—and at the same time a symptom of the perspectives and possibilities a democracy can open up. As I mentioned, I grew up in the GDR. Being the child of a pastor—and as such being skeptically monitored by the authorities—I had no free choice of apprenticeship, higher education, or employment without being involved in politics, strictly speaking without being true to the state policy and principles of the central committee of the GDR. You have to find niches where you can live, think and act under the circumstances of an un-free society. After the fall of the wall—and after some educational experiences in politics—I had the chance to become the president of a federal agency not because I had a family with influence or wealth, but because I had the opportunity to canalize my ideas, energy, and ambitions for democratic engagement in a democratic state.

Civic education played an important role in all of that. It is not true that civic—or in this case I should better name it "citizenship education"—education for all German citizens, including those living in the east, started only with the fall of the Berlin Wall, as the title of my speech might suggest. It is much more complicated than this.

As a matter of fact, the history of the current civic education system in Germany starts with the end of World War II, or should I say with the end of the worst dictatorship German history ever knew. National Socialism had not only annihilated millions of lives, but also the tentative steps towards a democratic culture people had made in the so called "Republic of Weimar," the short period of parliamentarism in the years between 1918 and 1933, when Adolf Hitler was appointed as a "Chancellor of the Reich."



Thomas Krüger discusses his presentation with the audience.



Thomas Krüger discusses the role of civic education in post-autocratic societies with conference participants.

The foundation stones of civic education we have in Germany nowadays were laid by the Allies in West Germany—the Americans, French, and Britons—which brought training and financial support, and which established structures and institutions for the setup not only of a democratic system but of a democratic culture as an essential ingredient of a democratic society.

The establishment of civic education in Germany after the period of fascism might appear like a top-down-story. We are familiar with photographs of groups of Germans in front of a film screen, watching pictures about the death camps. They were forced to watch by the American occupation powers in order to be informed about the atrocities that happened on behalf of and with the involvement of German people. Nobody should be able to further claim he did not know these things. Trainings, materials, and the foundation of institutions and organizations were decreed and placed by the Allies and its officers. They called it “re-education,” undoubtedly with a paternalistic, if not missionary, attitude.

At the same time, from the beginning on, this “prescribed democratization” had all elements of a good civic and citizenship education; The idea of a strong civil society and along with it a system of subsidiarity between state authorities and civil organizations (non-governmental organizations), the strengthening of grass-root-initiatives, and the support of a broadly based, widespread and low-threshold youth work as well as educational and cultural educational activities. Trainings not only brought about knowledge for understanding and organizing democratic procedures, but fostered virtues like responsibility, tolerance, and respect.

They implemented democratic values and formats that are still functioning today in Germany. We should not underestimate the fact that democratic ideas came along with an inspiring feeling of liberation and breakup, with jazz music and western arts, security, leisure time, and the freedom to discuss everything which seemed to be worthy of discussion.

Of course this development also had a "dark side." Was it easy to re-educate the German people? No, it was not. People do not easily change their beliefs and morality, their attitudes and actions, even when they claim to do so because it seems to be opportune to them. Was it easy to implement democratic structures and processes? No, that was not easy either. It began with a lack of capable persons and did not end when it came to questions of accounting for the past. That was why in the 1960's the young generation protested heavily against undemocratic and unsocial political decisions, against a restricting morality, against people in high positions, burdened with debt, and against the silence of their parents with regards to the past and the crimes committed during the holocaust. The riots and convulsions in these years revealed the failings and the ignorance of a society that wanted to forget without realizing that shaping a state and a democracy means more than just being successful in an economic way. One of the lessons learned was that democracy has to be a continuous remembrance, a continuous improvement process, a continuous educational process, a continuous discussion process, and a continuous struggle for the courage and readiness for change.

This knowledge should be put to proof at the end of the 1980's. The fall of the Berlin Wall marked a new period of democratization not only for the people in East Germany but also for the people in West Germany. And, to be honest and to anticipate the result, we all succeeded again only partly in coping with the enormous challenge to end a dictatorship and start-up a democracy.

The scenario seems to be comparable; Along with the reunification of East and West Germany a lot of actions were implemented by the government and civil society in order to reunite "what belongs together," as Willy Brandt, former chancellor of the Germany Federal Republic, described it. Now West Germany's actors of civic education had the task to "re-educate" the former citizens of the GDR.

There were a lot of programs in order to educate civic education, with the Federal Agency for Civic Education, the agencies in the "Bundesländer," and a lot of civil society organizations leading the way. The government established a policy and grants to build up non-governmental organizations and institutions in East Germany—the program was called "Developing non-governmental organizations east." School curricula and university agendas were renewed. There was a continuous exchange of know-how, of ideas and experiences. It led, in the end, to an adoption of the western system and a unitary landscape of educational institutions, offering civic and citizenship education according to the same values and principles, with the same materials, programs and projects in West and East Germany. On top of this, twenty-four years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, we would not submit that there were serious differences in the democratic awareness and the democratic attitude of people in West and East Germany.

