

Revolution, Global Development and Disability Politics in Egypt

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds
School of Sociology and Social Policy

December, 2019

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Acknowledgements

The completion of my PhD would not have been achieved without the support and encouragement of a large number of people.

I am indebted to Nagib Sawiris for his generous scholarship and personal support, enabling me to begin this study.

Grateful thanks to my three Supervisors, Professor Mark Priestley, Dr Alison Sheldon, and Dr Lata Narayanaswamy for their encouragement and support throughout the process; and especially to Mark Priestley for his wisdom and understanding.

To Dr Ahmed Darweesh, and other colleagues who have demonstrated their belief in my pursuit of the academic life, and specifically this PhD.

Special appreciation has to be expressed to the disabled activists and experts, ministers and their deputies, colleagues and friends without whose assistance it would have been difficult to conduct my field work. Their assistance helped enrich my data generation – heartfelt thanks. Further thanks and appreciation to the Ministry of Social Solidarity for support and open cooperation during the data generation period of this research. The documents and interviews they provided were enlightening to support the analytical phase.

Also to Dr Maged Osman who was the head of the committee responsible for preparing the social justice pillar within the ESDS, as well as the lead author of the Human Development Report of 2016.

My gratitude also extends to the University of Leeds for its immense support through the Disability Services Department, under the wise leadership of Martin Hall and the continued support from Joanna Cannon, Charlotte Hendry, and the staff in the Transcription Service. To Matthew, other SSP employees, and fellow PhD student colleagues who have provided support all the way through the process.

Special thanks also to all my Personal Assistants, including: Mike Hickman, Nick Hodgkinson, Catherine May, and Tom O'Rourke for their patience, understanding, and unfailing good humour.

Finally, to my dear wife, Yomna and our beautiful little daughter, Karma – thank you for all the sacrifices you have made to enable me to pursue my PhD studies, for your supportive presence and encouragement and for loving me through it all.

Abstract

The Egyptian Revolution and its consequences mainstreamed disabled people's demands into national policies. It opened further opportunities for self-organisations, as well as impacting upon tactics and activism. Egypt's ratification of the UNCRPD three years earlier had been a driving force towards the advocacy for inclusive rights. The global move from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), five years after the Revolution, was a further factor exploited by the disabled people's movement to increase the recognition of disability within Egyptian policies. This thesis examines the influence of global and national events on the disabled people's movement's participation in government policy consultations and considers how this situation differed from the pre-revolutionary period. It also analyses the unique unity established by disabled activists', determining whether this shift was temporary, only lasting the 18 days of the Revolution, or more permanent. Finally, it examines Disabled People's Organisations' (DPOs) satisfaction with the mainstreaming of their demands within post-revolutionary policies, such as the 2014 Constitution.

This research ties together literature on the Egyptian Revolution and global disability discourses, to underpin recommendations for Egypt to benefit from the application of an inclusive approach to its Sustainable Development Strategy. It is the first research to utilise the ongoing discussions about SDGs within the post-revolutionary era, with disability in mind.

In answering the research question – how, and to what extent, has the Egyptian Revolution affected national conditions for the implementation of international agreements on disability rights (UNCRPD) and sustainable development (SDGs) – this qualitative research relies on document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups as data generation methods. Research participants include: Egyptian politicians, including disabled MPs, DPOs, and UN representatives. The same methods were applied to analyse Egyptian government and civil society development projects. A major finding of this thesis is the positive influence of the UNCRPD on increasing the

number of DPOs, who then had more ability to advocate for their rights. Both the Egyptian Revolution and SDGs contributed to their collective participation within national policies.

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List of Abbreviations

AODP: Arab Organisation for Disabled People
AU: African Union
CA: Constituent Assemblies
CAPMAS: Central Authority for Public Mobilization and Statistics
CBR: Community Based Rehabilitation
CBID: Community Based Inclusive Development
CEOSS: Coptic Evangelical Organisation for Social Services (Egypt)
CSO: Community Service Organisation
DAESN: Development Association for Empowering Persons with Special Needs (Egypt)
DDA: Disability Discrimination Act
DFID: Department for International Development
DPO: Disabled People Organisation
DPI: Disabled People International
ESCWA: Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia
ESDS: Egyptian Sustainable Development Strategy
EU: European Union
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
HDI: Human Development Index
HI: Handicap International-recently humanity and inclusion
ICDL: International Computer Driving Licence
ICF: International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health
IDA: International Disability Alliance
IDSC: (Egyptian Cabinet) Information and Decision Support Center
IFES: International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IFPRI: International Food Policy Research Institute
ILD: Inclusive Local Development
ILO: International Labor Organisation
JICA: Japan International Cooperation Agency
LDAP: Local Disability Action Plan
LDC: Least Developed Countries
LMIC: Low and Middle-Income Countries
KPI: Key Performance Indicator
MCIT: Ministry of Communications and Information Technology
MDG: Millennium Development Goal
MLD: Ministry of Local Development
MoP: Ministry of Planning
MOU: Memorandum of Understanding
MOSS: Ministry of Social Solidarity in Egypt
MP: Member of Parliament
NCCM: the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood
NCDA: The National Council for Disability Affairs
NCW: The National Council for Women
NCHR: The National Council for Human Rights
NCP: National Council of Population in Egypt
NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation
POMEPS: Project on Middle East Political Science
PWDs: People with Disabilities
SDG: Sustainable Development Goal

SG: Secretary General

ESDS: Sustainable Development Strategy

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN: United Nations

UNCRC: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNCRPD: United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with
Disability

UNDESA: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNOSD: United Nations Office for Sustainable Development

UPIAS: Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

WHO: World Health Organisation

Preface



Figure 1

Photo of protester with amputated arms



Figure 2

Photo of protester in wheelchair being held up by a crowd

Early in the second decade of the 21st century, the Middle East witnessed a dramatic and influential 'Arab Spring', most notably in Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen, which was expressed through marches, demonstrations and popular insurrection. The unique and mass diversity in participation at these events ousted many regimes; it also created new political opportunities and precipitated the emergence of new policies as a consequence.

Since its Revolution in 2011, Egypt has experienced extensive changes in its political arena which influenced policies and development programs. Viewing the Revolution as an important social movement necessitates analysing it against the history and the theories of social movement (see 1.1.2). At the same time, a shift occurred at the global level, where the move from Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) provided further opportunities for disabled people's voices – among other minority groups – to be elevated within the global political agenda.

My interest in this research comes from my lived experience with disability including the barriers and deprivations facing this population in Egypt to gain equal access to basic services, such as education, health, etc. I obtained my

MA in Disability Studies from the University of Leeds in 2009 and have worked within Egyptian policy-making organisations to mainstream disabled people's rights within national policies. This widened my understanding of the global commitments given to disabled people and the reality of the challenges that face their application.

As an activist, I have participated within the UNCRPD ratification process; I have also lived through the events of the Revolution, in which we as disabled people marched together to advocate for our rights. My participation in these events was a catalyst to investigate each of their influences on Egyptian disability politics and whether they supported the solidity of the Egyptian disabled people's movement.

This research emphasises the changes within Egyptian disability politics in the post-revolutionary era through mapping a sample of DPOs' experiences to understand how disability activists operate certain types of power relations. Examining the variations in their capacities demonstrates the reasons behind the suppression of some voices from the government policy consultation process. A related issue is how these capacities have been influenced as a result of the UNCRPD declaration and their participation in the Egyptian Revolution. Similarly, the thesis examines whether DPOs' benefited from the momentum of the SDGs, where globally, civil society, including DPOs, are invited to formulate and implement these goals. Overall, the protagonists of this story will be the DPOs, who shape most of the disabled people's movements. Comparing the global debates around SDGs with the status of the sampled DPOs signposts the reality of the challenges faced by them in following these goals (see also Chapter 4). Chapter 3 (methodology) includes sections reflecting on my positionality and my interaction with DPOs and other research target groups. This is important as I position myself as an insider researcher who lived through the global and national events which formed the story of this research.

