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DEVELOPMENT IN EGYPT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INFORMATIVE ABSTRACTS OF SELECTED RESEARCH, 1970-82*

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*NOTE: Due its importance, some research preceding or following the title dates has been included. Other countries for which similar reports have been prepared include Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yemen (YAR). See order form on page 111.

INTRODUCTION

Description

In 1981-82, the Agency for International Development (USAID) commissioned studies on five Arab countries: Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yemen (YAR). The purpose of these studies was to provide information about significant research and analysis written since 1970 in Arabic, English, or French on each country's development. To this end, bibliographies were assembled and organized according to a keyword system; then the most important works were summarized in a series of informative abstracts of several pages each. The project was completed in January 1983. The resulting reports have been reviewed, expanded, and now are available for wider distribution. Anyone with a general interest in Middle Eastern development--social scientists, consultants, contractors or others in academia, government, or private industry--will find them important and valuable documents. Persons with more specialized interests should also find them useful. Both types of reader are encouraged to submit comments about the reports, as explained in the "How to Use the Reports" section below.

Criteria and Sources

Works were selected and evaluated on the basis of four criteria: (1) relevance to development, (2) high quality, (3) empirical base, and (4) balance (so that no single subject or perspective would be overemphasized). Sources for bibliographic citations included the more than 1400 journals scanned regularly by the Public Affairs Information Service, Dissertation Abstracts International, The Middle East: Abstracts and Indexes, bibliographies listed after the works abstracted, and relevant entries in the main card catalogue of the University of California-Berkeley library for each of the five countries. These sources were reviewed systematically for work done in the three languages from 1970-82 to make the search comprehensive and authoritative. In addition, some accounts published either before or after this period were included because of their significance; they constitute approximately ten per cent of the total entries.

Report Format

Each country report consists of four parts: a bibliography, a set of keywords, a bibliography organized by subjects, and a set of informative abstracts.

Part 1 - Bibliography

Entries are listed alphabetically by author (for multiple authors, the first is listed). A standard bibliographic format is used: Author, Title, Publisher, (Volume), (Number), (Pages), and Date. Since the computer system employed for this project does not currently handle accent or diacritical marks (and Arabic titles have been transliterated differently by various sources), the Arabic and French entries are printed with English translations following the original titles. Also, the works abstracted in Part 4 of each report are flagged with the note "(abstracted)" following the

relevant citations.

Part 2 - Keywords to Organize Bibliography by Subject

The set of keywords used to categorize bibliographic citations by subject are presented next in outline form. This set indicates the relationships among the categories and thus provides a key for quick reference when one is searching for sources by subject.

Part 3 - Bibliography by Subject(s)

Then every bibliographic entry is systematically categorized under at least two of the keywords shown in Part 2. (When an entry is especially relevant to more than two keywords, additional ones are listed but only the first two are used to categorize the entry.) All sources pertaining to a given keyword are sorted alphabetically by the last name of the author (or the first author, if there are more than one). In the case of multiple papers by the same author, citations are arranged in chronological order, with the most recent work appearing last.

Part 4 - Informative Abstracts

Works with greatest significance according to the criteria mentioned above are evaluated in a series of "informative abstracts," as defined by Maltha's Technical Literature Search and the Written Report (Pittman Publishing, London, pp. 77-82, 1976). These abstracts, which average three pages in length, differ from annotations or other more common forms of abstracting. They review and summarize the most important findings, then critique the work in the light of other research. Written by social scientists who are Middle Easterners and/or who have done field research in the region, these informative abstracts provide perspectives on the literature not found elsewhere.

How to Use the Reports

Reports are constructed to lend themselves to several uses. Persons interested mainly in a perspective on the development literature about a given country may focus on the informative abstracts in the relevant report. Persons making a more systematic review of work done in a particular country on a particular subject or by a particular author may search the respective bibliographies. Or other persons may be interested in the chronological development of work by a certain author on a certain subject. Illustrative comparisons may also be made among different reports; for example, research on family planning in Tunisia may be compared with that done in Egypt and/or Morocco. Anyone familiar with the card cataloguing systems employed in American libraries can probably develop alternative uses.

Your considered opinions about such uses, as well as suggestions for improving the reports, are welcomed. Such input is especially important because this edition of the reports is hopefully only the first of a growing series which can be brought up to date and supplemented at periodic intervals. Accordingly, both an evaluation form and an order form are appended to this report for your use.

Acknowledgments

In addition to the persons listed on the title page, several others assisted in bringing these reports to publication. Helpful criticism was given by Jean-Jacques Dethier, Abdelhafidh Ellouze, Richard Gable, Peter Gubser, Nicholas Hopkins, John Lewis, Paul Rabinow, Daniel Varisco, Mira Zussman, and particularly by Ashraf Ghani and Laurence Michalak. Essential aid in production and marketing were provided by Patricia Anderson, Gretchen and Stephen Huxley, Pamela Johnson, and Amal Rassam. The assistance of all is appreciated; any remaining insufficiencies are my own responsibility.

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KEYWORDS TO ORGANIZE BIBLIOGRAPHY BY SUBJECT

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT

- IDEOLOGY
- INFORMAL PROCESSES
- DOMESTIC POLITICAL ECONOMY
- INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY
- SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE (kinship/family organization/neighborhood/networks)
- GENDEV-OTHER

SCIENCE

- APPLIED (e.g. technology)
- NATURAL (e.g. fisheries, forests, etc.)
- SOCIAL
- SCI-OTHER

HEALTH

- MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE
- NUTRITION
- PREVENTIVE CARE
- SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS
- WATER SUPPLY AND SEWERS
- HEAL-OTHER

POPULATION

- FAMILY PLANNING
- MIGRATION

POP-OTHER

EDUCATION

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

LITERACY AND OTHER BASIC

PRE-SCHOOL, ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY

PROFESSIONAL AND HIGHER

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL

ED-OTHER

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION

SANITATION AND STREETS

URB-OTHER

COMMUNICATION

LIBRARIES AND STORAGE

MEDIA

IMPACTS

COM-OTHER

AGRICULTURE

IRRIGATION AND WATER MANAGEMENT

EXTENSION AND ADVICE

CROPS

LIVESTOCK AND PRODUCTS

CREDIT AND MECHANIZATION

LAND

MARKETS AND FOOD SUBSIDIES

AGRI-OTHER

INDUSTRY

ENERGY

TRANSPORT

TRADE AND COMMERCE

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BANKING AND FINANCE

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TAXES AND GRANTS

BUREAUCRACY AND DECENTRALIZATION

PLANNING

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EGYPT

Abdel-Fadil, M., Development Income Distribution and Social Change in Rural Egypt 1952-1970: A Study of the Political Economy of Agrarian Transition, Cambridge University Press, New York (1975). GENERAL DEVELOPMENT DOMESTIC POLITICAL ECONOMY

This book is an analysis of the Egyptian agrarian system from 1952 to 1970. Major transformations took place during this period, but little has been written about their multidimensional repercussions. The author investigates the economic relations of production and their impact on the social organization of various sections of the Egyptian peasantry, the process by which income distribution was transformed, and the effects of shifts in patterns of property and power.

The landholding system before the revolution in 1952 was particularly characterized by a heavy concentration of landownership and by an increasing number of small landowners with less and less land. Concentration of landownership is shown by correlating the number of owners with the amount of land held: large landowners were less than 0.1 per cent of all owners but held 7 per cent of all cultivated land; medium landowners, 7 per cent and 55 per cent, respectively; and small landowners, 92.9 per cent and 25 per cent. In the period 1900-1952, the number of medium landowners remained fairly constant; both the number of small landowners and the total amount of available land increased, but the average size of landholdings decreased by 40 per cent. Also, landless families grew from 24 to 44 per cent of all rural families. According to the author, such trends indicate an increasingly unequal distribution of land approaching crisis proportions. This crisis seemed to be quite obvious to the new regime, which came up with agrarian programs within one month after the revolution.

The traditional agricultural system was organized in the following manner. Land and water resources were monopolized by large landowners and, consequently, rents became so high that small peasants could not afford them. Credits (at short or medium term) also were monopolized by big landowners. Small farmers relied on the traditional channels for loans, but these methods were so costly that such farmers often ended up selling their land and joining the landless peasantry. Moreover, landowners found it more advanta-

geous to rent out their land than to farm it themselves because productivity was already at maximum capacity. As a consequence of this "economic" infrastructure, a new social group emerged as middlemen or brokers who would rent land from owners in an auction system, then divide it into small plots which were leased to the sharecroppers and tenants who actually farmed them. Hence, a piece of land had to "produce" three times its value, because a multilevel system of land tenure encroached on its productivity. This deadlocked situation in the rural world combined with few opportunities in the industrial labor force (because industry was almost non-existent) to create vast unrest among the peasant population.

Aware of the social implications of an economic system based on an extremely unequal distribution of wealth, the new government proposed agrarian transformations with short- and long-term effects. The objective was to break the power of the agrarian oligarchy, redistribute the land more equitably, and transform the social and economic relations in rural areas. However, "the reform was, in principle and practice, more akin to the liberal ideal of a regime of small peasant properties rather than to any collectivist or socialistic ideals." It increased landownership among small peasants; however, medium peasants (who owned between 5 and 10 feddans) acquired more substantial amounts of land and consequently replaced the old oligarchy in wealth, power, and political control. While 671,000 feddans were transferred to small landowners in 1952-1965, a greater amount of land was sold by large estates and landowners (who feared further government restrictions). The medium peasants were able to benefit from these sales, keeping the land or dividing it and reselling. This group (who now owned up to 50 feddans) controlled one-third of all cultivated land, while constituting only 5.2 per cent of the total landowner population.

After 1952, the Egyptian agrarian society underwent other transformations which affected its social structure and relations to the means of production. The author uses three economic indicators to explain the processes that caused these changes in class structure. The first is the magnitude of wage employment. In rural Egypt, wage employment is directly correlated with farm size. For instance, 71 per cent of the permanent wage laborers in 1961 were hired by middle or large farms (5 feddans or more); while small landholders relied mostly on unpaid family labor. Draft animals, conversely, tended to be owned and shared by middle and poor peasants. The water buffalo and cow perform multiple functions in the agrarian economy. Besides being assets for farm work (plowing services, use of dung as cheap fertilizer), they provide food for peasants in times of crisis. Despite their importance, however, maintenance costs sometimes force peasants to sell these animals or

share them with others.

Another index of class differentiation is farm mechanization: generally the more land owned, the more mechanization in farming and irrigation procedures. The "rich" peasants (20 to 50 feddans) owned water pumps, tractors, and other equipment right after the revolution and were still ahead with mechanization in 1961. Medium peasants also steadily mechanized production. Besides the amount of land owned, the main factor determining mechanization was financial: only farmers with investable surpluses could afford the process.

The last indicator used for class differentiation is the type of crops grown. Ninety-eight per cent of Egyptian agriculture today consists of field crops, with fruits and vegetables the remainder. In the 1960's the production of fruits and vegetables doubled (absolutely), but its percentage of the overall production remained the same. While cotton was the main cash crop, sugar cane and rice became competitively as important. Wheat, maize, and millet constituted the basic diet of peasants and were grown as subsistence crops, but their percentage of overall production declined. In this shift from subsistence to cash crops, "poor" and "small" peasants kept relying on subsistence farming.