One of the reasons for this is, that there was a great difference compared to the situation in the year 1945. The turnaround in East Germany was in fact a revolution, an upheaval of people, who wanted a change. They wanted to make their own destiny, and they had their own ideas of how this destiny should look like.





CE must have strong
 local funding relations
 CE must have strong
 access to funding

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 civil society management
 is essential

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They were politically educated already. In fact a lot of people already have had their own kind of informal civic education. They were discussing in informal groups, churches, libraries, and theatres. There were groups reading foreign literature and newspapers, and exchanging liberal ideas and theories of political alternatives. There had been opposition and resistance, especially in the last years of the GDR, which were organizing art exhibitions, making subversive films, writing books, and putting on performances. A lot of people were already well-educated and experienced in thinking politically.

This was a good starting condition, no doubt, and it was quite natural that along with the “winds of change” there were a lot of private and public discussions about which economic patterns, governmental rules, and institutional developments East Germany should aim for. I myself attended some of the legendary “Round Tables” that were implemented to discuss the future of the GDR and its supposed autonomous political reform process. I am convinced that this basis—we call it “citizen’s movement”—has contributed a lot to the following process of “democratization” of East Germany.

Compared to this background, the development of history might appear as another history of paternalism. These citizen movements, the Round Tables, the public discussions on political reforms, they all had their ends along with the reunification treaty and the adoption of the political system of West Germany.

No wonder the process of reunification had its losses and indignities according to some. Many people in East Germany, even today, criticize and regret that there has been no additional time to develop their own ways and formats to cope with the situation. In addition to that, we were quickly made aware that some of our hopes and expectations would not come true, especially when it comes to welfare and prosperity. Unlike the time after World War II in West Germany, there was no economic boost for everyone. And, unfortunately, just comparable to what we experienced after the war, many people in East Germany wanted to push the experiences and the heritage of the dictatorship to the back of their minds. Though there were systematic efforts to account for the past—there is a Federal Agency, for instance, which is systematically documenting and analyzing the observational activities of the State Security of the GDR, a perfidious system of spying and defamation on the people of the GDR—some people ignore the political repressions

that occurred in the past. By comparing only parts of their experiences, some of them argue that they had a better life in former times. They are dissatisfied and impatient with the democratic system and its political decisions and this might be one of the reasons why extreme parties are too popular in some eastern regions of Germany.

And as if this is not difficult enough, there also is another “dark side” of the reunification process. In rejecting everything associated with the former GDR and everyone who claims to rescue some ideas of socialism, there was a kind of political discrimination even of democratic parties representing these ideas. In particular, the party “The Lefts” is frequently criticized. Its members fight for a “democratic socialism” which would seek to change the democratic system in Germany. In addition to that, the party does have its problems. For instance, some of its representatives had been officials of the former government of the GDR. Some people are irked by their former ideas, which are confusing. However, it has representatives in parliaments in some of the communities and the “Bundesländer,” and they act constitutionally. Nevertheless, some of its members are under observation by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Most of the other political representatives refuse to form a coalition with the Lefts, and they do not cooperate with this party. Many people have a deep distrust and diffidence in them.

These situations might prove that there is a lot to do for civic education in Germany. Having overcome two dictatorships does not mean that it immunizes people against extremism, racism or non-democratic ideas and attitudes. And of course this is not only true for East Germany, but for West Germany as well. There is a wide spread disenchantment with politics in general. Also in Germany radical parties are on the spot, as well as in the rest of Europe. Fortunately they are not as strong as in France or the Netherlands. I would like to assume—or at least hope—that civic education in Germany has its share on that. Nevertheless, we face the new development that non-democratic parties use the democratic system as its stage of politics, as for example the coalition of the Front National and the “Party for Freedom” with Geert Wilders for the European Parliament’s next elections. This development means new challenges for civic education. Just remembering the past and its repressions does not equal an adequate antidote for such occurrences.

There was and is a lot to do.