Broadly, the thesis aims to understand whether the emergence of new global discourses with regard to disability (both before and after the Revolution) have

influenced the development of Egyptian disability politics. The fortunate timing of the ratification of the UNCRPD in 2008 (three years before the Revolution) and the global move from MDGs towards SDGs five years later is explored in Chapter 2 to understand their role in shaping more inclusive policies designed to benefit disabled Egyptians. Chapter 7 draws on examples of government projects and NGOs' initiatives that responded to SDGs within the first year of implementation in order to understand whether mainstreaming of minority groups' rights considered by SDGs have been incorporated within development projects. Despite the fact that this research generated data up to 2016, the researcher decided to refer to the announcement of the new Disability Act of 2018 which committed the Egyptian state to mainstream and prioritise disabled people's rights among government services. Section 5.1 discusses the Law's compliance with the UNCRPD and SDGs. Another reason for referencing this law is that it is a revolutionary aspiration demanded by disabled protesters.

The first two chapters of this research define influential concepts and terminologies before contextualising them within the case study of this research in later chapters. Although there is specific literature on the Egyptian Revolution, disability and development issues, combining all three underpins any recommendations as to how Egypt benefits from the application of inclusive development within its national strategy. In the context of this research, this term means adjusting the development process to suit various community groups' demands. The aim then is to systematize mainstreaming the rights of disabled people within the Egyptian national system, rather than relying on stakeholders' goodwill as was the case prior to the Egyptian Revolution (see 1.2). What makes this research topical is that the discussions around the implementation of the SDGs were still in their very early stages when this thesis was begun. With the situation still fluid and developing after the Egyptian Revolution, this is an original piece of research which considers the implications of the above on Egyptian disability politics. The thesis argues that the momentum of the Egyptian Revolution coinciding with the declaration of international frameworks for disability rights has facilitated a more open environment for new mechanisms and processes of development in Egypt. Its

recommendations may have real world impact if applied through changes in policy and practice.

To answer the research question, various data generation methods were chosen. The first involved interviewing Egyptian policy makers and DPOs, as well as the UN representatives involved with the SDGs' formulation process. The second involved conducting a document analysis on specific disability-related policies within: the UNCRPD; the 2014 Egyptian Constitution; the Egyptian Sustainable Development Strategy (ESDS – also known as the 2030 vision); and SDGs. These methods, along with focus group discussions, were used during the examination of disability mainstreaming with government, NGOs, and DPOs consequent to the Revolution up to 2017.

The synergy between themes of participation, inclusion, and sustainability form the backbone of this thesis. The phenomenal participation of more than 10 million Egyptians in the revolutionary events was unique, making it inclusive by nature as the various barriers that could hinder this participation were temporarily forgotten. The citizens' aspirations at that time were the driving motivation. These themes were also a core part of the global discourses that this thesis examines (UNCRPD and SDGs). The third theme, sustainability, was the dream of stakeholders working in the field of development immediately after the Revolution. As a result, Egyptian national policies increasingly began to consider this theme, e.g. the ESDS (2016-2030). This related to the global aspiration of the UN, which made sustainability the core of the assigned SDGs (2015-2030).

The aim is to establish the theoretical contribution interlinking the story themes. The thesis examines how the reality of a wider participation of disabled people could enhance the inclusivity of Egyptian policies. In addition, the application of the theme of sustainability is examined at both the national and international level. The ESDS is compared and contrasted with the SDGs, to understand how both responded to sustainability. Finally, examining these three themes in relation to the policies announced following the Revolution demonstrates the level of disabled activists' involvement in their own affairs.

Due to the extensive number of abbreviations used in this research a list has been provided on page 12 above to facilitate the reading process.

Thesis objectives

- To investigate how the 25th of January 2011 Egyptian Revolution, and consequent political events, influenced disabled people, disability politics; including the disabled people's movement in Egypt (DPOs).
- To explore how the global move from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) could motivate policy makers to better mainstream disability within Egyptian policies in the post-revolutionary period.

Research question:

- How, and to what extent, has the Egyptian Revolution affected national conditions for the implementation of international agreements on disability rights (UNCRPD) and (SDGs)?

This question is divided into four sub-questions:

1. What changes occurred in disabled people's activism, organisations and alliances during and since the Egyptian Revolution?
2. How did these opportunities for participation affect their tactics, perceived identities and political positions when engaging with disability and development policies in the post-revolutionary period, including with the UNCRPD and SDGs?
3. What evidence is there that this engagement has promoted a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights and needs in Egyptian development policy and its practical implementation?
4. How have the above events influenced the Egyptian government to realise a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights and provision?

The main focus of this thesis is on activism, policy, and practice. Theories are employed to support the chosen concepts but the thesis does not critique them. However, their examination against the chronology of events aims to identify whether an academic contribution could be added.

Thesis Outline and Chapter Plan

The first chapter takes the reader through the history of the Egyptian disability politics up to the Egyptian Revolution. It conceptualizes the theories that led to the social movements, with a focus on the evolution of the global disabled people's movement. Contextualizing this with the Egyptian Revolution's events and consequences, with the focus on the Egyptian disabled people's movement, may allow a more theoretical contribution to be framed. During this, the research will interact with the global debates around the themes of participation, inclusion and sustainability, before moving on to consider how both the Egyptian policy makers and disabled activists have understood and engaged with them. The chapter starts by providing conceptualizations of social movements, drawing upon literature and theories behind its evolution, since both the Egyptian disabled people's movement and Egyptian Revolution fall under this category. The chapter then moves to introduce a summary of the international growth of disabled people's movements and its emerging concepts of freedom, choice and control, viewing how this influenced the Egyptian DPOs. The aim is to understand whether the latter are able to use their growth and power to benefit from ongoing development policies and practices. Connecting the literature of participation and inclusion with the work of Egyptian DPOs helps to pursue that aim.

Responding to one of the thesis objectives, the chapter considers the reasons, consequences and uniqueness of the Egyptian Revolution to demonstrate whether it established new social and political space for disability rights to take a primary position in the socio-political agenda. A section of this chapter introduces a chronological synopsis of historic Egyptian disability politics, as constituted before the ratification of the UNCRPD in 2008, and both before and after the Revolution.

The second chapter continues the presentation of the history of the global development of disability discourses in the post-Revolutionary era, examining its influence on the Egyptian disability politics. In more detail, the chapter seeks to understand how the global move from the MDGs to the SDGs (which were contemporaneous with the UNCRPD and the Egyptian Revolution) could better mainstream disabled Egyptians' rights within national policies. In doing

so, the chapter interacts with themes of inclusion, participation and sustainability. Globally, disabled activists increasingly rely on these themes to mainstream their rights into policies. The situation is seen to be the same in the post-revolutionary era, where disabled people may have better opportunities to engage with the creation of their own policies. Since 'inclusive development' is the core theme of SDGs, the chapter presents a chronological history of its emergence, touching upon the etymology of development including challenges faced by this concept.

This chapter includes a section presenting the background and criticisms of MDGs, and the journey that led to the SDGs. The lessons learned during the evaluation of MDGs may have encapsulated more disability content to be mainstreamed within the SDGs, a factor that could assist Egyptian disability politics. This analysis facilitates Chapter 6's objectives, comparing the formulation process of SDGs with the one for the ESDS. The aim is to understand the influence of the former on engaging disabled people's rights as part of the Strategy.