The clear class differentiation between the "new rich" landowners and the poor peasants along the three variables used--wage/employment, farm mechanization, type of crops--shows that the small to medium peasant, who already had financial assets when the revolution occurred, was able to increase them and as a consequence gained more power.

A significant percentage of the total peasant population is landless in Egypt. In 1950 this group amounted to 44 per cent of the total rural population, decreasing to 28 per cent during the 1960's, then rising again to 33 per cent in the early 1970's. The author explains this pattern in terms of the overall population growth, the pressure that growth put on land, and a freeze placed on agrarian reforms. (It is interesting and somewhat significant to note that no official statistics were available on the number of landless peasant families, so the author replaced them by calculations based on the age and occupation of the rural population. Also interesting is that, within the growth of total population, the number of poor and landless peasants increased even at a time of agrarian reforms.)

The author divides landless peasants into two groups--permanent wage laborers and casual farm laborers. While the former group works on large landholdings and is subdivided into various skill groups (tractor drivers, water pump supervisors, (etc.), the latter group is considered the

poorest of the rural population. This group is constituted by unskilled laborers who are hired for short periods of time and transported to various areas. Moreover, the group is exposed to usury and employer exploitation: usually labor contractors take up to 12 per cent of wages as commissions, and laborers work extra unpaid days on the contractor's account in "exchange" for inevitable indebtedness contracted during slack seasons, illness, etc. The government has been trying to combat the contractors by hiring large numbers of such "tarahil" laborers. However, casual laborers illustrate the difficulty of moving from feudalism to capitalism in modern Egypt: this growing mass of laborers, while separated from their principal means of production (land), are unable as yet to find regular wage employment in the developing capitalist sector of the economy. In other words, these "free" landless peasants are prevented from becoming a proletariat in the modern sense, and are thus compelled to fall back upon semi-feudal modes of exploitation based on a bonded labor-hire system.

After presenting the main socioeconomic transformations which the agrarian reform generated in rural Egypt, the author looks at the effects of income redistribution among various social strata. He seeks to show how various social groups--rural laborers, tenant farmers, and landowners--are interconnected by the dynamics of the economic system in the society at large. A rise in the purchasing power of various strata of the rural population resulted from a reduction in disparities between rural and urban incomes; in turn, this enlarged the market for consumer goods and services. Moreover, the "medium" and "rich" peasantry, who had replaced the old oligarchy, also increased demand for manufactured goods--tractors, machinery, chemical fertilizers. Thus, the expansion of rural home consumption and the growth of multifaceted transactions for the purposes of agricultural production contributed to an expansion of the national economy. Similarly, cooperativization of rural areas was geared towards goals of national development: "Egyptian policy makers placed great emphasis on the restructuring of landholdings into efficient-sized units backed by cooperative organization where scale effects made it desirable. While farmers continued to retain both ownership and the responsibility for cultivating their own plots, they were required to follow a number of practices: crop consolidation, triennial rotation, and cooperation in certain activities, such as fumigation of crops and pest controls." Meanwhile, cooperativization also provided the government with a significant surplus through various contracts and taxes on the peasant. This surplus, in turn, was used by the government to develop exports and to expand urban employment. However, the author notes that there are "limits to the efficacy of the intersectoral terms of trade as an instrument for increasing state revenues, because of the possible <u>disincentive effects</u> which become operative after a certain critical level of un-

favorable terms of trade to agriculture" is reached.

Finally, a political assessment of the government agrarian reforms shows that, overall, conditions of the Egyptian rural population have improved. However, a new rural elite has replaced the old landed oligarchy, developed significant influence on rural politics, and established new relations with urban elites.

Abdel-Fadil, M., The Political Economy of Nasserism: A Study in Employment and Income Distribution Policies in Urban Egypt, 1952-1972, Cambridge University Press, New York (1980). GENERAL DEVELOPMENT DOMESTIC POLITICAL ECONOMY

In this book the author primarily surveys the ideological influence of the post-revolution regime in Egypt on economic policies and processes of decision-making.

Like many Third World nations attaining national independence, Egypt chose socialism, under the leadership of Nasser. Socialism meant various things, from rapid growth and economic independence to social justice. While the ideals of socialism were appealing to Nasser, the socioeconomic reality of Egypt after the revolution required the new government to balance the budget first. It pursued this priority by encouraging investments from the private and foreign sectors. However, very little was actually invested, perhaps because of the nationalistic aspect of the revolution. Accordingly, in 1956 Nasser decided to nationalize the Suez Canal, and a new orientation was articulated for the political economy of Egypt. The public sector became the main investor in industry, although private businesses were not nationalized until 1962. Following nationalization of production, the new regime was busy with substantial transformations in employment, income distribution, and social organization.

An important indicator of economic development and planning is the nature of formal employment in the urban sector--its structure, direction, and expansion. The main providers of formal employment in the Egyptian urban sector were manufacturing, construction (both housing and service sectors), and the government. While earlier the agricultural sector had been the main national employer, efforts towards urban development reversed this trend. The manufacturing and mining industries increased employment by 11 per cent between 1950 and the early 1960's. However, the larg-

est urban employers were the construction industry and the government bureaucracy. Government efforts in industry did not create a stable skilled labor force. For instance, most imported technology emphasized assembly rather than vertically integrated production. The construction sector, however, was very active during the period, particularly with the construction of the High Dam at Aswan. The limited industrialization, combined with natural population growth and migration of rural populations, meant that the urban labor force was oriented toward the construction sector mainly, and the informal labor market generally.

The author categorizes service employment into three types to show employment growth and its direction in relation the total labor force available. First is employment in basic and infrastructural services related to material production (such as public utilities, transport and communications, or commerce and financial services). Second is employment in public administration and government services, which may well reflect a social need to absorb certain grades of labor that would otherwise be redundant. And third is employment in the "informal sector," where the bulk of unskilled laborers in excess supply create their own opportunities.

The author starts out by describing the informal sector as "economic activities which largely escape recognition, enumeration and regulation by the government." The bulk of people working in this sector are identified as migrants and the urban poor. "This type of employment results--in developing countries--from the failure of capital and of most complementary means of production to increase at the same rate as the supply of labor in secondary and tertiary activities." The informal sector usually fluctuates in size and in the types of services it provides. Abdel-Fadil categorizes it into small-scale manufacturing activities (radio mechanics, car repair, etc.), handicraft activities (self-employed carpenters, masons, tailors), personal services (shoe polishing, selling newspapers, car washing), and undefined activities outside of legal regulations (like prostitution or drug smuggling). The government doesn't have any statistics for the above categories; in other words, very little is known about the "real" wages of significant sections of the population.

As the formal sector is unable to provide enough jobs for an increasing population (let alone the influx of rural migrants), the informal sector has widened by providing small domestic services. The author implies that the increase of the informal sector is an indication of unemployment in general; that is, rural unemployment is transferred into urban settings. Moreover, there is little movement from the informal to formal sectors, although people in the former usually hope to move into the latter. Urban workers

in the formal sector contribute to national income; however, "in a closed economy the rate of employment creation in the informal sector will depend on the growth of demand for 'informal services' as income rises in towns, which is in turn a function of the rate of expansion of productive employment in the commodity sectors and the socially necessary services." Thus, both the socialist ideology and government efforts towards industrialization provided skilled laborers larger access to commodities and financial remuneration comparable to the white collar group; in turn, skilled laborers demanded more services from the informal sector.

One measure taken by the government to reduce disparity of incomes was the nationalization and sequestration of wealth (especially commercial interests). While trying to assess the distribution of incomes during the 1950's and 1960's, the author faces the problem that statistics based on tax documents overlook two particular brackets: first, high incomes earned through self-employment often evade taxes: and second, incomes below taxable limits are also not included. In effect, there is an informal system connecting high and low incomes through petty services, bribery, and charity payments, which are not subject to taxation. The rise of a new "bourgeois urban middle class" working in the military, administration, or bureaucracies rapidly increased the need for consumption goods and directly spurred development of an "industrial output mix" based on consumption goods. Furthermore, the "growing size of Egypt's middle class throughout the 1960's has contributed to increase the general propensity to consume, thus reducing the level of domestic savings, and adding to the difficulties of the balance of payments." In 1962, Egypt's National Charter contained a number of directives, mainly to raise consumption and investment. In 1956 this problem had partially been avoided by Nasser's success in securing vast amounts of foreign aid. Moreover, the government had already created a climate in which there was little opportunity to increase the people's or the government's own ability to save: "Egypt, therefore, had no choice but to cut her rate of investment to bring it to a level with the country's ability to save."

Looking at the organization of the Egyptian tax system, three elements become apparent. First, during the 1950's and 1960's, indirect taxation provided the majority of tax revenues. Second, taxes on personal incomes were very low and restricted to a small portion of the population. For example, incomes generated by the higher brackets systematically evaded taxation, so individuals who paid taxes gave only a portion of what they owed. Thus, tax evasion generated informal incomes which paralleled formal ones. Third, inefficiency in the administrative and tax enforcement laws seriously hampered equity in taxation.

Nasser's new socioeconomic policies--nationalization and centralization--profoundly affected the social structure of urban Egypt. The author looks at the restructuring of various social categories by examining statistical data from the Labor Force Sample Surveys. He remarks that there has been a movement from self-employment to wage labor during the 1950's and 1960's. Large government labor projects must have spurred this shift; moreover, popular hopes for stable incomes through wage labor contributed to it as well. However, one difficulty in trying to come up with a typology of social structure on the basis of such criteria is that there is a continuous overlap between formal and informal categories of employment and between multiple layers of employment.

Abdel-Fadil categorizes urban Egyptians into three social classes. The bourgeoisie basically is formed by high-ranking officers of the military and bureaucracy, capitalist entrepreneurs and contractors, and members of the liberal professions. The petty bourgeoisie possesses small amounts of capital, property, and special skills or training. In this category are self-employed artisans, traders, shopkeepers, skilled laborers in "modern" industries, and what the author calls non-manual technocrats (like middle-ranking civil servants, school teachers, and enlisted ranks of the military). The final category includes the sub-proletariat of "an urban disinherited mass which is deprived of all material resources and access to regular work, and many of whom are recruited for all kinds of shady or illegal activities."

The conclusion of the book reviews moves during Nasser's era towards economic independence and social justice. The ideology guiding these moves required changes in the organization and control of the means of production and a reallocation of economic surplus in the society. Jobs were created, wealth redistributed, and capital invested through the public sector, instead of through a "market-force" system. In other words, there was increasing interaction and alliance between the middle class and state capitalism. The sort of regime resulting from such alliances has lately been much investigated in the Marxist literature and is perceived as a product of prevalent socioeconomic and political processes in Third World nations. While economically such regimes follow capitalist market systems, they curtail them with restrictions that foster "social justice." In retrospect, after the revolution Nasser attracted to himself the urban nationalist bourgeoisie and the rural middle class in order to upset the old social order, the landed oligarchy and the aristocracy. On this broad base of support, the regime was able to generate some social reforms and economic programs; however, the programs never went beyond what those alliances permitted.

Abu-Lughod, J., Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ (1971).
URBANISM URB-OTHER

Abu-Lughod presents a study of the development and expansion of the city of Cairo, seeing socio-political events as interconnecting elements in the physical structuring and development of the city. The book is divided into three parts covering political and historical eras critical to various stages in the city's expansion: the Islamic epoch, the period from 1800 to the turn of the century, and the modern era and emergence of the metropolis.