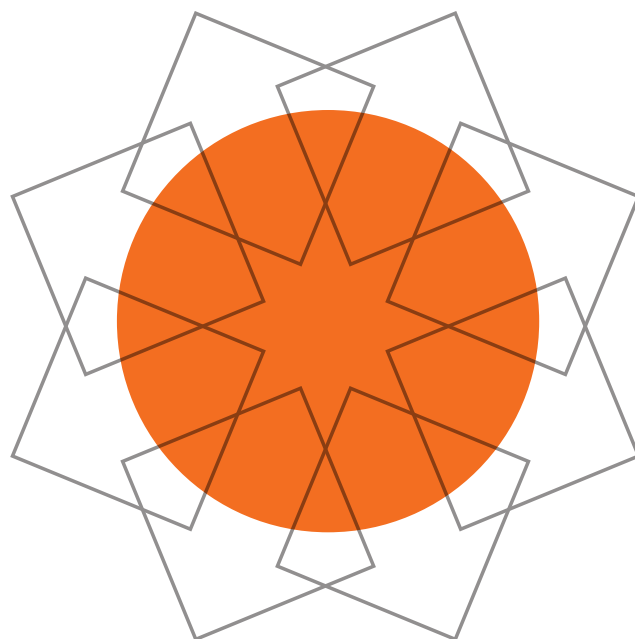
We still need to spread serious and differentiating analysis of the reasons for extremism and populism in the past and the present—painting issues in black and white is dangerous and wrong.

We need to keep on supporting competencies for a democratic contention on every level and in every situation. There are a lot of instruments for democratic, political participation in addition to elections, and there are a lot of peaceful opportunities to argue out controversial ideas and plans. We have to raise awareness for the relevance of democratic exchange in everyday situations as well as in cultural performances or in social debates and the economic decision making process.

Without the civic education of all people, however, there is always the danger of a fixation of power relations, which can mean the dominance of a few versus the participation of all, the authority of the economy versus good governance for the welfare of all people, or the rule of religion versus the freedom of thoughts and speech.

Civic education therefore is an indispensable condition for the political participation of all citizens. By providing knowledge and competencies, it empowers people to participate in political debates and decisions, and to engage in political procedures. People who are politically educated and who are able to make up their opinion, to judge on the basis of a reasonable argument, are the sine qua non of a true democracy. Communicating, debating, struggling, using fantasy and prudence, people—and only they—are able to influence their fate and the development of their society. These people are the main pillar of democratic traditions and a vivid democratic culture. I am sure this is one lesson we can learn from the citizens' movement at the end of the GDR, for a "Civic education after the fall of the Berlin Wall."

Thank you for your attention.



CIVIC EDUCATION IN TRANSITIONAL DEMOCRACY: THE CASE OF EGYPT

ABDUL-MONEM AL-MASHAT, PROFESSOR OF FACULTY OF ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE AT THE FUTURE UNIVERSITY IN EGYPT

INTRODUCTION

Though civil society as a concept is as old as political science and political philosophy, its use in political life, especially in developing countries, oscillates between being actively present and absent. The American political science school efforts in the late 1970's and early 1980's gave life to the concept of political life. It is true that civil society and civic education are now common in most democracies, including new ones in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Nonetheless, its role, stakeholders, challenges, and political content differ.

HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT

The origin of civil society goes back to Socrates' concept of "Civitas" which means affecting fellow citizens or civil society. Socrates' student Aristotle used the term "koinōnia politikē" to reflect the role of community in the political process. For him it meant that the community where free citizens on equal footing live under the rule of law. He thought that the end goal of civil society is the common wellbeing of all free citizens. These ideas about equality and the universal rule of law are contrary to Plato's elitist ideas concerning politics, where he in his *Republic* consciously and intentionally gave priority and privileges to the ruling elite, including both philosophers and army generals. He never recognized the existence or presence of civil society, not to mention its role in politics.

The 18th century witnessed strong movements towards a free market economy, and a dissociation with governments and resistance against monarchies. It also witnessed the enforcement of the rule of law and the empowerment

of representatives of labor and societies. Jean-Jacques Rousseau came up with the concept "general will" to express the fact that the people are the sovereign and they own collective sovereignty. They express their sovereignty through their general will, which leads to the common good. In other words, civil society is the political expression of the general will and its goal is the interests of all.

The 20th century went through revolutions against absolute authorities, and periods of authoritarianism as well as totalitarianism. It witnessed mobilization efforts for the freedom of movements, equal rights, and autonomy of people against dictatorships.

More recently, Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba, in their book *Civic Culture*, emphasized the role of political culture in building democracy. By political culture they meant the culture that holds civil society together. They also argued that civic education is the political element of political organizations that creates a better awareness and more informed citizenry. In their work, they defended political education, which is very different from political mobilization, while the first is based on free will, the second is motivated and controlled by the state. It seems appropriate, then, to define civil society as nongovernmental organizations and voluntary institutions that reflect the interests of all citizens. It also includes all segments of society independent from the government.

In this regard, it will be important to distinguish between internal and national civil society and international NGOs that seek the interests of civil societies worldwide.