The third chapter introduces the methodological framework that the research uses to meet its objectives and answer its research question. It first demonstrates the research design, including its key research question and theories used. It then moves on to describe the research strategy, the data collection methods (such as semi-structured interviews, field participant observation, documents and statistical sources), sampling techniques, analytical methods applied and its ethical approach. A brief reflective section about the data generation process and its value to this research is presented. This includes methods of interacting with the collected data, such as coding and translation, and whether any analytical software has been used to help through the analysis stages. The aim is to reach valuable and empirically grounded evidence to respond to the research question, supporting findings and conclusions.

The fourth chapter uses the history of the themes discussed in the first two chapters to examine their influence on the development of the Egyptian

disabled people's movements and DPOs. It aims to understand the influence of the UNCRPD ratification and the Egyptian Revolution, followed by the emergence of SDGs and the increasing number of opportunities given to DPOs. It also considers the treatment of disabled activists and how their demands have been taken into account by the post-revolutionary Egyptian regimes. This analysis reveals whether the Revolution opened more freedom of choice, independence and control for disabled people over their rights and whether this has led to their voices being listened to. A second focus of the chapter is to understand the influence of SDGs on the movement's readiness to advocate for inclusive development through an examination of their various capacities.

Benefitting from the thesis' generated data, the chapter narrates the experiences of disabled activists pre- and post-revolution and, influenced by the UNCRPD, highlights the challenges they faced in founding their own DPOs. This shows whether their participation in this revolution encouraged them to change their goals and approaches towards more inclusivity when advocating for their rights. The chapter also recounts background information about their daily experiences and interaction with their field of work, before moving on to understand how the variation in their administrative, technical and financial capacities may contribute to their level of engagement with both the government and funding organisations. The aim is not only to elevate these experiences and narratives in an academic context, but also to use the empirical material to generate the recommendations for the thesis' conclusion. These recommendations provide mechanisms considered by government and funding organisations to support the enhancement of DPOs' capacities. Finally, the revolutionary dreams and ambitions of disabled activists regarding future disability policies are analysed to demonstrate whether there is an existing gap between this and the Revolution gains.

The fifth chapter investigates whether rapid disability policy developments, following the UNCRPD and the Egyptian Revolution, contributed to the mainstreaming of disability rights within national policies. It will pick up two policy examples where policies were either designed specifically to support

disabled people's rights or mainstreamed their rights within their content. (Egyptian constitution and Disability Law). The chapter responded to the unique announcement of the 2014 Egyptian constitution to have disabled MPs both nominated and designated for the first time. The chapter takes the reader through their journey from nomination right the way to being members of parliament. It assesses the reasonable adjustments made by the parliament in cooperation with other organizations to accommodate different impairments. The chapter's conclusion demonstrates whether a gap exists between the Constitution of 2014 and the reality of service provision for disabled people.

The sixth chapter examines the application of the themes outlined in the first two chapters to identify disparities between the ESDS and SDGs' formulation process. This aims to understand whether the community's voices were translated to inform both policies. In this, the chapter provides a brief analysis of the ESDS' dimensions, pillars, methodology, and key performance indicators (KPIs). Since one of the research goals is to learn how the Revolution responded to disabled activists' demands, the chapter demonstrates their level of satisfaction with disability inclusivity within the Strategy.

The document analysis of the ESDS is accompanied by semi-structured interviews with some Egyptian policy makers, representing ministries and councils who were involved in the formulation of the ESDS. Presenting the opinions of the policy makers along with those of disabled MPs is contrasted with the opinions of DPOs regarding the degree of their participation in the formulation process. Moreover, the chapter examines DPOs' involvement within the early stages of the Strategy implementation to learn how the Egypt 2030 Vision is realistically grounded and beneficial to the disabled community.

The chapter then moves to employ the same structure when interacting with disability mainstreaming in SDGs. In this instance, an International Disability Alliance (IDA) representative was interviewed. This helps to chart the SDGs' formulation and implementation, including monitoring and evaluation. Both interviewed Egyptian policy makers and DPO representatives' knowledge and

opinions about the reality and achievability of SDGs is compared. This shows whether the ESDS is able to play a mediating role in utilizing the ambitious goals and to mitigate the challenges facing Egypt, such as lack of coordination and cooperation between ministries.

The seventh chapter moves to the practical side, considering a sample of government and civil society projects designed to implement either or both the ESDS and SDGs. The chapter presents examples of initiatives from the post-revolutionary era up to 2016, the first year of the Strategy's implementation. The aim is to identify how the Strategy's dimensions and pillars, which came as a response to the SDGs, were translated into practice. Projects of ministries and councils were chosen due to their extensive involvement and support given to disabled people. The chapter also considers other experiments conducted by international organisations to raise the community's awareness, utilizing SDGs to fit within the Egyptian context. In this, approaches such as Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) and Inclusive Local Development (ILD) are explored. The latter concept has been translated into local disability action plans to ensure that disabled people's rights are included at the grassroots level within each governorate plan according to the Egyptian local development law.

It is hoped that with this method, the chapter familiarises the reader with procedures taken from various authorities to support disabled people's revolutionary demands which translated into the ESDS content. The aim is to understand the degree to which policy makers and disabled activists prioritise the views of disabled people.

The final chapter of this research concludes with a summary of each chapter, listing the main findings and providing alongside recommendations designed to guide the Egyptian government and other stakeholders to mechanisms for better disability inclusion. It also speaks to DPOs and national disability councils on how they can overcome the identified barriers to support their solidarity advocating for their population's rights.

Chapter 1: Introduction – The Egyptian Revolution and National Disability Politics

Outline of the Chapter

This chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the disability politics in Egypt, as constituted before the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) in 2008, and both before and after the 2011 Revolution. It critically engages with the history of the legislative framework of disability policy with a focus on the country's constitutions and disability definitions. This demonstrates the degree to which the activism and empowerment of disabled people during this period was reflected in policy change. In order to analyse the Egyptian case against the global development of disability politics, the chapter begins with a historical background to the concepts of independence, choice and control as they have been adopted into the international disabled people's movement through DPOs such as Disabled People International (DPI) and the International Disability Alliance (IDA). This is contrasted with Egyptian disability politics in Egypt since the beginning of the 21st century, with the ratification of the UNCRPD and the subsequent Revolution. This is examined to see whether the latter has opened new political opportunities/opportunities for engagement for disabled people.

As both the disabled people's movement and the Egyptian Revolution are considered as social movements, 1.1.1, explores the history of social movements, contextualising their theories of establishment and characteristics with the uniqueness, reasons for, and consequences of the Egyptian Revolution as a significant social movement. The aim is to understand whether the socio-economic and political consequences following the Revolution influenced the disabled people's movement.

As participation was a core theme during both the UNCRPD formulation process and the events of the Egyptian Revolution, this chapter interacts with the evolution and advantages of this concept (see 1.1.3 below), examining whether DPOs have achieved more inclusive policies as a result. This introductory chapter to the thesis facilitates later chapters' examination of the

influence of participation along with inclusion on the level of disability mainstreaming within a sample of post-revolutionary Egyptian policies.

1.1 Social Movements and Participation

This section begins by presenting a brief synopsis about social movements, as both the disabled people's movement and Egyptian Revolution fall into this category. It then moves on to a discussion about the evolution of the disabled people's movement, with a focus on the theme of participation as a core objective behind its emergence.