Islamic Cairo was characterized by three ecological patterns which had long-lasting influence on its organization. First, distribution of population followed ethnic and religious lines, rather than socioeconomic and class divisions. Second, land was used for a mixture of both residential and commercial purposes--hence, the self-sufficient aspect of the quarter in terms of distances, transportation, and small-scale industries. And finally, the architecture of the quarters' streets, "tortuous and intricate," reflected the two prior factors, thus reinforcing the protection of a quarter from outsiders and assuring intra-commercial circulation.

Physical structure also provided a model for social organization: "just as the physical city was an accretion of cells only loosely linked by walls and a common dependence upon a minimum number of central facilities, so the political community of the Islamic city was an accretion of groups--organized on religious, occupational and proximity lines--through whose representatives the directions of the state were channeled downward and the responses channeled upward." In fact, Islamic Cairo was organized by two administrative systems. At one level, the city was subdivided into harat ("neighborhoods"), with one representative carrying authority within the hara as a link between the inhabitants and the police. The second administrative system was an occupational organization: "Islamic trade organizations embraced virtually the entire working population of the city whether engaged in commerce, crafts or services, legitimate or even illegitimate." In 1670, observers counted some 300 professional organizations in Cairo and its two port suburbs.

Another feature of Islamic Cairo was the precariousness of its public facilities. The city did not provide a public water system, municipal street cleaning, or waste disposal services; private enterprise or individuals did. The role of the awquaf ("religious foundations") was predominant here, in addition to the more traditional role they per-

formed in managing family endowments. Awquaf administration of both private and public services seems to have been at the root of Cairo's poor maintenance. Both corruption and inadequate, inefficient administration combined with the total disorganization of municipal services to reduce Cairo to a "handicapped" city by the end of the eighteenth century.

During the first half of the nineteenth century Cairo did not change noticeably. The two major sources of influence upon the city were the brief French occupation (3 years) and the rule of Mohamed Ali. The French army reorganized street patterns in the city to control various sections which, formerly, had been impenetrable by troops and artillery. These new, enlarged arteries are still modern Cairo's main routes of traffic. The other change the French imposed was the reorganization of the existing harat structure, of which there were 53 in the city, into 8 districts which have been kept under the same administrative system to the present. Mohamed Ali's economic venture in Egypt had little effect on Cairo's physiognomy; however, his rule did deal with certain pressing urban problems, such as the formation of a strong police (whose role was to restore order and security) and changes in the organization of justice (delegating increased authority to local officers rather than the one appointed by Constantinople). Again the physical changes of Cairo involved mainly constructing palaces, and roads leading to them, but forbidding their access to the public. Today these roads have become major thoroughfares of modern Cairo.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Cairo was a city divided both physically and culturally. To the west were wealth, "modernity," and a significant foreign population, which under British rule "monopolized the important government posts and enjoyed privileges, exemptions and a style of life that made them the envy not only of Egyptians but of their countrymen at home as well." Since the construction of the Suez Canal had propelled Egypt onto the international scene, the ruling Khedive became personally concerned about the embellishment of urban Cairo and both public works and municipal utilities were implemented. However, the eastern part of the city was still in the pre-industrial era, with its old street structure, water delivery system, no lights after dark, and with no gardens, parks or macadamized streets.

Modern Egypt in the 1920's and 1930's was the scene of industrial ventures, agricultural innovation, and intensification of production. There was also an unprecedented demographic explosion, caused by decreasing death rates and a constant increase in birth rates. Even more significant and striking is that during the last fifty years, "Cairo has been growing faster than Egypt and has been absorbing a larger and larger proportion of the country's rapidly multi-

plying inhabitants." Not only did immigrants from rural areas outnumber the old Cairene population, but the number of foreigners who migrated to Egypt--mainly to Cairo--kept increasing. The old technological order of the city could not meet the necessary supply and demand requirements, especially in terms of the space needed for housing and facilities. Besides such physical problems, maladministration contributed to its stagnation. Cairo had no means through which local projects and goals could be municipally financed, and "local institutions for financing private urban development on a modern scale" were lacking.

The metropolitan scale of modern Cairo has had at least one main effect on the city's social organization: it has contributed to increasing social homogeneity, blending "the cultural and technological worlds into which Cairo has been subdivided." However, a different type of differentiation, based on economic standards from the new industrial urbanism, will replace socio-cultural factors in regulating the distribution of population in Cairo.

The author ends with a question: how will two inevitably connected groups, representing opposed social processes, be resolved? On the one hand, there are the "small identities, family and individual"; on the other, there are the "large identities of Cairene and Egyptian." Both interact through webs of religion, harat, small industries, and multiple facets of social life in an ever-growing metropolis; while the city itself is caught in a tentacular spread of industrialization and economic growth amidst population explosion, political transformation, and more. Almost philosophically Cairo, the City Victorious, witnesses its perpetual survival.

This book is an excellent account of the development of Cairo, put in various national and international perspectives. It is accessible to a specialist in urban planning, someone acquainted with the history of Egypt and Cairo, or someone alien to both. The ability of the book to reach such a wide audience shows a quality and clarity not often found in academic publications.

Buttner, F., "Political Stability without Stable Institutions: The Retraditionalization of Egypt's Polity," Orient, vol. 20, no. (March), pp. 53-67 (1970). GENERAL DEVELOPMENT IDEOLOGY INFORMAL PROCESSES

The goal of this article is to show how an "underdeveloped" country like Egypt, going through various periods of change, is still politically stable. The author approaches the issue by attempting to answer two questions. First, what are the processes accounting for the stability and continuity of the Egyptian political system since the 1952 revolution? Second, how did the political system, in spite of weak institutions, initiate and sustain social and economic transformations?

Leonard Binder has claimed that traditional institutions provided insufficient means for approaching the political goals of the Nasser and Sadat regimes, so state institutions became centers of political authority and decision-making. According to Buttner, Binder's argument doesn't hold. Egypt's process towards "modernization" has been actively generated by the "retraditionalization" of its political culture and, consequently, its whole socio-cultural system. By retraditionalization Buttner means the use of local political structures to achieve "modernity": "It is an endeavor to reduce dependency in all spheres: politically, economically, culturally and mentally." This concept doesn't entail religious fundamentalism and return to "tradition"; rather, it permits examination of attempts to modernize while retaining cultural identity.

To understand the political stability of Egypt, Buttner discusses the informal political system, based on networks of personal relations, rather than the institutional system. Buttner studies this particular form of political organization because he believes it clarifies the structure of the whole political system, particularly with regard to political decision-making and ideology.

Egypt is an "unincorporated" society because informal networks of personal relations and clientelism have been more important than formal institutions in achieving political aims and economic changes. Both systems may function similarly, but since 1952 two elite systems have developed. One involves the core political group which led the revolution and which became a consolidated power elite with very little turnover during the years following. The second group had a wider base though it was still organized by key figures from the inner group. Thus the political elite drew together a wide range of officers, technocrats, etc., who functioned as a clientage network encompassing continuously shifting alliances between various factions and cliques.

Generally, the core political group transmitted political directives and controlled their execution by the wider political group.

The new government never came up with a "radical" ideology. Nasser and Sadat did not rely on an ideology based on class struggle but rather on one emphasizing mass cooperation. Nasser wanted to improve the situation of the masses, but the inner political elite around him was still made of military followers and technocrats he could trust. No masses were involved in the political decision-making process. As a consequence, independent organizations and movements did not take off, and the bureaucracy did not provide incentives for change.

The army's traditional structure did not initiate change, because it was more concerned with the protection of its constituency and members. Moreover, it was not ready to undergo radical structural changes in order to mobilize the masses. Similarly, the state bureaucracy was controlled by the core elite; thus it was subject to political manipulation rather than functioning in an autonomous way. In addition it solicited support for the regime through extensions of the traditional clientage system.

The viability of this weak totalitarian system depended upon the expansion of clientelism. The political leadership never allowed the development of autonomous organizations. Extensively using patron-client relations, it continuously reshuffled the political scene; thus Sadat's liberalization after 1976 was nothing more than a reinforcement of his personal politics, consolidated by "brokerage" from the center to the periphery.

Nasser's policies towards development and modernization were successful--at least in expressive form--because be emphasized local traditions and the revival of local identities in the process of development. However, in the long run clientelism also muffled his attempts at development. Similarly, Sadat's policy was based on clientelism. While not offering any particular ideology, he did use traditional images to consolidate his power and to present a cult of personality as an alternative to a national ideology. Thus he emphasized religious precepts and his peasant background, among other factors.

Buttner's article is an interesting attempt to explain political rationalization and "stability" through informal political networks and systems, although he doesn't provide statistical data and evidence to substantiate his analysis. Also, his presentation of the interaction and growing relationship between the formal and informal political elites is a consistent model that could be useful in cross-cultural analysis.

Clawsen, P., "Egypt's Industrialization: A Critique of Dependency Theory," MERIP Reports, vol. 72, pp. 17-23 (1978). GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY INDUSTRY INDUS-OTHER

In this article the author examines how dependency theory may help to explain the process of industrialization in Egypt from the end of World War I until the 1952 revolution.

Clausen first presents various interpretations of dependency theory. One current orientation claims that the integration of peripheral societies (which are "underdeveloped") to the world market is determined by the type of relations they have towards the center economies (which are "developed"). While some claim dependency is based on power relations between the periphery and the center, others (e.g., S. Amin) see the international division of labor as underlying and defining such power relations.

Clausen's theoretical orientation assumes that the dependency of Middle East economies on the West is rooted in the laws of accumulation of capital. Thus while dependency theory views the center as slowing the development of backward countries, Clawsen's alternative is that the center influences the development or non-development of the periphery, depending on which will more benefit its capital accumulation.

Egypt was integrated into the capitalist world market through cotton production. In the early twentieth century the European economy was booming and in need of raw materials; thus it pushed Egypt into intensifying commercial agriculture, especially that for cotton. However, capitalist industry did not emerge in Egypt until after World War I, due to the preservation of more traditional modes of production by local and international class relations. The growing dependence on foreign capital, and consequent foreign control, even impeded the transition to industrial capitalism. Moreover, Western manufactured goods already dominated the local market because of the destruction of Egyptian guilds in the 1880's.

Egyptian industrialization gradually did emerge as a result of factors favoring capital accumulation by the center. Finance capital sought investments with high return in the colonies; Egypt provided a location for the development of industry in addition to being a market and provider of raw materials. Industrial development was pushed by foreign investment and not by a local bourgeoisie fighting imperialism to reach its own goals. Marxist analysis often advances arguments that members of a national bourgeoisie--

i.e., small capitalists involved in industrial development within a nation and therefore in opposition to imperialist interests--are among the first to join nationalist movements, while members of a large bourgeoisie (or a "comprador" class made of large absentee landowners and traders) are tied to foreign capital. Consequently, antagonism arises between those two segments of the bourgeoisie. Amin's counterargument is that a national bourgeoisie forces imperialism into a new division of labor with which the comprador class cooperates: if a national bourgeoisie develops, it rapidly becomes co-opted by imperialism and the center economies.