After World War II and the severe competition between the former Soviet Union and the United States over ideologies and interests, and the victimization of third world societies in regional and international wars, activists opted for the establishment of international NGOs to lobby for the interests of the deprived and less privileged in the world, as represented by the Green Movements, international human rights groups, environmentalists, and those who are against any sort of arms race. I remember very well attending the meeting of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) in Toronto, Canada in 1978, where I was elected in the Executive Council and we decided to demonstrate in front of the United Nations in New York against nuclear weapons of the Soviets and Americans. We also witnessed the demonstrations against evil, deviated, and uncontrolled capitalism in Seattle, Washington D.C., and in other parts of the world.

One word about civic education in the Arab and Islamic intellectual legacy. The concept does not quite exist, however, we could depict its meaning and content by elaborating on Ibn Khaldoun's concept of "Sword and Pen" located in his introduction. He thinks that during the establishment of the state, there is more need for the sword (military). However, and in order to achieve stability and development, the pen (civil society) should dominate. However, in his concept *assabeya*, statehood, he emphasized more the power of the state.

THE EGYPTIAN CASE

In Egypt, civil society started with charitable organizations as one way to avoid the fierce fist of the state. Nowadays,

there are around 47,000 registered NGOs and nonprofit organizations representing civil society in the country, two-thirds of which are located in cities and urban centers. These organizations are active in community development, health and education services, social assistance and recently the democratization process including human rights. They are guided by Law 84 (2002), which puts control over them in the hands of the Ministry of Social Support. There was a draft law under the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood that would have added an additional layer of state control (i.e. the Coordinating Committee). There is a discussion in the country among NGOs and government officials regarding the drafting of a new law that would give more freedom to NGOs to receive foreign funds and implement their activities.

It is interesting to notice that no less than 44 percent of these organizations relate somehow to the forces of political Islam (35 percent) and the church (9 percent). The spread of NGOs linked to forces of political Islam has increased dramatically since the mid-1970's after the oil boom. The expansion of these organizations all over the country, in my view, contradicts the essence of civil society. We have noticed clearly that many of these organizations have recently become politically active with a bias towards forces of political Islam.

Our work as civil society activists and trainers, which was originally supported by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, covered three major areas. On one hand, we worked on the training of Sheikhs and Imams on civic education. In fact, we received the approval of the Ministry of Waqf (Religious Endowment) to do just that until some changes took place and the program was terminated.



Working on the recommendations in the Challenges workshop

We also started a program using crash political modules around the culture of democracy. We travelled throughout the country, from Sinai to Upper Egypt to Alexandria, Giza, and Cairo, to train youth on the true meaning of democracy, which includes the concepts of freedom of expression, recognition of the other, open dialogue, and so on. We reached out to Tahrir Square activists and well-known movements to train them on policy issues. Our goal was to provide them with policy-making skills.

Third, we shifted from fast and crash training programs to long-term ones that focused on six months of training on six modules, which includes the topics of democracy, public policy, media, budgeting, skills, and local government. From the three different methods of civic and political education we could confirm the positive impact on the trainees and the changes that took place in their character and interest in their small communities.

CHALLENGES

Recently, new challenges have sprung forth which would be summarized as follows. First, the relationship between NGOs and the state that could be characterized by tension, skepticism, and lack of accountability. The state played a major role in creating distrust in NGOs and civil society organizations. Accusations of conspiracy with foreign actors, loose book keeping, and vague agendas were unfairly raised. Second, if we add political parties to civil society organizations then we have to talk about attempts and campaigns by members of the business community and businessmen to co-opt such organizations. In other words, the ability to finance such organizations by businessmen with vested interests in the status quo would endanger its neutrality and its role in advocating change. Third, there is a financial problem facing NGOs. Local financial sources are extremely limited for many organizations, with an exception for organizations based on religious claims. In addition, there is also the phobia of foreign funding attached to political strings.

LOOKING FORWARD

There is a great need for a law that regulates the presence and functions of NGOs but does not control them, and a law that reiterates the positive impact of the Egyptian revolution. NGOs could be an integral part of the bodies and actors working on drafting such a law.

There has to be a federation of NGOs which should be independent and autonomous, and which would represent the goals and objectives of NGOs regarding community development and the democratization process.

More transparency and openness in the functions and work of NGOs is required. As they disseminate their values and knowledge, they should announce their financial resources and expenditures. This is so important in order to regain the trust and confidence of the Egyptian public. We are in the process of establishing "Cairo Forum," which would include NGO members working on human rights, the empowerment of women, protection of child rights, the culture of democracy, the democratization process, etc. For this we need the support of all concerned sponsors and partners.