1.1.1 Social Movements

The various definitions of social movements tend to agree that they are: "...network[s] of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organisations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Sutton and Vertigans, 2006, p.104). Eggert and Guigni (2012), Hafez (2013), and Waters (2008), among others, contribute to the debates around the shift from traditional to New Social Movements (NSM). The latter theory makes the claim that "...social movements define...the very essence of society and... [are]...the core of sociological analysis" (Waters, 2008, p.63). Theorists such as Touraine (1971) and Waters (2008) made use of NSM Theory to understand the emerging movements in the 1960s and 1970s. One advantage of the NSM is that it enabled a shared perspective among European scholars (Waters, 2008). This was, however, affected by the rift that emerged due to the trends in globalization and industrialization which influenced countries' interactions through shared trends and the integration of cultures. These influences may have encouraged various movements to adapt their behaviours to cope, for example, by merging their identities. Some of the characteristics of this new version of social movement include a flattening of the normative hierarchy and a looser structure with members from multi-nationalities (Sutton and Vertigans, 2006). They aimed to advocate for human rights, fighting for new social ideologies, instead of being motivated by the solely political reasons which were the focus of

traditional social movements (Laraña et al., 1994). This shift contributed to the significant empowerment of the disabled people's movement, enabling disabled activists to demand a set of principles to escape marginalization, overcome their barriers and achieve equality (Scotch, 1988). The disabled people's movement has also learned from other traditional social movements, such as the black civil rights and women's movements both emerged in the United States during 1960s and 1970s. All these 'new' movements shared the aims of supporting freedom, independence, and control (Waters, 2008), mobilizing around post-industrial identities or non-economic goals. They gave more focus to social and cultural rather than political agendas. They came to support human rights ideologies, while others still focused on both religious and political agendas (Eyerman, 1984). Povey (2015, p.127) addresses the reasons for the rise in Egyptian social movements since the 1990s, finding that "the nature and impact of contemporary imperialism, socio-economic factors and the 'closure' of politics...transformed the relationship between state and society and provided the backdrop for social and political unrest". Rennick (2015, p.52) considers the "revolutionary youth of 2011" as a social movement in itself, using movement theory to analyse their "particularities", given that the term is "both immediately understood and highly vague". She posits that they demonstrate a "combination of background understandings and attribution of meaning, along with their manifestation into a precise way of conducting activism and contestation" (Rennick, 2015, p.53). This supports Water's (2008) argument that individuals mostly mobilize around identities and goals.

The revolutionary events since the beginning of the 21st century, known as the Arab Spring, can be seen in light of theories of revolution such as Skocpol (1979), Tilly (1978), Tanter and Midlarsky (1967), Trotsky (1931), and Marx and Engels (1848), etc. While defining the term revolution, Stone (1966, p.159) differentiated between it and other forms of protest against authority, noting that it is "change, effected by the use of violence, in government, and/or regime, and/or society". Tanter and Midlarsky (1967, p.264) posit that there are three different types of revolution: the Hegelian, "equated with irresistible change"; the Marxist, as a product of "irresistible historical

forces...culminat[ing] in a struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat"; and Arendt's (1965, p.29). She considers that, "crucial...to any understanding of revolutions in the modern age is that the idea of freedom and the experience of a new beginning should coincide" – this is seen as a restoration, where demonstrators move to restore privileges and liberties taken from them by despotic government. In the case of Egypt, as part of the Arab Spring, the Revolution was fuelled by demands for democracy, freedom of speech, and social justice (a slogan that informed the Revolution). In addition, Egyptians aimed to improve their standard of living, decrease the unemployment rate, and achieve dignity. This summary fits both the Hegelian and Arendt's theories of revolution, as stated above (Tanter and Midlarsky, 1967).

The events of the Egyptian Revolution align with particular social movement theories. The "cyclical nature of mobilization" theory suggested by Tarrow (1994) is one example. This theory relates to the process by which Egyptians united around multiple slogans with the aim to oust the regime (Al Masaeed, 2013). Tarrow's 'cycles and upsurges' of activism is another important element which can theorise the uprising during the Arab Spring. His 'cycles of contention' theory describes that movements are often established around similar issues such as disabled, women's, and employment rights. Their protests are highly organised in order to achieve their demands (Tarrow, 1994). They tend to be both publicly prominent and active for periods of about a year. Lobbying and advocacy, as well as demonstrations, protests and strikes are also used as tools to fulfil movement objectives (Tarrow, 1994). Tarrow's theory, therefore, demonstrates how these movements die away for some time (from a few years to a generation) but then re-emerge due to strong demands and calls for action from a particular group or alliance (Tarrow, 2011). This 'collective action [...] of a particular group' encourages other movements to use those 'master frames and mobilizing structures[...][to] produce new opportunities' (p.87). They vocalise their demands into the political agenda influencing other people to 'copy or innovate upon' (p88).

In the UK, the movement grew in the 1990s, plateauing out at that stage and then being reinvigorated following both the issuing of the 2010 UK Disability Equality Act and the introduction of austerity cuts by the coalition government in the same year. The activists even brought the latter to the attention of the UNCRPD, resulting in the first UN-led inquiry into a state party (Lambert, 2017). Two other examples that are illustrative of this theory in action are the three waves of feminism and anti-war activism in the 1960s. Although women came together to advocate for various rights through three major separate movements across the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, media, religious and political factors impacted negatively on their power and objectives (Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005; Dorey-Stein, 2015). The second example is anti-war activism. While this movement, established in the 1960s, framed a demonstration against US involvement in the Vietnam War, enthusiasm for participation in the movement diminished until the 1990 Iraq war, when the second wave of this movement was established to support a similar cause (Office of the Historian, no date; History.com, 2009). To some extent, the theory, however, does not clarify why there are differences in the cycle of waves experienced by different movements over time. Other movements, for example, have arguably continued without cessation. The dimension of these opportunities may depend upon a state's strategy in responding to a movement's mobilisation. The state may have concerns that opening access will cause 'rifts [to] appear within elites, allies [to] become available, and state capacity for repression[to]decline[.]' (p71).

In Egypt, numerous protests – in fields ranging from government ministries to private companies – have kept the revolutionary spirit alive in continuous strikes asking for their individual or collective rights (Beinin, 2016). This suggests the instability and frequent strikes which occurred immediately after the Revolution, and which were emulated in other countries, could be regarded as a new contribution to the cycles of contention theory (Matta, 2015; Schwartz, 2014). Whether these strikes led to positive results is an area for further research. The theory also regards the social movement participants as passive, expressing their demands in separate periods of life. This was however not the case with the Egyptian Revolution. The protesters were in

control, determining when to escalate or fuel the Revolution, raising their demands and even increasing them when the regime was late in responding to them (as is discussed later in this chapter). This is similarly the case with the disabled people's movement. Disabled Egyptians' anger could not be controlled or timetabled (Salem, 2010). Their strikes and determination to overcome the barriers they faced was one reason behind the establishment of the Disabled Egyptians' council, one year after the Revolution (National Council for Disability Affairs [NCDA], 2018) (see 5.4).

Tarrow (1994) demonstrates how social movements often have large success and power even if they fail initially. There may, for example, come a time when a country's political climate is more receptive to demands for their rights. The participants in the Egyptian Revolution used the momentum to escalate their demands during its 18 days. The different social groups solidified together to escalate their demands. They gained more confidence as the regime lost its control and the influence of the security forces diminished. Although each of these groups had different specific objectives from the Revolution, they managed to unite around the key objective of ousting the president and his regime, using different dialects and slogans. The result was that their influence remained, even though they left Tahrir Square after the first 18 days of the Revolution. It seems that they reinforced this unity during the Revolution to continue their activism together. One example is that despite their different size and power, many of them aligned together in having their rights logged into the 2014 Constitution (The Constitution of the Arab Republic Egypt, 2014).