According to Clawsen, this analytic distinction between types of bourgeoisie doesn't apply to the political economy of Egypt. Many large landholders invested in industry, finance, and banking--the economic sectors which in the 1920's and 1930's were involved in Egyptian industrialization. Moreover, the national bourgeoisie encouraged foreign capital. Thus opposition between the two types of bourgeoisie was not an important factor because industry was financed by banks relying on investments from the landlord class. Accordingly, the nationalist movement drew, not on the Egyptian national bourgeoisie or landlords, but on the petty bourgeoisie. This group lacked means to recover their losses when industry failed, unlike the national bourgeoisie who could fall back on their alliance with landlords, so it supported attempts to establish an independent economy.

The strength of this article is that it presents a convincing alternative to one version of dependency theory. However, socio-cultural and political contexts need to be added to the analysis (as the author acknowledges) to clarify processes by which Egypt's industrial development occurred.

Daoud-Agha, A., Military Elites, Military-Led Social Movements and the Social Structures in Developing Countries: A Comparative Study of Egypt and Syria, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley (1970). GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

This doctoral dissertation is an interesting attempt at comparative analysis of two Arab nations. At the time of its writing (1970), both Egypt and Syria had been ruled for decades by military elites, but with different consequences. In Egypt, the military elite had been in office since 1952 and had consolidated both power and legitimacy among its constituency. In Syria, a number of military groups had succeeded each other since 1949 without a successful consolidation of power or legitimacy. (Since 1970, of course, the tendencies have somewhat reversed, as indicated by the assassination of Sadat and the continuity of Asad.)

The author attempts a structural analysis of each society to explain the differences between the respective outcomes. The main assumption guiding his research is that both nations share similar cultural backgrounds (and citations are given to literature supporting this assumption). Consequently, to understand the different strategies and outcomes of each military elite, he feels it necessary to investigate social structure in each society.

Daoud-Agha next examines significant aspects of each country's social structure, including its population growth, migration patterns, urbanization, industry, labor, and military elite. However, the conclusion he draws from this examination is that the "difference between the careers and outcomes of the military-led movements in both countries is not due to the differences in the two countries' respective social structures." That is, Daoud-Agha feels he failed in attempting to understand the differences in terms of a structural analysis: while social structure ought to determine individual and group action, according to structural analysis, in fact "no successful attempt has been made to empirically prove the validity of its deterministic assumption in everyday life situations or isolate the mechanisms through which social structure determines individual and group action in the ongoing social process."

To supplement this analysis, the author then presents alternative explanations for the differences in careers and outcomes of the two military elites. He especially favors symbolic interactionism as a guiding theoretical concept and methodology. As social structure is a product of social processes, he says, the differences between the two military elites have to be assessed in terms of such processes. This

can be "empirically" pursued through observation of the "empirical social actions" of the two military elites--that is, through observation of processes of interaction and through analysis of the "objects" and situations of interaction as social actors perceive them.

The contribution of this thesis is mainly critical: the author attempts to compare the different outcomes of similar social groups in two societies which by tradition (both in social science and in the political rhetoric of their leaders) are part of one cultural area; he also critiques the validity of the theory and methodology used in his analysis. Such an "autocritique" is seldom seen and thus deserves mention. The study's major weakness, in contrast, is theoretical. Although Arab societies as a whole share some cultural background, each society generates particular features of social structure coherent with its ecology, history, relations to other societies, etc. Accordingly, a "common cultural background" may vary in both organization and content from one society to another, and additional factors must also be examined to account for the different careers and consequences of the two elites.

El-Guindi, F., "Veiling Infitah with Muslim Ethics: Egypt's Contemporary Islamic Movement," Social Problems, vol.28, no. 4, pp.465-85 (1981). BASIC HUMAN NEEDS STATUS OF WOMEN GENERAL DEVELOPMENT IDEOLOGY SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

The present article is a study of a particular Islamic movement in Egypt, the "Mitdayyinun (religieux/religieuses)". The author asserts that Islamic movements are socio-religious phenomena; hence, "the generality of this phenomenon clearly prohibits treating the Islamic movement as unusual, culture specific or rare." Two theoretical orientations may be used to understand the case study: the ideational, which brings analysis close to native thoughts, and the Marxist. For the purposes of this article, the ideational model is used.

The Islamic Movement in Egypt has particularly expanded following the implementation of the "open door policy." The Mitdayyinun have interpreted Infitah as a unilateral and undifferentiated orientation towards the West; the resulting economic policies encouraged consumerism and materialism, which in turn have influenced the socio-moral levels of local lifestyles. Moreover, these policies have generated new forms of inequality--e.g., the wealthy entrepreneur, not al-

ways educated, versus the poor university graduate, educated but unemployed. Corruption and immorality are perceived as ramifications of this inequality. Hence, today "infitah seems to go hand in hand with inhilal ('societal disintegration')." During the Nasser era premises for social transformations were established, as mass education was introduced and women were admitted into education and the job market. The traditionally male-dominated public space became a place of conflict and harassment for women, as men reminded them that they were intruding outside their "natural" setting.

Women wearing Islamic dress (a common characteristic of the movement) today are seen in Egyptian universities, schools, and working places. The common interpretation given to such social behavior has been in terms of a return to tradition, an uncorrupted self, a rejection of the new political and economic orientations, and a safeguard of cultural identity. The author's perceptive counterargument states that some characteristics of the movement (e.g., dress and sexual segregation in public) are not a return to tradition, but on the contrary a process through which women may pursue their participation and contribution to all spheres of socioeconomic and political life. Islamic dress and other symbolism some women physically and morally adopt have a twofold function: on one hand, they allow women to appropriate religious ethics that were before the prerogatives of men; and on the other, they permit women to conquer public space without harassment or annoyance from males, and particularly without the blame for provoking harassment. This movement then is not a symbol of social protest, but an articulation of modernity with tradition, an integration of religion and secular institutions: "so it is in the name of Islam and guided by Muslim Ethics that this new Egyptian woman is liberating herself, and her male kin, by choosing to 'veil' so as not to be molested or stopped when invading public space with full force, as she certainly is."

The article is a refreshing alternative and a contribution to the increasing literature on religious movements as they relate to political transformations in developing nations. The theoretical orientation, unlike most structuralist analysis, gives a cogent and sensible explanation for a social process that is far more complex than the common explanation given it today. The ability of the author to present peoples' perceptions of development and change, and how such perceptions articulate with their daily experience in view of various dilemmas produced by social transformations, shows how individuals make consistent decisions about socio-political situations that are inconsistent.

El-Sabbagh, Z., An Analysis of the Political Changes on Labor Unions in Egypt, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, North Texas State University (1977). GENERAL DEVELOPMENT DOMESTIC POLITICAL ECONOMY

The present thesis is a historical study of the interaction between politics and labor unions in Egypt between 1960 and 1967: it concludes that interaction was not beneficial to the latter. In 1960 Egypt officially adopted a socialist orientation: only one political party was allowed (the Arab Socialist Union); and a number of laws were introduced, affecting labor union functions and organization, and industrial relations more broadly.

El-Sabbagh surveys the development of labor unions and legislation, political transformations from 1960-67, the impact of socialist laws on economic development, and the relations between labor unions and the government. According to the author, the Egyptian government reinforced its internal political power by directly interfering in labor relations, labor unions, and labor legislation. However, political decisions were made independently of labor unions; thus unions were bypassed for political support. The Arab Socialist Union appointed its own people in control of union representatives, undermining the latters' functions and legitimacy. The socialist laws applied by the government did not take into account economic conditions, social traditions, or cultural norms in the society. For instance, laws were implemented for workers to share profits of the industry in which they worked. The results were disastrous because these sums of money were spent by low-wage families to buy basic necessities, thus reducing national savings badly needed for investments. Again, the laws implemented did not take into account the existing industrial relations. Management did not trust workers, and vice versa; hence, the laws were rarely implemented. Furthermore management, often having personal connections with the leadership of the Arab Socialist Union, "reinterpreted" laws to its own benefit. Finally, the hierarchy of representation in industry included workers' representatives, union leaders, and Arab Socialist Union leaders: "These tripartite representative structures appealed to the same constituency and competed with each other for power and influence; this in turn, caused conflict and tension. The losers were the workers who became dissatisfied and, consequently, less productive."

The attempts to generate a socialist government and society failed: the ideology was not clearly stated or implemented at the beginning; thus it was open to interpretation and manipulation by individuals in various spheres of power. Laws may have been inspired by ideals to achieve social justice and wide political participation. However, the analogy

of the empty vessel (imposing plans and projects on social groups while ignoring the cultural organization already providing models for their decision-making) seems to illustrate the point quite well, and to explicate the shortcomings of the socialist venture from 1960 to 1967. Implementing new laws, regulations, and ideals may lead to confrontation and rejection, as well as to incorporation and change. Moreover, social groups do not automatically accept change until it has been tested; and if political force (oppression) can coerce people to follow certain decisions, it also may generate opposition--i.e., resistance, conflict, and alternative strategies.

Faksh, M., "The Chimera of Education for Development in Egypt: The Socio-Economic Roles of University Graduates," Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 229-40 (1977). EDUCATION PROFESSIONAL AND HIGHER

Developing nations often perceive the expansion of education as a prerequisite for economic development and national prosperity. According to this view, literacy eradicates ignorance, stimulates individuals to improve their lot, and leads to social and economic progress for the society. Although the author agrees that education and literacy are necessary to national development, he concludes that educational programs in Egypt have produced minimal benefits, because they did not ultimately serve the purposes they were expected to.

While Egypt is in a period of rapid "development," two factors have affected this process: the fast-growing population accelerates it, while limited natural resources slow it. Using Lerner's model for the interaction of education and modernization in developing countries, Faksh finds that Egyptian education since 1950 has instilled "in the individual the mobile personality--a high capacity for identification with new aspects of life." Furthermore, statistical surveys of schoolgoers during the 1950's and 1960's indicate that they had increasing job expectations for themselves and their future spouses. In the same period the Egyptian government pushed for rapid industrialization by favoring the public sector at the expense of the private one. Consequently, the government became the main job provider.

The number of university graduates increased so that it outgrew the real capacity for job absorption in various sectors of the economy. While the public sector was the major job provider, people also had high expectations about that

sector: not only was the government a channel toward jobs and careers, it also was the major provider of them. Hence, the government was in a position where it had to create jobs to disguise unemployment, but the individuals in those jobs did not use the skills they had learned. Adding to these problems was a continuous migration of rural population to the city, which overburdened the already crowded job market.

According to the author, education in the rural areas has had a considerable impact on the structural organization of villages. For instance, with higher social and economic expectations in mind, many educated people have migrated to cities. (Although it is plausible that education in villages has influenced beliefs and expectations, it seems that the precarious economic situation of the Egyptian countryside contributes more to the migratory trend. A way to clarify the impact of such factors would be to survey the migrants to large cities for their age ranges, the level of education in each age group, and the proportion of migrants who enroll in educational programs as compared to those who join the job market.)

In view of the low ratio of jobs to university graduates, the author raises two problems. First, the bulk of graduates are in disciplines--art, law, commerce--where there are few jobs; they thus become "unproductive and destabilizing unemployables." Second, there is an increasing need for graduate students in scientific disciplines--mainly technicians. It is particularly in this area that the government failed to provide what was necessary to the industrial sector. Most institutes are inadequately organized for the industrial needs of the country, and "no effective formal training program for such personnel exists today."