Dieter Rucht, Yousry El Kom

THE ROLE OF STAKEHOLDERS

DR. NOHA EL-MIKAWY, REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE FORD FOUNDATION'S MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA OFFICE IN CAIRO

While the discussion around the values of “civility” is important, there is a need to develop a better understanding of the complex landscape of stakeholders who share responsibility for making civic education happen. This complex landscape is constrained by a number of challenges:

1. A regulatory environment that needs to provide incentives and legal protection for those working or who want to work in civic education.
2. Financial constraints that public and private stakeholders suffer and who thus are constrained in their ability to provide quality civic education with large population coverage.
3. Networking, a skill that is least available, especially during times of polarization around identity politics.

The major stakeholders for civic education are:

CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society is the domain of civic engagement by volunteers and professionals. Civic engagement is a key activity through which citizens (young and old) learn the values and principles of civility, namely tolerance, peaceful resolution, management of conflict, and diversity and respect for the “other.” There are, of course, some actors in civil society that do not promote these principles and are non-governmental and not-for-profit community workers.

Although the public might want to consider those actors not only un-civil but also un-patriotic, one should refrain from

linking lack of civility to lack of love for one’s country as a generalization. Un-civil actors are exclusive, authoritarian, and tend to have disbelief in accountability and participation. Some may also be unpatriotic, but only some. That serious accusation should be supported by rigorous evidence, followed by legal criminalization.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The private sector can promote civic education. One way is to invest in civic education providers under the rubric of corporate social responsibility (CSR). This would be a new area of CSR for the Arab corporate sector. Another way is to promote workers who demonstrate the values of civility and that is usually accomplished by hiring and establishing reward policies in corporate entities. Some corporate entities acquire talent with a condition that they prove that they have worked for civil society and on community projects, and when hiring corporations do that they help promote civic values. Some corporate entities encourage their workers to engage in community work to promote civility, and the time spent by the worker in community work is celebrated and rewarded in the firm. The challenge for the private sector is that most corporate managers are not exposed to these ideas on management of human resources where promotion of community engagement and civility become key to an enriching work environment and where community engagement becomes part of the company’s incentive package for its workers.



y, Nelly Corbel, Abdul-Monem Al-Mashat and Noha El-Mikawy (from left to right) discuss the difference between civic and political education and how a civility can be created.

More serious is the challenge of economic crisis, during which tension at work between the employer and employee rises and the private sector often becomes less interested in new trends in human resource management and more so in hard core solutions through state intervention.

THE GOVERNMENT

As the main provider of mainstream education in schools and universities, the government is a major stakeholder for civic education. State owned schools and state owned universities must include curricula that celebrates diversity, tolerance, peaceful conflict management resolution, and the respect of dignity for all. This could be achieved by engaging in hands-on problem solving simulations in schools and universities. "On the blackboard" theoretical education of civic principles will never be effective. Only through hands on simulations and actual projects in communities and neighborhoods surrounding schools and universities do pupils and students experience and internalize values and principles of engagement. The challenge is educating the educators and assigning resources and time (on teaching plans) to civic education. So far, government education has been for the dissemination of loyal sentiments towards the regime in power as opposed to the dissemination and internalization of principles of equal citizenship while educational institutions keep a neutral stance from the regime in power.

MEDIA

Finally, there is the powerful media apparatus, powerful because it is widely accessible to all irrespective of their level of education and sophistication. The messages of civility must permeate all media channels and inform investigative journalism. This can only be the case based on professional ethical codes of conduct that are respected by media professionals and protected by media syndicates and the judiciary. A positive role for the media also requires autonomous and sustainable financial models that liberate media channels from the yoke of political and commercial profit considerations. With increased professionalism and increased financial autonomy, the editorial policies of media channels will be much more capable to promote civil values and principles of engagement.

Egypt and the Arab region are at a historic juncture. The need for civic education is great and many among the young Arab generation are most attentive and aware of the virtues of civility for a society where dignity would become a reality for all, not only for the few. Networking all interested stakeholders together will strengthen the drive towards civic education. Learning from others how they rose above their differences, their polarization, and their fears is an added value for civic education. Learning from the German experience in this regard is highly interesting.

RECOMME

INDICATIONS





From 25. February until 10. March the participants of the Civic Education Conference Alexandria 2013 were asked to identify the most important recommendations. Among the 56 recommendations you will find the 10 most popular ones highlighted.

1. STAKEHOLDERS

- Reaching out to community and opinion leaders, members of the local government, and religious figures to promote civic education.
- Networking by creating a Google drive document so that all conference participants may share contacts and be able to share initiatives with interested people.
- Form research groups among conference participants to produce materials (manuals, etc.) for civic education in Egypt.

MEDIA

- Set a code of ethics for media personnel to use that would promote civic education principles and freedom of expression.
- The media must be more critical and educational institutions must prepare people with enough information to practice constructive criticism.