The second chosen theory is the orientational frame of social movements, suggested by Goffman (1974), but applied later by social theorists like Fisher (1997) and Gillan (2008). This argues that participants often try to frame the world in a certain way, attempting to mobilise their concepts by convincing people outside of the movement to support them. This is also known as frame alignment – a social movement theory that aims to compile the individual frames towards robustness and amplification (Snow and Benford, 1988). The aim is to bring more voices together in favour of the chosen ideological stance, thereby scaling it up to have a broader effect upon the wider society. In this

case, smaller movements try to align with more popular movements, reflecting their goals, rather than furthering their own ideas. This is preferable due to the fact that smaller-scale movements do not have the capacity to advocate for their own ideas, because of their limited reach or lack of resources. During the UK student protests in 2009, many pro-Palestinian groups showed solidarity with students in the Gaza strip who were also being oppressed by situating their own goals as part of the wider movement (Lipsett and Benjamin, 2009). Similar events occurred during the Egyptian Revolution, in which the smaller movements such as the disabled people's or women's movements, temporarily moved away from their own objectives and prepared to endorse one of the Revolution's slogans – 'freedom, dignity and social justice' – to grasp the public's sympathy and support (Al Masaeed, 2013).

Other social movements follow the same methodology, albeit with some compromises. For example, Disabled People against Cuts (DPAC) in the UK framed their arguments according to mainstream protests, supporting the universal right for affordable education. This ensures that disabled students are afforded equal rights to that education, through mechanisms such as disability allowance and accessibility on campuses (DPAC, 2018). It enables smaller fringe movements to benefit from the major point of insurrection. Furthermore, the manner in which smaller movements frame their fight determines the level of support obtained from people who would otherwise not engage in those politics. The question therefore arises around how changes to the smaller movements' objectives affect their internal political agenda and future external power.

In contrast, however, it is possible that some smaller movements successfully attract support and, therefore, create their power by communicating and mobilizing their goals to their community. According to Canel (1991), this is easier for the social rather than political movements, as they rely on creative communication methods to mobilise support for their ideas, and to create mass participation. For example, during the Revolution, disabled Egyptians relied on social media through the creation of Facebook groups and alliances (such as the Federation of Disabled Egypt). This mirrored the same successful

technological methods as the wider Revolution to encourage them to advocate for their rights (Bakr, 2012). Bhuiyan (2011, p.16), whilst acknowledging those who felt the Revolution would have happened anyway, without the support of social media channels, says that “people were able to coordinate protests and bring out larger numbers because of Facebook and Twitter, and they were able to show what was actually happening, and counter government attempts to play down the situation...”. These techniques indirectly helped to shape groups, creating a sense of coalition, rather than operating as scattered or disparate individuals. This publicity captured the attention of many newly emerged parties after the Revolution, who aimed to make their parties more inclusive. Both the Egyptian Social Democratic Party and Egypt's Free Egyptians Party became famous for this (Ahram Online, 2011; BBC News, 2011a). They invited DPOs, experts and individual activists to be part of their committees; for example, the Free Egyptians Party distributed a draft braille constitution at a rally (Ahram Online, 2014).

In general, social movement protestors are aware of their goals but not necessarily organised with methods or tactics to reach their objectives. In most cases they may use aggressive actions such as illegal occupation or blockades to obligate regimes to respond to their demands (Tarrow, 2011). In 2011, an emergent movement, ‘We are the 99%’, argued against economic inequality; they decided to utilise high levels of aggression by illegally occupying places such as Wall Street in New York (Fox News, 2011). In contrast, Egypt has a history of peaceful protest as reported in some demonstrations during Mubarak’s regime (Awad and Dixon, 2011). This was also the case during the Arab Spring, which witnessed Tunisia and Yemen following the same approach when revolting to oust their dictators’ regimes (Oxford University Press Blog, 2015). The Egyptian Revolution, for example, adopted the ‘Selmya’ approach, where no illegal occupations of any ministries nor any violent protests were conducted with government entities as a method to express their anger (Ashour, 2011).

Instead, there were informal organised committees in Tahrir square, among others, that would scan the protestors for threats to ensure a peaceful

('Selmya') and safe environment. Although there were around two million people in Tahrir Square (Keating, 2011), in its first 18 days there was a limited amount of harassment or fatal violent incidents reported, both in the Square and the rest of the nation (Ahram Online, 2012). This spirit encouraged women to feel less threatened by harassment than before the Revolution, increasing their participation as an eminent part of this revolution (Soliman, 2012).

In summary, this section reviewed some of the most relevant theories that support the concept of social movements, combined with a critical engagement of its history in the Egyptian context.. One finding is the similarity between the roots of social movements and the events of the Egyptian Revolution/Arab Spring. The other finding is that the unique unity established between different social groups during the Revolution resulted in their power to fulfil their main revolutionary goal., The reliance on social media supported the increased diversity and the mass participation using different slogans. This resulted in the government losing control and solidifying the power of protesters. This solidarity and unity between community social groups allowed a new theoretical contribution to the history of social movements.

1.1.2 Disabled People's Movements

This subsection narrows its focus from the discussion of social movement concepts to discuss the evolution of the global disabled people's movement. This is followed by the history of the Egyptian disabled people's movement. Comparing the global and national movements demonstrates the influence of the UNCRPD in shaping both, and whether the global model has managed to guide Egyptian DPOs towards better advocating for their rights. While this chapter is more concerned with the history and foundations, chapter four of this research presents the disabled people's movement situation following the Convention ratification and Egyptian Revolution.

Globally, there have been many examples of disabled activists mobilizing to advocate for their own rights, and as a result many disabled people's movements have been shaped by these (Lang, 2009). In the case of the UK,

the first glimpses of a movement were seen in the 1890s with the foundation of the British Deaf Association (Pagel, 1998) and the National League of the Blind (British Council of Organisations of Disabled People 1997). In the USA, advocacy and organisation by disabled Californians from Berkeley in the 1970s provided impetus for driving the legislative process, which eventually resulted in the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act (Patterson, 2018).

Another example is in South Africa, where DPOs' representatives, during the 1990s, had fought for their rights to be included in the democratic process of the 1994 election:

They came to exercise their right to vote under the most difficult of circumstances. They came in wheelchairs, on crutches, navigating their way by means of white canes, in wheelbarrows and even physically carried on the backs of relatives and friends (Howell et al., 2006, p.46).

This provides a glimpse of the determination that contributed to the emergence of the Convention. The campaigning of Britain's Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS), and their paper *Fundamental Principles of Disability* (UPIAS and the Disability Alliance, 1975), served as one of the foundations of the "social interpretation of disability" (Finkelstein, 1975). Barnes (2005) and Oliver (1999; 2004) refer to it as the 'social model'. Disabled activists in South Africa promoted '*Nothing About Us Without Us*' as a slogan in 1993. This slogan was deeply rooted in, and originated within the philosophy of, the disabled people's movement. Together with the social model of disability, the activists aimed to fight both the oppression and the segregation faced by disabled people globally. The global disabled people's movement rallied behind the model and slogan as arguments against others taking control of their rights. One leading activist, Edward Roberts, stated, "if we have learned one thing from the civil rights movement in the US, it's that when others speak for you, you lose" (Charlton, 2000, p.3). The definition of social model was also translated by disabled activists when establishing Disabled People International (DPI) in order to enable their voices to be heard. The philosophy of Independent Living is also seen as another supporting driver to the disabled people's movement (Grant et al., 2005). This philosophy emerged in some European countries roughly contemporaneously with the

movement in California, USA, and the work of wheelchair user activists led by Edward Roberts (Patterson, 2018). This motivated the foundation of many other DPOs (Access Living, no date) and led to The Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which prohibited federally funded programs from discriminating against disabled individuals in the USA.