Even more worrying is the general consensus concerning low levels of competence among most graduates. This criticism was addressed in an annual report by the Head of the Civil Service Commission which indicates that--besides government inability to provide "real" jobs and to meet individuals' expectations--the educational system and curricula are inadequate and dysfunctional. The author presents a few factors contributing to this particular discrepancy--for instance, reliance on rote memory and presentation of facts with no attempt to make connections between them, overcrowding and understaffing of classes, etc. He explains that "rote memory" refers to reliance on discipline and behavioral compliance in the classroom or in the educational environment in general. However, Faksh recognizes that this is not particular to the school or university setting but represents general cultural beliefs and expectations within the larger social organization, the family, and the working environment. As for the understaffing and overcrowding of classrooms, the root of these problems seems to be an inadequate use of resources, particularly in light of statistics

showing that the field of education produces among the highest numbers of graduates in the country.

One of the recommendations of the author is to increase the technical training of graduates because this is where the need of the economy lies. If the economy provides real jobs, it will reduce the political instability resulting from individuals' rising expectations without opportunities to satisfy them.

Hammam, M., Women Workers and the Practice of Freedom as Education: The Egyptian Experience, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kansas (1977). BASIC HUMAN NEEDS STATUS OF WOMEN

Using Paulo Freire's model of education, Hammam says that particular epochs are marked by dominant themes; that is, they are "characterized by a complex of ideas and concepts, hopes, and challenges in dialectical interaction with their opposites, striving towards plenitude." The epoch covered by her research is marked by the themes of domination and its opposite, liberation. Hence, human society is organized into "oppressors" and "oppressed"; and education becomes a process by which individuals develop a consciousness, leading to liberation. To achieve that consciousness, education must be political in its broader sense; that is, the oppressed should actively set the format and context of "learning." On another level, the author compares this process of formal education with informal, mass-based, social liberation movements.

Focusing on Egypt, the author attempts to localize manifestations of the themes of domination and liberation during the society's transition from feudalism to industrial and agricultural capitalism. The first stage in the transition occurred during Mohamed Ali's era. In economic terms this meant a transition from feudal to industrial production; in political and social terms it meant the centralization of power by establishing a state bureaucracy and secular education. The process of modernization from 1816-78 caused the development of middle and working classes. In that historical context women were transformed as well: they were already participating in commodity production in home industries; increasingly they were "drawn into factory work by the state monopolies." Moreover, the modern school system (mainly nursing schools) drew in women. Similarly, the author states that slave women, who were emancipated during that epoch, could "choose"--unlike women in other social

categories--to become wage earners.

Secular education provided various strata of the Egyptian society with themes to vocalize their liberation from feudalism and foreign oppression. While the bourgeoisie "struggled" for liberation from feudalism, it increasingly sought to establish its own forms of domination over others. In socioeconomic terms, the bourgeoisie revolutionized the instruments of production to increase the rate of exploitation of labor, which was its source of profit. Thus, an outgrowth of the liberation of the bourgeoisie was the development of a modern proletariat "stripped of all ownership of either the instruments or the products of their labor." Although each social group perceived the process of national liberation in terms of its respective sociopolitical reality, the overall theme of national liberation unified all. The following years saw the reshaping of the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy within a national context.

For the bourgeoisie, liberation meant control over home markets and consequent ventures on the international one as a valid competitor to other bourgeoisies. Both goals were not attained because of foreign control over both national and international markets and economies. Similarly, the Egyptian proletariat failed in its venture towards liberation. While it had a history of honorable political consciousness and struggle, the movement was weakened by internal conflicts and problems of organization; the Communist party, which often represents the leadership of the proletariat, sought alliances with various political parties instead of "striking roots in the working class." The third social category involved in this process of liberation was women. They have been exposed to a dual type of domination by males--one inherited "from the division of labor according to sex," and the other contained in Islamic laws. The concept of women's liberation had roots in the overall movement for national liberation; moreover, it was part of the cultural ideology of class transformation. Again there was heterogeneity in perceptions of liberation and socioeconomic realities, as different goals and strategies were pursued by women in different classes. In addition, speakers for women's liberation movements laid down goals that were cogent with the "transitional phase" of Egypt's entrance into capitalism, both locally and internationally.

In light of these political transformations both at state and individual levels, the author explains when formal education does not lead to the practice of freedom. So long as the state holds arbitrary power in a society divided into oppressor/oppressed classes, and the proletariat has no access to power, freedom can occur only in the realm of subversion.

The present thesis uses a Marxist orientation to unrav-

el fundamental dialectical problems and to articulate them in political and existential terms. However, the solutions advocated only add to the vast literature covering the subjects of oppression and liberation. It is clear that unified action by various social groups with different interests may lead to national liberation, but once that stage is passed old modes of oppression may reemerge. Identifying the nature and processes of oppression may initiate movement towards the generation of collective consciousness but identification is not enough: collective actions, in addition to political ideology, are needed to guide formal education toward a true practice of freedom.

Hinnebusch, R., "Egypt Under Sadat: Elites, Power Structure and Political Change in a Post-Populist State," Social Problems, vol. 28, no. (April), pp. 442-64 (1981).
GENERAL DEVELOPMENT DOMESTIC POLITICAL ECONOMY

In this article the author intends to show the transformation of Egypt's political structure from Nasser's authoritarian and national-populist state to Sadat's post-populist regime.

After the 1952 revolution, an emerging middle class seized the political power traditionally held by the upper class. This middle class became an active proponent of an independent modernizing state, where power and wealth would be redistributed more evenly among the various classes of society. These ideals generated broad support from the lower classes; in reality, however, political power and authority rested in the hands of a "charismatic" leader and a military elite. Consequently, control was exerted through an authoritarian bureaucracy whose ramifications touched all aspects of socioeconomic and political life. From 1971 on, Sadat's political venture--mainly the "open door" policy and the orientation both politically and economically towards the West--somewhat changed the "social structure of the society."

The author presents two theoretical concepts on political development which can help explain the political transformations in Egypt over the past decade. In a system characterized by pluralization and absorption, the free rise of elites through competition for mass support is encouraged by the leadership; consequently, the absorptive and representative capacity of the political system expands, and ultimately all the "various socio-political forces are incorporated into it as participants." The second model is

based on conservatization and exclusion. In this system "diffusion of power" is resisted, rather than encouraged, by the political elite. This elite tends to dissociate itself from the populist ideology it originally pursued and seeks its own interests exclusively. It shifts towards a conservative orientation: "a gradual social transformation of the elite, from a previously deprived 'new middle class' in conflict with the traditional establishment, into a new bourgeoisie of wealth and power defending the status quo from rising mass demand and advancing its interests through the reintegration into the world capitalist system."

While the new leadership had the same structural organization as the old one--the president as the only source of "major policy or ideological innovation" and of personalized power--the content of Sadat's power differed from Nasser's. Sadat stressed a "traditional, patriarchal" image of the nation state, thus linking his power to the values of authority and unilateral control. In other words, he tolerated liberalization towards an elite which would accept his leadership; at the same time the tradition/patriarchal image curtailed a "significant opening up of the political system" to lower classes in the society. Transformations in society can result from a number of changes directly or indirectly encouraged by a political leader. In the present case this happened, first, as the military elite became more conservative--its "demilitarization" ideologically and socioeconomically--and second, as the bourgeoisie slowly dismissed originally nationalist ideologies and increasingly became lost in intra-elite conflicts, competing for the "subordination" of national to international capital. While Sadat relaxed his control over society, encouraging bourgeois involvement in the state, he nevertheless refrained from a true pluralization of power (and thus mass support and mobilization) by "creating" a multiparty system. This seeming liberalization of the political scene was in fact a compromise in which relative political leverage was accorded to the bourgeoisie in return for legitimation of the leader without mass mobilization. These types of rapport in the political sphere were best established through "uninstitutionalized" networks; consequently, it was very difficult to identify or oppose them systematically.

A final, more general point made by the author is that this authoritarian/conservative and "pluralistic" political system is not particular to Egypt but is manifested in many Third World nations. It is generated by interrelations between an emerging bourgeoisie and the leadership in power (usually led by the military), with the former aiming for increased integration of the national economy into the international system, and the latter concerned with legitimation of its power and authority, while the masses are kept subordinate.

Howard-Merriam, K., "Women, Education, and the Professions in Egypt," Comparative Education Review, vol. 23, no. (January), pp. 256-70 (1979). EDUCATION ED-OTHER

The present article is based on the theoretical assumption that education performs two roles. First, it is a process through which individuals "learn" to function appropriately in the "modern world" and, consequently, to change their attitudes about some traditional socio-cultural concepts (family, kinship, etc.). And second, education facilitates social mobility.

In the case of Egypt, education for women has been part of a wider program actively implemented by the government since 1952, especially in higher education. Concurrently, employment policies have sustained the effort to "feminize the professions and have launched a movement for social change in the activities of both men and women." While government policies have thus encouraged women's participation in national development, socio-cultural values and norms (in addition to some economic practices) have often curtailed or slowed these policies and still influence decision-making about education and employment.

Before the 1952 revolution Egypt followed a restrictive education policy: "educate only those who can be absorbed easily by a government of limited resources, with due regard for the cultural prescriptions of the country." Since the revolution the primary goal has been to reduce social inequality between rich and poor, and between urban and rural areas, leading to an effort to universalize education. Thus, concern about women's education was not a primary goal as much as one aspect among others in the direction of social justice. This was further illustrated by granting women the right to vote in 1956 and legislating equal pay for equal work performed by either sex.

Urban women were the first to benefit from efforts to broaden education; rural women have been more constrained by cultural norms. However, the massive construction of schools and universities in rural regions has helped increase the enrollment of both men and women, particularly that of women who would not move to urban areas for education because of cultural pressures. Between 1960 and 1974 women's enrollment increased from 9 to 28 per cent at the secondary level, and from 1.68 to 7.40 per cent at the higher (university/institute) level. Significantly, women enroll in predominantly scientific fields; socio-cultural and economic factors are perceived as the major reasons for this trend. The ideology of the new regime emphasized scientific transformations of the social structure, so women who entered scientific fields stood a higher chance of bene-

fiting from this ideology and increasing their economic opportunities.

Government educational programs have not always been updated and followed systematically. Priority has often gone to agricultural reforms and industrial investments; hence, understaffing, class overcrowding, and weakened curricula content have burdened the achievement of educational legislation. In terms of occupational field, the author notes that the majority of women work in professional groups rather than administrative/executive groups. Usually women have top executive positions in jobs traditionally held by women (like education) or in new fields (like audio-visual communication), where male predominance has not yet been established. The low participation of women in executive positions of the government may be explained in terms of the structure and nature of the jobs, which apparently lack provisions for women with family priorities. Also, some jobs require regional movement as part of the promotion systems and, again, women with family responsibilities are less able to move freely.

The present article shows interconnections among factors influencing the education of women in Egypt. Political ideology and cultural values have often clashed; however, economic conditions have "forced" individuals to reconsider their cultural values against pressing realities. Moreover, the article indicates shortcomings of educational policies in the context of national priorities, which in turn puts women's issues in a wider perspective. A particularly interesting note is the distribution of women in professions: while they tend to work more in "traditional" areas than in others, they participate in full force with men in new fields. This indicates that women's increasing participation in new jobs may ultimately lead to their participation in a broader spectrum of professions.