GOVERNMENT

- Creating an inclusive entity or coordinating body to facilitate the interaction between government and civil society on civic education.
- Develop an educational program for officials in local government, state media, and other key state institution (universities, schools, etc.).
- Create a dialogue with civil society towards a national strategy on civic education.
- Ensure a higher representation of youth in government institutions.
- Political parties must adopt more inclusive practices so as not to exclude on the grounds of religion, ethnicities, gender, age, etc.

2. NEUTRALITY

- Neutrality should be a principle of citizenship education in Egypt.
- To create proper preconditions for civic education in Egypt we should:
 1. Take into consideration the direct and indirect connection between religious principles/values and citizenship education.
 2. The flexibility of the curriculum of citizenship education to cope with different cultural and traditional backgrounds (for example, in Upper Egypt, Sinai and Western Desert).
 3. Ensure the diverse background of committee members setting the curriculum.
- **4. Training trainers/teachers on citizenship education principles through a non-formal education.**
- 5. Citizenship educators should have the ability/skill to moderate.

3. CHALLENGES

- Supporting local initiatives that stem from citizens' needs and ensuring their sustainability.
- Ensuring citizen participation in defining their needs and active engagement in designing and monitoring programs that are offered.
- Civic educators should accept/respect the culture and identity of local communities.
- Engaging civil society in a process of learning how to communicate with local communities.
- Defining the main purpose of civic education as overcoming negativity.
- Creating different tools to evaluate and direct some wrong behaviors without violating individual rights.
- Developing a critical approach towards what is being taken for granted in our tools and methods in civic education.
- Increasing the motivation for participation.
- **Enhancing communication between NGOs working on civic education.**
- Developing civic education actors' responsibility to lead by example and offer the best practices.
- Organizing advocacy campaigns to activate learning of human rights and citizenship (mixing theory and practice).
- Enhancing civil society management and creating a space for dialogue among its institutions and increasing cooperation and communication among them.
- Developing capacity building programs for NGOs in financial sustainability.
- Diversifying sources of funding and working on alternatives and creative methods (example: crowd funding).
- Forming pressure groups among members in NGOs to modify legislations.
- Increasing transparency with regards to NGO finances.
- Engaging in meetings and coalitions between the government and NGOs to create programs of civic education in coordination with businesses.
- Creating civic education departments at each university.
- Ensuring transparency among NGOs in setting clear civic education programs and submitting them to the government.
- Facilitating government processes and routines in terms of efficiency and time.
- Including the importance of civic education in the constitution.
- Ensuring transparency/accountability/monitoring/taking responsibility.
- Motivating businesses and citizens to fund NGOs by new legislations and laws that give them benefits.

- Revisiting the present legislations to ease funding processes and the implementation of programs.
- Ensuring that civil society should be regulated by the proper jurisdiction. Punishment should not be included as it falls under existing criminal law.
- Civic education needs an enabling environment to prosper, where the government facilitates rather than controls the work and the laws meet international standards.
- Engaging in dialogue to identify the disagreement between the government and civil society institutions regarding the political aspect of civic education programs.
- Rebuilding trust between the government, civil society, and citizens through dialogue.
- **Working on enhancing the image of civil society through advocacy campaigns.**

4. CONTENT

- **Civic education should include human rights, following the principles of indivisibility as it is a necessary foundation for political education.**
- Civic education should refer to local and historical content and context from within society.
- **Civic education should be based on tolerance, respect, interdependence/solidarity, self-responsibility, acceptance of diversity, accountability, and non-violence. These principles are the normative core of civic education.**
- Civic education should follow a participatory, experiential and methodological approach in formal and non-formal education based on the needs of the target groups and by a common civil society network.
- The above results should then be validated through academia and advocated to the government.
- The content should be modern and interactive in order to successfully translate theory into practice.
- Civic education should focus on skills and tools for developing an active/engaged citizenship.
- The curriculum needs to be multilateral and levels based according to the target groups and the geographical areas. The normative core should remain the same but the examples and methodologies need to be adapted to the target.
- We should develop an evaluation processes to assess the curriculum's impact.
- Setting a unified framework for civic education content that is based on all the fundamentals of human rights and puts an emphasis on the balance between rights and responsibilities.
- Develop a glossary to provide alternative words for common hate speech expressions.



PARTNERS



GOETHE-INSTITUT

The Goethe-Institut is the cultural institute of the Federal Republic of Germany with a global reach.

We promote knowledge of the German language abroad and foster international cultural cooperation. We convey a comprehensive picture of Germany by providing information on Germany's cultural, social and political life.