In the UK in 1995, following a decade of effort amongst parliamentarians and activists including Jack Ashley (MP for Stoke on Trent, South), the Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) was passed to protect disabled people by giving them more equal opportunities and prohibiting unjustifiable discrimination (Barnes, 1991). The above efforts encouraged international organisations, such as IDA, to acknowledge the idea of putting disabled people first, setting a clear agenda for DPOs (IDA, no date).

Globally, DPOs and different international organisations defined the role of disabled people's movements. Examining their definitions found a tentative agreement about their roles. The original DPI constitution (DPI, 1984) devoted Article 2 to a definition of DPOs, stating that "...a majority of the members as well as the governing body shall be persons with disabilities. For groups like the mentally handicapped and for disabled children other forms of representation may be considered by the National Assembly." Other organisations that support disabled people's rights include Handicap International (HI). In their 2006 report, they provide the following definition, which aligns with the history of the disabled people's movement composition in Egypt (noting that this reflects formal organisations rather than loosely organised movements):

[A] disability movement is defined as the group of all organisations of persons with disability and individuals at the local, national or international level. In a broader perspective, it also encompasses the other stakeholders and their allies in promoting the rights of persons with disability in agreement with the principle of leadership of persons with disability themselves within the movement (Handicap International [HI], 2006, p.11).

They further state that DPOs' should represent disabled people's demands as well as the promotion of their rights (HI, 2006). Similarly, the World Blind Union

describes DPOs as organisations where disabled people form more than 50% of their board members (World Blind Union.Org, no date).

The concept of DPOs was framed around advocating for disabled people's rights and, like other civil society organisations, their geographical scope is both regional and local and their characteristics affected by the principle of the social model of disability (HI, 2006, p.12; Barnes, 2005). In Egypt, however, some were still focused on service provision. They combined a campaigning or policy influencing role with a service delivery function model that may have proved successful in some local areas in Egypt. Their local presence included ties with disabled people, public bodies, businesses and other allies, all of which strengthened their power. More details about their situation, power and interaction with the Egyptian disability politics can be found in section 1.2.2 and Chapter 4.

Globally, disabled people's efforts further contributed to the United Nations (UN) General Assembly, formulating the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons in 1975 (UN, 1975). Following this declaration and the failure of Rehabilitation International to adequately include disabled people as one of the foremost organisations by the UN in 1981, the DPI emerged as a direct opposition to the framing of the UN Year of the Disabled (UN Enable, 2003-04) as a year 'for' disabled people; they claimed the idea that it should be 'of' disabled people. The same year also witnessed the DPI successfully working to foreground and amplify their voices under the slogan, '*Nothing About Us Without Us*' (Drieger, 1991).

In 1981, Singapore held the first conference for disabled people in which they were able to speak about themselves. This followed a long period of demonstrations by disabled people's movements, fuelling their aspirations by focusing on choice and control (Oliver, 1999; Branfield, 1998). In order for these concepts to be enacted, disabled activists had mobilised efforts to mainstream their rights into global policies through participation (Jagoe, no date). The above listed examples are other drivers towards the UNCRPD in 2006. Although disability subjects have been mentioned in numerous human

rights Conventions such as the UNCRC (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, no date), disabled activists sensed the necessity to establish a specific Convention to reaffirm advocacy for their rights. A variety of different representatives came together from across the globe with the support of the UN to frame their Convention content following the disabled people's movement's slogan '*Nothing About Us Without Us*' (Charlton, 2000; Drieger, 1991).

The Convention preparatory phases enabled voices to be united, culminating as Convention subjects (Bell, 2014). The treaty also increased disabled groups' awareness of the importance of participation, a theme they used to take ownership of and formulate their own affairs. Before moving on to present the thematic connection between concepts of participation benefitting the disabled people's movement, the following paragraphs interact with some theoretical frameworks which supported the evolution of participation.

1.1.3 Participation

Building on the definitions of DPOs, along with a sample of social movement theories, this subsection interacts with the theme of participation. Analysing several definitions of this theme found that they all aimed to elevate the community groups' voices to a higher level or, in other words, to leave no voice behind. Chambers (1983) describes participation, for example, as "putting the last first", which in this research context prioritises matters relating to marginalised groups who do not have the capacity to express themselves to the heart of the policy design. Kett et al. (2019) observe that the roots of participation lie in anthropology, and particularly the debates amongst anthropologists regarding 'speaking *about*' versus 'speaking *for*'. The World Bank (1994, p.6) also refers to the importance of participation, as its lack "impede[s] the uptake of services...reduc[ing] the sustainability of the intended benefits." These two definitions relate to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) statement, that envisages participation as a means of increasing society's inclusivity, in addition to eradicating poverty and offering equal opportunities to all (UNDESA, 2009). Agrawal and Gibson (1999) stress the role of community in mobilizing for their

own demands through urging governments to move away from top-down approaches towards meaningful participation.

Participation came as a reaction to the modernization theory originating in the 1960s, drawing attention to methodologies more sensitive to local needs (Storey, 1999; Claridge, 2004). The modernization theory relied on this theme to overcome the top-down approach through ensuring that “[t]he participation component includes measures of the extent to which popular will can be reflected in decision-making institutions, which are for the most part in the legislative and executive branches of government” (Arat, 1988, p.24). Claridge (2004) found that conflicting opinions around the meaning of participation may depend on different groups’ positions, for example a member of parliament may have a different understanding to a DPO representative.

The social capital theory, originating in the 18th century, supports the theme of participation. Philosophers such as Tocqueville, J.S. Mill, Toennies, Durkheim, Weber, Locke, Rousseau and Simmel promoted its establishment (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). Among the various definitions of this theory, both Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) agree that it is a network of several entities coming together to benefit from their cooperation. The potential resources available as a result of this network can be beneficial to all members of a community. However, the lack of a cooperative culture in Egypt increases the individualistic approach (Radwan, 2012). The later chapters will explore whether this had an influence on Egyptian DPOs working in groups (see Chapter 4).

While Hofstede’s (2011) model of individualism versus collectivism would express Egypt as a collectivist community, using the word ‘we’ to define society (a spirit which achieved its momentum during the events of the Egyptian Revolution), Gill (2017) argues that coordination and cooperation were not evident at a ministerial level as many worked in isolation, more along the lines of ‘I’. As discussed in 1.1.2, the establishment of the disabled people’s movement came to reduce marginalization which could deprive those with impairments from participating in mainstream activities (Winter, 2003). As

with older people, their increased participation in social and professional activities may improve their sense of well-being (Rubio et al., 2009). Furthermore, providing accessible voting stations increases their chances of having their voices heard (Price, 2014).

A profound relationship also exists between these efforts and the theme of women's participation, where the ultimate aim is to flatten the hierarchy between men and women (Portwood-Stacer, 2014). Disabled women advocate for an increase in their political participation, improving their own rights and aiming to challenge the stereotypes attached to their identity, as both disabled and female (CBM International, 2015). One example is Heba Hagrass, a disabled activist and member of the Egyptian parliament, who was the first and only disabled Egyptian woman participating in the UNCRPD negotiation phase (CBM International, 2015).