Khalifa, A., "Rural-Urban Fertility Differences and Trends in Egypt, 1930-70," in Women's Status and Fertility in the Muslim World," ed. J. Allman, pp. 77-94, Praeger, New York (1978). POPULATION FAMILY PLANNING

A standard demographic explanation of population change postulates that a primary phase is characterized by declining death rates while birth rates remain high; then a phase follows when population growth decreases almost to the rate of deaths; and finally an "equilibrium" state is reached. The theoretical assumption underlying the present study is that social structure is the main cause for fertility differences between rural and urban areas. According to the author, one process of change in social structure is urbanization: urban life affects individual belief systems, attitudes, and socioeconomic priorities; in turn, these experiential/existential changes affect perceptions and behavior about fertility. However, in the case of developing nations, "geographic mobility from the rural to the urban doesn't bring about any appreciable social mobility and the way of life of the new arrivals in the city remains automatically entail a significant difference in fertility level.

The present study is divided into two major parts--from the turn of the twentieth century to the mid-1940's, and from then until 1970. The period 1900-40 was characterized by higher birth rates in rural areas than in urban ones. Following World War II, urban fertility increased gradually, reaching a peak by 1955, then started a slight downward movement; rural fertility remained near its prewar rate. Hence, very little differential is seen between rural and urban birth rates when using censuses of 1947 and 1960. The reason behind this situation is that a large proportion of the urban population had rural roots, and the urban milieu carried little influence on them. In contrast, from 1960 on the fertility rate slowly and persistently decreased in urban areas, widening the gap between them and rural areas. Although the reasons for fertility decline have not been established, the author infers that population policies and family planning probably contributed to this trend, along with "socioeconomic changes" (not explained in the article) and the 1967 war. An analysis of fertility rates by age of mother shows that, again, rural rates are higher than urban ones: "urban fertility reaches its peak in the age group 15-29, whereas it peaks in the age group 30-34 in the rural areas."

While Egyptian data recording fertility trends go back quite far, a number of factors should be kept in mind about their validity. For instance, in the rural areas underreporting of births occurred in the early censuses due to

lack of medical facilities available to peasants. Rural girls were not always registered, so the ratio of females to males is much higher in urban areas. Finally, rural infants who died immediately were often not reported. Hence, these omissions tend to modify the overall estimate of rural-urban fertility. In the case of the data on urban fertility, some caution is also to be observed: for instance, with the increased migratory movement towards major cities, an increase in fertility rate is observed. However, many recent migrants return to their villages to give birth, increasing rural birth percentages, while in fact they usually return to the city to live. On the other hand, infants born in large hospitals (which are located only in large cities) are automatically registered in the urban sector.

In conclusion, the author believes that, although population growth has been moderating only slowly, a trend has started in that direction, particularly in urban areas. Thus the development of an "urban mentality," combined with a high rate of rural migration, has set the scene for a definite reduction of population fertility.

This short essay is interesting for its combination of statistical data and socio-cultural analysis. For instance, it clarifies trends in population increase or decrease by looking at aspects of migration and the effects they have on the validity of surveys.

Korany, B., Social Change, Charisma and International Behavior: Toward a Theory of Foreign Policy-Making in the Third World, A. W. Sijthoff, Leiden (1976). GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY SCIENCE SOCIAL

The present book focuses on the foreign policy of non-alignment in the Third World. Very little of a systematic nature has been written on the subject, whether by outsiders or by members of the non-aligned nations. Hence, this study is a welcome addition to theories of international relations. The author contends that analysis of foreign policies of underdeveloped countries is still at the level of theory-building. Thus in the present research he uses two assumptions alternatively: the "interchangeability" assumption (where all actors are interchangeable), and the "small-state-as-pawn" assumption (where big powers take advantage of smaller ones).

Egypt's non-alignment carries significant nationalistic

overtones, indicative of this politico-historical context. Arab nationalism, on the one hand, and the local struggle for national independence, on the other, affected attitudes of the Egyptian leadership towards international conflicts: "Egyptian non-alignment...was waged as a continuation of the struggle for national liberation. The exercise of positive neutralism was a nationalistic assertion of the right to self-determination and freedom of orientation during its difficult period of economic development and social modernization." The neutralist attitude has old political antecedents: at the turn of the century the slogan "Egypt for Egyptians" underscored the neutral role the nation's leaders wanted to assume during the Italian invasion of Libya. After the Second World War, Egypt was more concerned with issues such as national independence or the war in Palestine than with the ideological struggle generated by the Cold War. This displayed pragmatism and followed an evolutionary trend.

In a primary phase of its evolution Egypt's non-alignment was dependent on the West; later, starting in 1955, a "corrective" process took place in which Egypt initiated a "rapprochement" with the Eastern bloc. This trend was due to the deterioration of relations with France and Britain after the Suez attack, and a virtual American boycott under the aegis of Dulles. A third phase witnessed a relative relaxation of tension between Egypt and Western powers coinciding with the conflict, at the regional level, of Arab nationalism and Communism. After the 1967 war, Egypt's non-alignment took new directions. In terms of international behavior, it became conspicuously silent when Warsaw Pact troops entered Czechoslovakia. This was indicative of Egypt's growing alliance and dependence on the Soviet Union for military supplies. Nasser evoked "the dictates of necessity and the simple instinct of self-preservation to explain the evolution of his non-alignment after 1967."

Hence, Egyptian non-alignment was characterized by pragmatism and flexibility. Its main objective was to keep Egypt "diplomatically as free as possible from prior commitment to either East or West, so that all issues could be judged on their own merits, rather than as they fitted into one or other of the superpowers' schemes."

Mabro, R. and S. Radwan, The Industrialization of Egypt, 1939-1973: Policy and Performance, Oxford University Press, London (1976. INDUSTRY INDUS-OTHER GENERAL DEVELOPMENT DOMESTIC POLITICAL ECONOMY

The purpose of the present book is to understand the reasons for Egypt's inability to build a stable industrial sector until the 1950's. In assessing the various attempts at industrialization, the authors take a historical perspective on Egypt's development between 1838 and 1973. Several forms of economic analysis are used to delineate chronological periods and to account for factors influencing industrial growth toward particular directions.

The book is divided into four nonsequential parts. It starts with a survey of Mohamed Ali's era and early efforts towards industrialization, including information on the economy and policy implementations for industrial productivity during that time. Next the period 1838-1970 is covered, focusing on economic performance. Then the last two sections of the book discuss the period from the end of World War I until 1973. The first examines labor, capital, techniques of production, and output in the Egyptian economy; the other surveys the policies concerning import dependence and import substitutions.

Mohamed Ali's move towards industrialization has been analyzed in terms of financial gain and military goals. Although it is correct that he encouraged military industry, he nonetheless intended to create a diversified and state-owned industrial sector, in an attempt to move Egypt towards independence and self-sufficiency. By encouraging local production of goods otherwise imported, Mohamed Ali was complementing a military build-up to ensure stability and independence for the country.

Numerous arguments have been put forward to explain the failure of this industrial venture. While certain industries were successful, others failed because they were unable to compete with imported products in quality and price. A paucity of natural resources available locally, labor shortages, and a corrupt administration also seriously hampered economic development. However, these factors were not sufficient to produce economic failure in other countries, so the authors acknowledge that a combination of various socioeconomic and political factors caused the early industrial collapse. Mohamed Ali encouraged the development of state industry; however, he was unable to organize the state agencies necessary for efficient functioning of the new economic order. As a result, strong reliance on foreign investments curtailed national independence and self-sufficiency at a time when foreign powers were at the height

of their expansion. Moreover, the Anglo-Turkish Treaty (allowing European privileges and no state monopoly) was a further step towards Egypt's dependence on foreign powers.

During the period from 1850 until the end of World War I, Egypt became an export-oriented state whose economy was based on agriculture and whose developing industries derived only from that sector. Export profits were used for consumption goods, transferred abroad (most often to pay the public debt), or reinvested in similar industries and agricultural schemes. What is noteworthy is the pattern of ownership and investment of the local bourgeoisie: "neither government securities nor bank deposits can be regarded as real investment alternatives, and...the real choice open to Egyptian investors was between rural land, urban property and company shares." According to the authors, investors persisted in this pattern of investment for three reasons. First, from the nineteenth century on, the Egyptian bourgeoisie relied almost exclusively on landownership. Second, foreigners who invested in industry had privileged treatment and better connections with foreign sources of finance and technology. And third, government policies encouraged the production and export of cotton exclusively.

Starting in the late 1920's, Egypt's economic system relied on free enterprise, and policy frameworks reflected this direction. Tariffs and control over imports encouraged investment in local industries to replace imported products. By raising tariffs the government protected the already existing industries--for sugar, coarse yarn, and rubber shoes, among others. Similarly, in the early 1950's before the revolution, tariffs were reduced or exempted on machinery to encourage investment in that direction.

The authors also examine patterns of ownership to assess the direction of investment and shifts in the structure and organization of industry. Before the revolution, the public sector was restricted to a few industries, such as oil refineries or the government press; afterwards, the state particularly increased its ownership during the early 1960's. While public ownership today is predominant in industries employing 500 people or more, it is considerably less frequent in enterprises hiring 10-49 people. This variation in the structure of employment is also reflected in the types of manufactured goods predominant in each sector; hence, the private sector becomes a "residual" one, containing small-scale industries not part of the public sector. Since 1967 there has been an increasing interaction between the two sectors, particularly via subcontracting. This interaction, in which "a small capitalist sector endowed with monopoly power has been able to make very large profits from operations with public enterprise," has been criticized because it often permitted graft and corruption. Besides the structure of ownership, the nature of the indus-

try is significant. Between the 1930's and 1967, for example, the textile industry remained the major employer and "adder of value," even though attempts were made to shift towards industries not producing consumer goods.

As part of their overall study of economic structure and development, the authors investigate the role and contributions of Egyptian small-scale manufacturing. Their assumption is that large industry forms the essential core of the economy; around it revolve a whole series of smaller industries dependent on it in terms or raw materials. The authors stress the importance of this smaller sector as a provider of employment, goods, and services in the wider economic system. However, as this sector is often private and on the "periphery" of core industries, very little statistical data or formal records are available for a real evaluation of its roles.

Labor policies until 1930 were flexible; for instance, children under the age of nine were hired in the textile industry, and women worked ten to fourteen hours a day. By 1938 laws were "reinforced," prohibiting child labor and fixing working hours for both women and men at nine to ten hours a day. After World War II the rate of labor productivity steadily increased until 1962, which can be explained by three factors: "considerable rises in capital intensity," the changes in industrial structure explained earlier, and the input of large amounts of skilled labor previously in the "Allied military establishment." After 1962 the rate of labor productivity declined; both economic policies and socialist ideology are held responsible for that trend. The reduction of working hours per week and limitations on overtime generated discontent among workers, who saw themselves deprived of a substantial complement to their salaries. Imports of raw material and other goods for industry became irregular after 1963; thus periods of stagnation (keeping labor on the payroll but not working) alternated with periods of overproduction. Furthermore, the system of "erratic" importations and distribution led to labor-intensive processes: "if a conveyor belt is out of operation for six months because a spare part is missing, one solution is to use temporarily a gang of workers to perform the same task." While socialist ideology prompted an improvement of workers' conditions and rights, deterioration of "industrial discipline" (favored by the Arab Socialist Union's tendency to side with workers in complaints against management) affected labor productivity.