Through our network of Goethe-Institutes, Goethe Centres, cultural societies and reading rooms, alongside our examination and language learning centres, we perform the principal tasks of cultural and educational policy abroad. We work in partnership with public and private cultural bodies, the German federal states and municipalities, and the corporate sector.

We draw on the rich variety of our many-faceted open society and Germany's lively culture. We combine the experiences and conceptions of our partners in Germany and abroad with our professional skills and engage in a dialogue rooted in partnership. In doing so, we function as service providers and partners for everyone taking an active interest in Germany and the German language and culture, and act independently with no political affiliations.

We face the cultural policy challenges of globalisation and develop innovative concepts for a world made more human through mutual understanding, where cultural diversity is seen as an asset.



TAHRIR LOUNGE

Tahrir Lounge Goethe project was founded three years ago on April 7th, 2011 shortly after the beginning of the 25th of January Egyptian revolution aiming to support democratic values and to build a strong tolerant society. Now The Lounge reached more than 100,000 young Egyptians and more than 5000 Trainees, 14,500 participants beside partnerships with more than 1000 NGO and youth led initiative in Cairo and other governorates and other countries.

The project's program consists of several activities: workshops, seminars, discussions, round tables, debates, photo galleries, conferences, international events celebrations. Within the context of the German Egyptian transformation partnership and under the umbrella of the Goethe institute cultural agreement with the Egyptian government, the Tahrir Lounge receives financial support by the German government.

Tahrir lounge Goethe is a project that aims at creating social and democratic change in the Egyptian community through offering a set of educational activities and offering empowerment opportunities for youth, which in turn serve the larger goal of creating social change ,also an environment which encourage citizens to become more positive and contribute to the democratic change.

Tahrir Lounge Goethe continuously support youth from diverse political and social backgrounds without discrimination, which have the potential of making a change in their field, and that aligns with the ethical framework of Tahrir Lounge Goethe.

The project raises all political issues for discussion, and simplifies the information to be delivered to different community sectors to create a state of social awareness.

Tahrir Lounge Goethe stresses on the importance of the effective participation by organizing workshops aimed at training the youth on constructive political interaction in the society. In addition, strengthen the idea of accepting the other opinion and respecting the others and considering the human rights to be the highest values.

Tahrir lounge Goethe works on building an effective personality in the society, we believe that each individual should be aware of his/her rights, the project continuously works on investing in all human energies, especially young Egyptians to encourage all forms of peaceful, positive and active participation and fighting corruption.



HANNS SEIDEL FOUNDATION

The Hanns Seidel Foundation has partnered up with the Goethe Institute and Tahrir Lounge in this conference based on its long practices of civic education. Besides its experience in Germany, Hanns Seidel Foundation's Cairo Office has been conducting awareness-raising seminars and capacity building programs, since over 35 years, for various sectors of the Egyptian community all over Egypt in cooperation with the State Information Service (Nile Centers for Information, Education and Training).

In its attempt to assist the Egyptian community in assuming an active role in public life, issues such as the elections law, the constitution, and political tolerance are currently widely discussed. Information visits to Germany are also held during which the Egyptian delegations get acquainted with civic education practices in Germany.

Hanns Seidel Foundation, setting sustainable democratic development as the main objective and public participation as the main tool, is committed to support sustainable democratic and inclusive development efforts in Egypt.



FEDERAL AGENCY FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

The Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung/bpb) is a federal public authority providing citizenship education and information on political issues for all people in Germany.

The work done by the Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung/bpb) centres on promoting awareness for democracy and participation in politics. It takes on topical and historical subjects by issuing publications, by organising seminars, events, study trips, exhibitions

and competitions, by providing extension training for journalists and by offering films and on-line products. The broad range of educational activities provided by the bpb is designed to motivate people and enable them to give critical thought to political and social issues and play an active part in political life. Considering Germany's experience with various forms of dictatorial rule down through its history, the Federal Republic of Germany bears a unique responsibility for firmly anchoring values such as democracy, pluralism and tolerance in people's minds.



CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PEACE STUDIES

The Center for Democracy and Social Peace Studies is one of the centers of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina's Academic Sector. It was established to become an active promoter of social peace in Egypt and the region, and to help raise people's awareness of democracy and democratic processes.

The center's core activity is to conduct research and provide expert training in democracy and non-violent conflict management, resolution and peace building. One of its major goals is to train people to address social issues in a peaceful manner, and promote the basic tenets of democracy within society.

Through its multidisciplinary approach to teaching and research, CDSPPS aims at increasing people's ability to understand and support social peace and democratic transformation while, simultaneously, building individuals' capacity to foster dialogue and reconciliation.

Seeking to expand its role on the regional and international levels, the Center also aims at engaging in strategic partnerships with institutions, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental organizations involved in social peace and democracy studies worldwide.