This discussion suggests that the concept of participation is a key driver for the mainstreaming of disabled people's rights and their involvement in the policy-making process. However, the question arises: to what extent is it an important concept for the majority of disabled people? And if it is, are they able to join these discussions? Grimshaw and Lever (2008) argue that there is a gap between these discussions and the perceived importance of these concepts on the ground. One barrier is that the elite language utilised in discussions at the policy level is not made accessible for the majority who are not equipped and empowered prior to participation. Barnes and Sheldon (2010), however, observe that the majority of disabled people are more concerned with improving the quality of the services they receive than in participating in policy consultations. The quality of their service provision may well improve if they increase their participation at the policy level (Harris et al., 2012). Egypt is one example, as some DPOs were reluctant to participate in the Egyptian Sustainable Development Strategy (ESDS) consultations despite being provided with channels through which they could participate (see Chapter 6).

The disabled people's movement considered participation as a tool to achieve empowerment and inclusion by involving disabled people in the decision-making process (UNDESA, 2009). The UN increased promotion of these themes while moving from MDGs to SDGs, encouraging various development organisations to consult with target groups when deciding on policy (UN, 2011). However, this does not mean that those groups are necessarily empowered by this process. In many cases, disabled people are unable to speak freely due to an inherent unequal power dynamic, or because of a lack of equivalent education (Grimshaw and Lever, 2008). They may be disempowered because of tokenism (Lee et al., 2017). This tokenism includes inviting disabled people to consultations where their voices are not adequately considered, and where management are only really interested in 'ticking boxes', reporting that they have achieved participation through their attendance alone (Zimmer, 1988; Yoder and Sinnet, 1985).

Critical Disability Theory (Hosking, 2008) interacts with the theme of participation. It argues that the able-bodied community have a superior and controlling position over disabled people's rights. Although disabled people are provided with opportunities to raise their demands, Hosking (2008, p.12) argues that, "the voices of disabled people who contest mainstream conceptions of disability and the potential and role of disabled people have been suppressed and marginalised". The UNCPRD responded to this challenge by inviting more disabled people to participate in policy discussions. Significantly, this was unique in the discussion of such an instrument within civil society. This process also simplified the language used to meet the needs of all target groups. The same methodology was followed during discussion of the Egyptian Disability Law drafts, which followed ratification of the UNCPRD. As I was part of the organisation of this process, I am aware that disabled participants were widely invited by policy makers to share their thoughts regarding the draft. Moreover, the Disability Law committee travelled to various Egyptian cities to compile their demands. They presented this draft widely to consult with disabled people, allowing them to assess the degree to which it responded to their demands and giving them the opportunity to comment as appropriate.

Disabled activists' participation in disability policy, both at the global and national level, has gained greater attention in academic and professional arenas following the declaration of the UNCRPD (Priestley, 2007). It legalised their political, social and other forms of participation during the devising of national and international policies. The values essential for participation, such as democracy and transparency, set by the UNCRPD, enforced and politicised the rights of disabled people, because otherwise governments would not be seen as adhering to the ideals of inclusivity. Although disabled people's participation in designing their own policy varies according to their personal connections with government entities and/or policy makers, the IDA 2017 report mapped these levels of involvement but without analysing the reasons behind this variation (IDA, 2017). Levels of participation are controlled by other key factors such as power, self-organisation, and the political space.

Article 29 of the Convention necessitated the provision of any required assistance to support disabled peoples' political and public life so they are equally able to vote, be elected, or join NGOs and other consultation forces (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018). The Article, however, does not clarify how the equality of impairments, geographical distribution, and number of participants is wholly representative. The 2017 Universal Periodic Review (UPR) demonstrated the importance of these guidelines, showing the efforts conducted by some disabled activists from Japan and Guatemala, who highlighted challenges faced in their countries. They used this to urge their governments to repeal unfair legislation. Their voices and power to effect change are unique, when compared to non-disabled advocates seeking to bring about change (IDA, 2017).

Although the Convention's preparatory stage provided a new opportunity for DPOs to participate, the limited capacity of some presented barriers (Funds for NGOs, no date). Comparing this with disabled people's participation in the formulation of SDGs demonstrated difficulty. Their voices competed with others who wanted to prioritise their concerns and mainstream their rights as part of the 2030 agenda. Their organisations played a significant role,

benefitting the momentum of the UNCRPD's tenth anniversary which further coincided with the first year of declaring the SDGs (2016), in order to elevate disabled people's demands to the heart of pre- and post-SDGs discussions (IDA, 2018; UN, 2016e).

The UNCRPD influenced SDGs and other national discourses considered in this research to acknowledge the importance of inclusion. This term has developed during the move from segregated 'special education' towards inclusive education (Thompkins and Deloney, 1995) which expresses disabled students' right to access state schools (Bines and Lei, 2011). According to Rogers (1993), in relation to the American education system, every student should be given the chance to access 'regular' education as long as he can cope with tasks and assignments. This situates the problem in the individual, as with the traditional model of disability (Rubel and Rosman, 2003).

The other term which is found to be used interchangeably with inclusion is disability mainstreaming. It is a term found to be used in development projects and disability politics. The Austrian Partnership Programme in Higher Education and Research for Development (APPEAR, 2016, p.4) view this as an over-arching term to achieve equality through "eliminat...[ing] barriers, and prevent[ing] discrimination so that persons with and without disabilities can benefit equally from development cooperation measures". Both inclusion and 'disability mainstreaming' are used interchangeably, as strategies to offer disabled people equal opportunities.

The UNCRPD used the disability mainstreaming within the SDGs as a framework to implement the Convention. The 11th session of the UNCRPD conference of state parties, held in New York in 2018, used the SDGs' slogan '*leaving no one behind*' as a tool to the full implementation of the Convention. It drew global attention to the weak translation of disability policies in relation to disabled people's participation. It recommended a grassroots interaction with disabled people's organisations and coalitions (in line with Article 4.3 of the UNCRPD).

A key challenge identified by DPOs towards full participation is the limited availability of funding. Financing their own programs is a key move towards more inclusivity and sustainability of work. DPOs highlighted this topic by organizing events as well as publishing a report calling for private and public sectors to support mainstreaming disability within the countries' strategies (Disability Rights Fund, no date). The 'Financing Disability' side event organised by IDA at the 11th session of the UNCRPD is one example (IDA, 2018). They stressed the role of funding in implementing the UNCRPD to support disabled people's reasonable accommodation.

In summary, the disabled people's movement evolved to promote their own affairs calling for freedom, choice, control, organisation, and power. The provided various definitions of DPOs prioritised the role of disabled people to advocate for their rights with support of their allies. The movement's efforts over history have contributed to open a variety of opportunities for disabled people's affairs to be mainstreamed as part of global and national discourses (Oliver, 1999). The section has argued that the use of participation enabled disabled people to be included in the policy consultation process. One example is the UNCRPD where disabled people were given the opportunity to fully participate in the Convention's preparatory discussions, forming the majority of its content. While building this positive relationship, the subsection interacted with a sample of theories that support the theme of participation such as the Social Capital and Critical Disability Theories.

1.2 The Egyptian Context

The Arab Republic of Egypt is a country in North Africa, bordering the Mediterranean Sea, between Libya, the Gaza Strip and the Red Sea, north of Sudan. It also includes the Asian Sinai Peninsula, with a total area of 1,001,450 sq.km. (Encyclopedia of the Nations, 2019). Egypt's population reached around 92 million in 2015 (UN, 2015b), 80 million of whom live on only 4% of the available land area (USAID, 2010; Bakr, 2012). This is predominantly along the Nile Valley – south from Cairo to Aswan, and north into the delta to Alexandria and Port Said.