High tariffs and government controls were an attempt to encourage local manufacture of products usually imported. But the development of a particular type of local production entailed importation of capital goods and raw materials. For instance, during the 1940's Egypt was self-sufficient in basic consumer goods while totally dependent on imports for

intermediate industries (e.g., transport equipment). As for export policies, the Egyptian economy overall did not become more export-oriented: with the increase of manufactured goods, it replaced export of raw materials with that of finished goods. For example, textiles replaced raw cotton as the textile industry became the predominant source of export.

In conclusion, what the authors attempt to show is threefold: how attempts at industrialization relate to the general state of underdevelopment in Egypt; how and if industrialization contributed to any development; and finally, what the various types of economic system (and ideology) were at particular stages of industrial development. The analysis pursued is insightful, partially because the authors include political and social elements as central processes determining development and industrialization. However, these factors are merely presented or stated as such without much explanation for their particular orientation or how they articulate with particular historical contexts. Hence, when Egyptian economic performance is assessed, the overall impression is that it was successful at some points and failed at others, but it could have been worse. While the authors' breadth of research and the problems of collecting "accurate" and reliable data in a "developing" country must be acknowledged, the need for and "apologetic" tone is not apparent.

Richards, A., Egypt's Agricultural Development 1800-1980: Technical and Social Change, Westview Press, Boulder, CO (1982). GENERAL DEVELOPMENT DOMESTIC POLITICAL ECONOMY SCIENCE SOCIAL

This book is an analysis of the Egyptian experience in agricultural development from 1800 to 1980. It emphasizes the interrelations between government policies and implementations, on one hand, and social organization and power relations in the countryside, on the other. Furthermore, it links local socioeconomic and political processes to international power relations.

While agriculture was being modernized in Egypt during the nineteenth century, related changes transformed the social structure of the countryside. The agricultural changes included introduction of perennial irrigation (and resulting increases in production) and new crops. Following land reclamation, arable land "more than doubled," and a slow but regular population increase contributed to farm output.

However, this process of development had severe repercussions for the social organization of the countryside and, as the author rightly notes, "the creation of a landless class was an integral part of Egypt's incorporation into the world market as a cotton exporter." Measures such as increasing land taxes to finance various agricultural projects and meet foreign debt, plus rising rural private property, contributed to the creation of a landless peasant class. In the meanwhile, land formerly belonging to peasants circulated among rich landowners, moneylenders, and other rural notables. Even within this group, however, ownership and access to resources and financial assets were unequally distributed; for instance, moneylenders and rural notables owned land less frequently and in smaller amounts than absentee landlords did.

These social transformations contributed to political unrest and popular upheaval, especially in rural areas. The 'Urabi revolt of 1882 is an illustration of the relationship between events in rural and urban areas. Unrest in the villages became a topic for rhetorical comment among the group organizing the revolt--namely, members of the urban middle class and some rural notables. Their main grievance was towards the ruling class, predominantly Turkish/Egyptian, who controlled most key positions in the government and hindered social advancement of the native Egyptian bourgeoisie, whether in the army or the state bureaucracy. While the 'Urabi group drew on all these grievances, the landless peasantry did not actively participate in their movement; rather, peasants organized small raiding groups based in their own villages or small regions.

By the late 1880's the land tenure system was predominantly organized as ezbah (large estates hiring wage laborers) and smaller plots leased to small peasants (or intermediaries who in turn would rent the land to small peasants). Two types of agricultural technique developed: the three-year rotation, predominant in the ezbah (involving greater resources and knowledge, information about techniques, etc.); and the two-year rotation among small landholders, who had a reduced access to resources because of their continuous indebtedness. These two types of agricultural production sharpened distinctions between the two social classes. Technological transformations obviously increased both input and output for the large estates, while pushing small peasants into debt and ultimately loss of land. A third category of small peasants were temporarily able to get by with two-year rotation but without getting into debt; however, they were unable to sustain their socioeconomic position for long and started to decline during the early 1900's. Thus, from the late 1880's until the 1920's, a sharply unequal distribution of income among various strata of landowners took place, with the land tenure system and technological innovations--as imposed by the

British administration--as prime factors contributing to social "reshuffling" of the rural population. Similarly, the technological transformations also affected the productivity of land; while the rotation systems increased output, they also increased pests and reduced land fertility. The period 1928-1939 was mostly one in which "much of the investment in the agricultural sector...was necessary to repair damage already done to soil fertility."

The author describes the period 1920-1940 as being among the "grimmest" in the history of the Egyptian countryside. Efforts to increase output (through a better drainage system, imports of fertilizers, and increase of farm animals) did not restore the main damage, which was the decrease in the output of high quality land. The only advantage of all the technical transformations was that they kept the demand for labor high enough to stay apace of regular population increase. In terms of distribution, the gap kept growing between the rich and the landless poor. Thus by 1940 rural Egypt was composed of two classes: the rich--large landowners and moneylenders--and the poor--small peasants, ezbah workers, and the tarahil laborers, all of whom "were mired in the 'swamps of poverty, of ignorance and of endemic disease' as the burden of declining or stagnant agricultural output per capita weighed heavily on their shoulders."

From 1950 on, and especially under the leadership of Nasser's revolution, new social and economic transformations took place in the countryside. On the social level, land was distributed to small and poor peasants, and large landholders were eliminated. However, the rich peasants and moneylenders kept strengthening their positions by manipulating state cooperatives for their own benefit; and the landless improved their situation only slightly, especially after the state increased public works to replace jobs lost through farm mechanization. Furthermore, a continuous demand for labor outside agriculture during the 1970's was perceived as a "blessing" for the class of landless peasants. However, the author contends that this trend, in which excess rural labor is "absorbed" outside the rural sector, is a result of the relation between the rural political economy of Egypt and the international economic order. Consequently, the current situation is a precarious one because it is not under local control.

Covering a span of almost two centuries in Egyptian agricultural development, the author presents four variables which are constant in the "problematic" of agricultural development: population growth, ecological difficulties, poverty, and inequality. At points in Egyptian history some variables may have improved as results, for example, of the social efforts under Nasser's regime or of the economic "liberalization" under Sadat. However, similar to many Third

World countries, the consequences of Egypt's attempts at agricultural development reflect the interconnectedness of both local and international factors. Social structure, economic transformation, and political decisions have been closedly associated with the international economy. External pressures have influenced some local political procedures; conversely, the nature of local socio-political relations have favored a precarious articulation with the world economic system.

Sandbach, F., "Preventing Schistosomiasis: A Critical Assessment of Present Policy," Social Science and Medicine, vol. 9, no. 10 (1975). HEALTH PREVENTIVE CARE

This article focuses on a health problem with serious socio-cultural and economic ramifications in Egypt. Schistosomiasis is a parasitic disease which develops and spreads through snails as intermediate aquatic hosts. The disease has plagued the Egyptian countryside for generations; its effect is quite debilitating and usually leads to death if not treated at an early stage. Schistosomiasis has spread more rapidly with economic development. The introduction of new agricultural schemes and large-scale irrigation projects allowed not only "an increase in permanent habitats for the intermediate snail host, but have also caused a great number of people employed in rural industries to come in contact with infected water and so maintain the transmission of the parasite." Moreover, working conditions have long been correlated with disease prevalence among various classes of the population. The poor (both men and women) who work in irrigated fields have a higher incidence of the disease; among the middle class the incidence of disease is higher among men, who participate more in the labor force, than among women; and finally, the well-to-do classes usually don't get schistosomiasis.

Various attempts at dealing with the disease have been somewhat successful. However, the author believes that schistosomiasis has not been dealt with properly: often specialists have focused research and remedies on only one or two aspects of the problem. For instance, attempts have been made at great cost to eradicate the host snail while hygiene, health, and nutrition of the exposed population are still precarious. Also, medical treatments have been confined to curative procedures, rather than preventive ones. Unlike smallpox, where vaccines have been discovered and used massively, no specific antidote has been found for schistosomiasis, so a compound of drugs and intensive

chemotherapy is used to treat the early stages of the disease.

Educating the population exposed to a disease is as important as educating the health care personnel in contact with that population. It also is necessary to sensitize personnel about the socio-cultural beliefs and economic realities of the people at risk in order to wage an effective fight against the disease. Good intentions and large investments of money in projects are not sufficient. Rather, health projects must include the human, environmental, and medical factors as interactive elements in the treatment procedure.

Springborg, R., "Professional Syndicates in Egyptian Politics, 1952-1970," International Journal of Middle East Studies, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 275-95 (1978). GENERAL DEVELOPMENT SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

The goal of the present article is twofold: the author studies the role and structure of professional syndicates in the post-revolution era; as well, he deplores a methodological discrepancy often found in the analysis of Egyptian political structures. Springborg notes that Egyptian politics are more often uninstitutionalized and unincorporated than otherwise; therefore, the use of an institutional analysis frame doesn't give an accurate account and explanation of the political reality.

The case presented to support this argument deals with the professional syndicates between 1952 and 1970. Springborg explains that formal institutions provide opportunities for social mobility through informal personal relationships and networks. These networks are loose in terms of their organization and the power shifts they generate or reflect. Hence, informal processes sometimes direct the orientations of formal institutions. For example, Egyptian professional syndicates are based on yearly elections: an assembly elects a board of directors whose policies and decision-making are supposedly derived from the guidelines of this assembly. However, since 1952 the government has suppressed yearly meetings and elections, then appointed officials to syndicates without prior consultation with the general assemblies. Springborg claims that the use of unconstitutional direct control over the syndicates shows that the government was not ready to face criticism or divergence in opinions from what it considered to be the most articulate portion of the population. Moreover, during the first years of the

post-revolution era, the government was establishing its legitimacy; therefore it was not in a position to provide alternative solutions to demands made by the syndicates. Why didn't the syndicates react to this obvious violation of the Egyptian constitution? Springborg finds an answer in the informal structure of syndicates: they generally are composed of a "nuclear" group of political elite, who over the years have developed strong personal networks among each other, and a "periphery" (members in provinces), who provide significant absentee support and in turn receive favors from the political core.

The Egyptian government oriented its revolutionary ideology towards the mobilization of peasants and workers; Nasser disliked and distrusted professional syndicates because he associated them with the pre-revolution regime and the bourgeoisie. However, leftist members of the mass organization established by the government (the Arab Socialist Union) realized quite early that the leadership of the syndicates, with their strong networks, could be used to draw in a larger membership. Hence, the ASU attempted to reorient the political cores of the syndicates within the framework of revolutionary ideology. Henceforth, not only did the government align itself with groups that at times strongly opposed it, but also the government attempted to undermine their power by merging the syndicates into the ASU, by opening membership to non-professionals, and by decentralization.

The 1967 war and its aftermath generated discontent and distrust among the population towards formal political institutions. Moreover, the continuous shifts in power relations among political elites, during Nasser's last few years and Sadat's early years of power consolidation, decreased pressures on the syndicates. However, this relative liberalization in the Egyptian political scene did not produce a strengthening of the syndicates or a reorganization of the bargaining power they carried.

Springborg's article is valuable because he shows how two formal institutions interacted (through various formal and informal processes) as different regimes were consolidating their bases of support. However, Springborg presents only one side of the picture: a cultural analysis, explaining Egyptian views of the formal and informal organization of the Egyptian polity, is necessary to supplement his structural analysis.