LINKS & PRESS REVIEW

روابط و مرآة الصحافة

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www.bibalex.org
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- TAHRIR LOUNGE
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- CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PEACE STUDIES (CDSPTS)
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<http://www.aucegypt.edu/ar/Research/gerhart/Pages/default.aspx>

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Raafat	Magdi	Supervisor General of the Nile Centers	Egypt
Ragab	Mostafa	Fayoum Agro Organic Development Association (FAODA)	Egypt
Ramadan	Atia	Civil Educational Trainer	Egypt
Rashad	Ingy	Egypt	Egypt
Rashwan	Al-Shimaa	Hypatia	Egypt
Resch	Christopher	Goethe-Institut Cairo	Egypt
Rizk	Fayza	Damanhour Nile Center	Egypt
Rucht	Dieter	Institute for Protest and Social Movement Studies	Germany
Safwen	Karoui	TOT	Tunisia
Saïd	Sherif	Association for the Advancement of Education and Development (AAED)	Egypt

Said Aly	Ayman	Association for the Advancement of Education and Development (AAED)	Egypt
Salah	Moham	Egyptian Association for Educational Resources (E-ERA)	Egypt
Salama	Hatem	MitOst, Berlin-Germany	Germany
Saleh	Mai	Oyoon Art Group	Egypt
Saleh Elmasry	Mahmoud	Civil Educational Trainer	Egypt
Salma	Ayman	American Canadian Center for Human Development	Egypt
Samir	Amr	Ibn Khaldun Center	Egypt
Samuel	Anton	Alexandria Declaration for Human Rights	Egypt
Samy	Mohamed	Mubadara Centre for Tolerance and Democracy	Egypt
Samy	Menan	The John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy & Civic Engagement, AUC	Egypt
Samy	Menna	Tahrir Lounge	Egypt
Samy	Mohamed	Selmeya Alex	Egypt
Samy Morcos	Nancy	University Erfurt/University Witten-Herdecke	Germany
Sarhan	Aladdin	Journalist at NZZ	Switzerland
Schader	Priska	Technical University Dresden	Germany
Scharnetzky	Agnes	Radio München	Germany
Schmidt	Eva	Goethe-Institut Cairo	Egypt
Schmidt	Marion	Egyptian Association for Educational Resources (E-ERA)	Egypt
Seffain	Yasmine	National Alliance of Civic Education for Youth (NACEY)	Egypt
Sefian	Amira	Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (CAWTAR)	Tunisia
Selma	Anna	The John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy & Civic Engagement, AUC	Egypt
Shahin	Hana	Tahrir Lounge	Egypt
Shahin	Mona	Takween Integrated Community Development	Egypt
Shama	Heba	Nama' Intitative for Sustainable Development	Egypt
Shehata	Ayman	Mahatat	Egypt
Shindy	Mohamed	Sofia Platform - Bridging Europe and the Middle East	Bulgaria
Slakova	Louisa	South Valley University	Egypt
Sobyh	Salah	Masrtopia Alex	Egypt
Sohdy	Mayar	Deutsche Welle Arabia	Germany
Sollich	Rainer	Tunisian Youth Development Academy	Tunisia
Srihi	Moez	Egypt Centre for Political Support (CPS)	Egypt
Talaat	Islam	All People Association for Comprehensive Development	Egypt
Tawfeik	Adel	Cairo Center for Human Development (CCHD)	Egypt
Thabet Mekky	Salwa	Mahatat	Egypt
Thews	Astrid	Doustourna Network	Tunisia
Triki	Nesrine	Center for Applied Policy Research (CAP), LMU University of Munich	Germany
Ulrich	Susanne	Nahdet El Mahrousa/YiA program	Egypt
Wafi	Ohoud	Namaa	Egypt
Wahby	Sarah	Journalist at Deutschlandradio Cairo	Germany
Weber	Anne	Goethe-Institut Cairo	Egypt
Winkler	Stefan	MiU - Vielfalt und Werte CDU KV Rhein-Sieg	Germany
Wojcik	Andreas	Theodor-Heuss-Kolleg	Germany
Wulf	Annegret	Cultural Innovators Network (CIN)	Austria/UK
Wunsch.Grafton	Benjamin	Mahatat	Egypt
Yeken	Amr	Artist	Egypt
Yousri	Salam	Imprint Movement	Egypt
Zaghloul	Nihal	Cultural Innovators Network (CIN)	Egypt
Zakaria	Ahmed	Hanns Seidel Foundation	Egypt
Zaki	Mariam	Goethe-Institut Alexandria	Germany
Zappel	Kristiane	Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS)	Egypt
Zaree	Mohamed		