Tucker, J., "Egyptian Women in the Work Force: A Historical Survey," MERIP Reports, vol. 50, pp. 3-10 (1976).
BASIC HUMAN NEEDS STATUS OF WOMEN INDUSTRY INDUS-OTHER

In the present article the author attempts to demonstrate two hypotheses. First, she seeks to show how industrialization in Egypt under a capitalist system generated a vertical differentiation of work roles between males and females. Second, she demonstrates how industrialization has deflated home production--a predominantly female activity--without shifting women into unskilled, cheap labor. This later point, for instance, was the case in Europe during the early stages of industrialization. In contrast, the process in Egypt has kept women out of both "private" and "public" spheres of production, furthering their isolation.

In order to demonstrate her points, Tucker uses contemporary quantitative data on women's participation in both the rural and the urban labor forces of Egypt; then she looks at historical periods considered crucial in the industrial development of the country and assesses women's roles and types of participation in the labor force.

The use of statistical records on women in the labor force quickly becomes problematic. For instance, in the case of the agricultural sector, records show that 4 to 6 per cent of the total labor force consists of women. However, these figures are unreliable because most of the jobs women perform are not covered by Egyptian labor records. In the industrial sector, women are restricted to certain industries--textiles, paper, and chemicals. More than half of the total female labor force in industry work outside the home; however where factories are sparse, a significant percentage of women are employed in home industry. In the domestic fields and services most labor is female, and there is a continuous migratory movement of rural women towards the cities. However, these services are temporary and transitory: the average age of migration is 12 to 16; at marriageable age they go back to the village.

Tucker acknowledges that the weak participation of women in the industrial labor force is partly due to social control--hence, the advantage of using a cultural analysis to show how economic development is not always correlated with women's participation in the labor force. However, a cultural explanation doesn't shed light on the complexity of the interrelations between the social and economic elements within the social structure. For instance, at different times in the history of Egypt, women have performed jobs which were incongruent with local cultural expectations, norms, and standards. Accordingly, the author looks at

their jobs during particular historical periods that were crucial in the industrial development of Egypt.

During the phase when most agriculture was for subsistence, differentiation of labor by gender was along "horizontal" lines, reflecting the type of economy. Families lived on small lots of land they usually owned, and all members of a family contributed to agricultural labor. In the non-agricultural sector, women worked mainly in the textile industry, weaving and spinning. They owned the machines they worked on, thus handling transactions involved in buying the raw material and selling the final product. This in turn gave them access to markets and trade.

During Mohamed Ali's era of statist industrialization, two elements contributed to the increased participation of women in the labor market of both agriculture and industry. The first was that men were drafted into the army and into public-works projects, so female labor was needed in agriculture. The second was the push for national independence and consequently the attempt towards a rapid industrialization of Egypt: "The formation of the wage working class in this period included the transformation of female artisanal spinners into wage laborers, whether they remained at home or they worked in the newly established factories." In 1832 a midwifery school was opened to professionalize a traditional form of female labor. However, European opposition to Mohamed Ali's attempts at industrial and economic independence undermined women's participation in the wage labor market. For instance, under European influence patterns of landholding changed, and there seems to be a correlation of the introduction of large-scale landholding and cash-crop agriculture with a decrease of women in agricultural production. Similarly, the decline of crafts led to a considerable reduction in female labor in the industrial sector. In newly created industries, men received training to work on machines, and women were relegated to traditional female jobs (like spinning) or to the least skilled operations.

From the 1920's on, nationalist movements encouraged an industrialization oriented toward import substitution and a diversification of the Egyptian economy. However, in the agricultural sector high unemployment kept men as the main wage labor force. In industry, home production (and therefore female labor) declined. Mechanization reduced the numbers of workers required, and men received most of the technical training.

This article makes two main points: cultural traditions and beliefs minimized the number of women entering the labor force in Egypt, and such factors later combined with economic ones to reduce even further women's participation in that labor force.

Waterbury, J., Egypt: Burdens of the Past, Options for the Future, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN (1978). GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

The present book is a collection of essays written on Egypt from 1970 to 1977. The variety of subjects and issues is considerable--economics, politics, population growth, food crisis, migration, transport, and more. The common thread among them is the theoretical orientation used by the author to analyze situations and evaluate data. The basic assumption is that Egypt, a Third World country, exhibits typical features which characterize and influence processes of decision-making, planning, and policies. Like most "developing" nations, Egypt is in a state of "disequilibrium," resulting from limited resources, overpopulation, dependence on the world economy, and conflicts between internal and external political decisions. It is in terms of these "disbalancing" situations that the author considers the various states and crises the country has undergone.

The book is divided into three parts. First, the political and military situation of Egypt from 1970 to 1973, and effects of the October war on the local and international scenes, are presented. Then the second part deals with various socioeconomic problems the country has faced. The last section describes the alternatives decided after the 1973 war regarding social transformations, economic planning and reorientation, and political and ideological shifts.

Primarily, Egypt is described as a land of "continuity." The word is intentionally used by the author to show that the political transition from Nasser to Sadat, and the consequent effects it had on the socioeconomic and political course of Egyptian life, were consistent from 1970-73. Political decisions made by Sadat were primarily influenced by the economic and political stalemate in which Egypt had been since 1967. Already under Nasser a "rapprochement" with the West, and the United States in particular (e.g., Rogers Plan), had been initiated; there was an understanding that an alternative to the deadlock would come from this superpower rather than from the Soviet Union, which up to 1973 had supplied Egypt with defensive military equipment only. Hence, Sadat's two major political initiatives in 1971--the reopening of the Suez Canal and the expulsion of almost all Soviet military supervisors--were not in total contradiction with prior initiatives. Domestically, the situation was perceived to be disastrous because of the army's monopoly over considerable portions of the national budget and the consequent paralysis of the economy. Attempts were made to boost the economy through new plans and rates of investment, in addition to investments by oil-rich states. Concurrent-

ly, Sadat had to establish his credibility in the national arena, especially between 1971-72, as a core political group led by "Communist" Ali Sabri (who carried considerable political leverage even within the army) opposed his policies. Sadat reinforced his legitimacy the same way Nasser had earlier: "a careful balancing of interests and pressure groups--such as elements of the officers' corps, civilian technocrats, left- and right-wing ideologies, etc.--so that all had a share in power and he (Sadat) could arbitrate among them." During that time unrest shook civilian life, as students rioted, workers manifested, and journalists and writers made new demands. What remains crucial to the period is that, regardless of the political orientations of the ruling group, or ideological "skirmishes" among various groups of the population and the authorities, the real problem of economic policies, supplies, consumer goods, inflation, and more remained largely unresolved: neither state ventures nor Arab investments could effectively contribute anything to a country "paralyzed" by a state of no war-no peace. The 1973 war and its consequences--use of oil by Arab states to negotiate lost land, destruction of the myth of Israeli supremacy, uncovering the strong dependence of Israel on the United States (and consequently, the leverage the U. S. could have on Israel), and finally, dissociation of Western Europe and Japan from the U. S. in terms of the Middle East crisis--strengthened Sadat's authority and legitimacy as a leader. Moreover Egypt, and the people, enjoyed a boost of confidence, solidarity, and belief in a "reconstruction" that had been paralyzed for decades by military confrontation and foreign occupation.

However, the main burden of Egypt is not its limited resources and socioeconomic problems but its population explosion. The sheer number of people makes long-range policies a "luxury"; continuous priorities of food supply or transportation, for example, monopolize the national budget. The other main problem generated by population explosion concerns the age structure of the society. The pool of individuals under fifteen years of age grows steadily, burdening the economy without increasing production. In addition, education requires increasing sums from the national budget, contributing to low economic growth rates and "consequently to the inability of the economy to generate the jobs needed when they (the 15 year-olds) formally enter the work force." Similarly, the educational system has been unable to extend sufficient services to the growing cohort at the primary level; thus the level of literacy has fallen behind national expectations. One solution for this population problem, as perceived by the local elites, was the encouragement of "rapid economic growth, perhaps accompanied by regional integration and population redistribution." However, rapid growth requires sufficient foreign currency to import primary resources: local industry and agriculture don't cover local demand; hence, the foreign currency available is chan-

neled to buy food imports which, in turn, significantly hamper economic growth.

Efforts to reduce burdens on Egypt have been the priority of planners since 1973. Although many of the recommendations date back to Nasser's period, particular implementations took place only after the 1973 war. The first main goal was to establish a "modus vivendi" with Israel, so that the defense budget would no longer bleed the economy. Moreover, reducing military dominance of the political scene would foster the much-needed foreign investment. A second goal was to balance the country's foreign payments, using remittances from workers abroad, the Suez Canal, better export performance, oil, and tourism. Again, none of these improvements would be achievable under the political climate of war. The final goal was establishing foundations for self-sustaining industrial growth to "generate a steady flow of foreign exchange earnings." Under Nasser, attempts to pursue self-sustained growth and the accumulation of foreign exchange were reduced to "attempts" as a result of consecutive wars. Another element of an ideological nature was also responsible for the state of affairs: "the socialist experiment after 1961 was not applied by socialists but rather by opportunists in the regime who built a grossly inefficient state capitalist system and then milked it for their own private ends." Hence the necessity to re-establish "true" socialist principles. After 1973, official ideologues blamed Nasser's socialism as the cause of Egypt's economic stalemate; recommendations for change in economic procedures were a step towards similar transformations on the socio-cultural level. Ideally, state monopoly would continue over infrastructure and ventures the private sector would not be able to finance; it would subsidize basic consumer goods, agricultural inputs, and building materials. The state would also continue to be in charge of importing basic foodstuffs unavailable in the country. Concurrently, the private sector would develop local industries and import-export trade, entering "into joint venture with foreign investors without restrictions." The liberalization of the economy would hopefully encourage foreign investments and large sums of aid from oil-rich countries.

To the present this has not materialized as Egypt's leaders had hoped. Foreign investments have remained in certain consumption sectors of the economy; the oil-rich countries don't perceive the Egyptian state as a guarantee for commercial returns on their investments. Also, the demography of the country is often thought of as a threat: the political stability of neighboring countries may be at risk if Egypt becomes too strong. Finally, Egypt is moving towards a conservative economic system by increasing its dependency on world economy, and particularly by increasing burdens on the less endowed portion of its population. Cost-benefit analysis, an end to subsidies and administered

prices, tighter credit and reduced money supply, and full convertibility of the pound are part of Egypt's new economic directions. In the long term it is difficult to see how the masses will sustain such measures without political upheaval.

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page 24, line 44: for 1970-710, read 1970-71),

p. 26, l. 29: for Futur, read Future,

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p. 48, l. 36: for BASICS read BASIC

p. 61, l. 16: for Retraditionalization read Retraditionalisation

p. 66, bottom line: for (etc.), read etc.),

p. 75, l. 2: for Retraditionalization read Retraditionalisation

p. 88, l. 20: for tradition/patriarchal read traditional/patriarchal

p. 91, l. 20: for remains read remains 'rural' for a long time." Hence, urbanization in such cases does not

p. 96, l. 10: for or read of

p. 97, l. 18: for for read of

p. 103, l. 45: for within read of

p. 104, l. 15: for market read markets

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