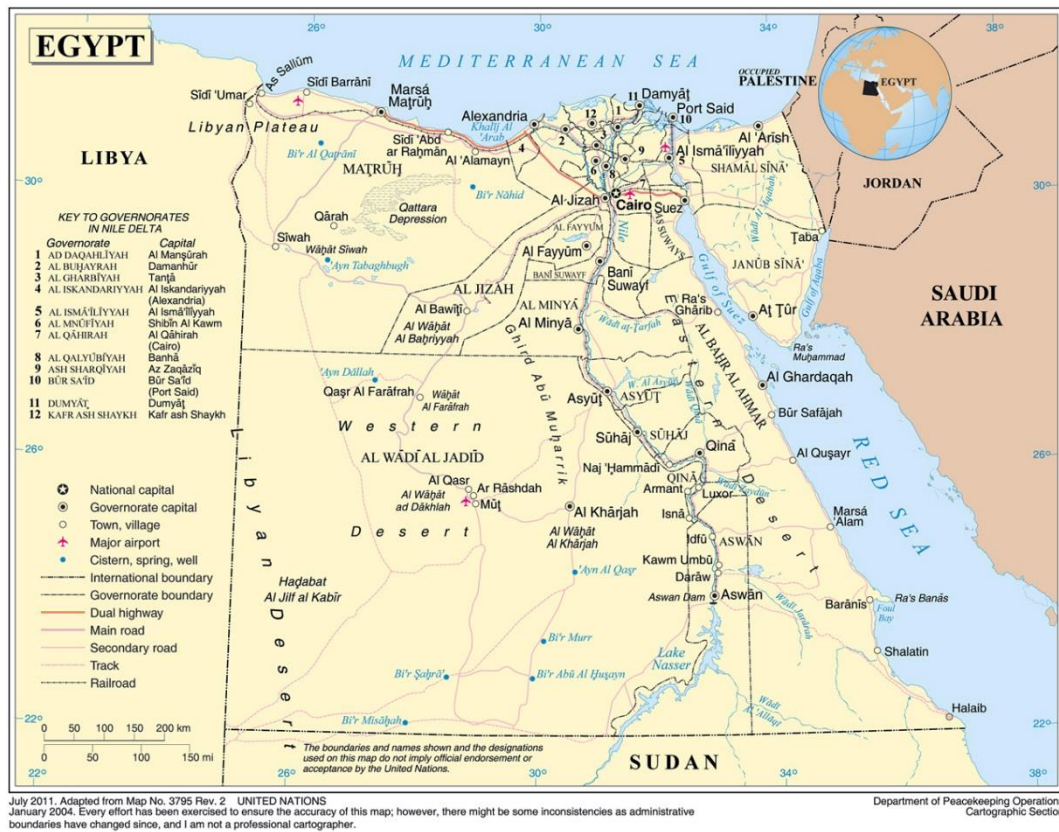


Figure 3

Detailed Administrative Map of Egypt (Vidiani.com, 2011).

This section contextualises the broader background of the disabled people's movement, in order to understand their involvement with the events of the Revolution and how the country's ratification of the UNCRPD assisted them to elevate their demands to a national policy level. In doing so, the section provides the historic background to the country's disability politics, including how the term disability has been defined historically within the country's context.

1.2.1 Disability in Egypt: Definitions and Legislation

The previous section presented a synopsis of the evolution of both the disabled people's movement and the theme of participation, showing how both evolved side by side. This section contextualises this by considering whether the UNCRPD and Egyptian Revolution have managed to support the disabled people's movement to be engaged with, and influenced by, concepts of freedom, choice and control, learning from the theme of participation. To do this, the section presents details about its establishment and development.

First, however, it outlines how disability has been defined historically and how it has been introduced within the constitutions and other legislative frameworks.

The section interacts with the three main research influences, the UNCRPD, the Egyptian Revolution and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to understand how they have contributed towards changing the government's view of disabled people's rights. The SDGs are 17 goals which came into force in 2015 to replace the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with more detailed text, inclusive language, and a better consideration of the rights of marginalised groups. SDGs have 300 complimentary targets and indicators, seven of which mention disability. These cover education, accessible schools, employment, accessible public spaces and transport, empowerment and inclusion, and data disaggregation. The goals make 11 references to disability: Goal 4 (ensuring inclusive and equitable education), 8 (sustaining economic growth and decent work for all), 10 (reducing inequality in and among countries), 11 (making human settlements safe and accessible), and 16 (promoting peaceful and inclusive societies). Both the Goals and targets were key drivers assisting the incorporation of disability rights into policies. Chapter 5 investigates whether this resulted in the Egyptian amended or newly emerged laws mainstreaming disabled people's rights (El-Sadany, 2014).

Whilst disability has various models and definitions worldwide, Egypt has its own definitions of disabled people. These depend upon which model of disability is used. Osman (1969, p.183) defines a disabled person as "any individual who differs from normal individuals in physical, mental or social aspects to the extent that requires special rehabilitation to make them reach maximum abilities and potentials." Nour (1973, p.157) also defines a disabled person as a:

...citizen that has one or more disabling barriers, which weaken... his/her ability and [make]...him/her in serious need for outside help or institutional support based on [a] scientific and technological basis to render him/her to normal level or as close as possible to normal level.

Both definitions encapsulate the individual model of disability. The first argues that a disabled person is an individual who requires rehabilitation (according to their impairment) in order to reach their potential within society, and the second definition examines the barriers only inside the person, classing it as their problem, and not of society. Both definitions do not differentiate linguistically between impairment and disability by conflating the terms and the person. They do not see disabled people as individuals with impairments, which is in direct contrast to the generally held view (Barnes and Mercer, 2005). The social model of disability then came to construct this idea by placing the multitude of barriers in society as the significant influence on disabled people's ability to function. Historically, Egyptian policy and service providers have also misused the term 'special needs' (conflated with terms for those who have impairments) (Bywaters et al., 2003; Zidan, 2012). Designing policies and services to support those in need may bring it closer to the traditional approach (Metzelthin et al., 2013). In this, the community will be sympathetic to provide individuals with services while viewing them as passive recipients.

Ascertaining the number of people with impairments is key when designing disability policies and service provisions. Whilst there is a great deal of statistical information in the literature referring to the numbers of people with impairments, this often conflicts with statistical information collected by international organisations. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) and World Bank 2011 report, about 15% of the world's population is impaired, of whom 2 to 4% experience significant difficulties in functioning. This report also notes these estimates are higher than the 10% estimated by the WHO figures in the 1970s. Global projections for impairment are increasing due to an ageing population and the spread of chronic diseases coupled with greater accuracy in data collection (WHO and the World Bank, 2011).

In Egypt, there is a disparity between government and international organisations' statistics when calculating both total numbers and different categories of impairment, sometimes in data collected in the same year. WHO

(2002), for example, estimated that 7.5 million of the Egyptian population were impaired, whereas the 2002 Central Authority for Public Mobilization and Statistics Report (CAPMAS) on Disabilities determined only 1 million for the same group. Some organisations, such as the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA, 2002), have broken down the different types of impairment as follows: 74% mentally disabled, 15% mobility impaired, 7% visually impaired, and 4% hearing impaired. Their report, however, does not demonstrate whether their classifications were used by the Egyptian government or WHO when estimating disabled Egyptians. Rohwerder (2018) later estimated that out of Egypt's total population in 2006 of 76.5 million, 12 million, or 15% were disabled. Again, however, there was a disparity as CAPMAS estimated that only 1.8% of the Egyptian population was disabled (Meadows et al., 2014). One reason for this gap is the associated stigma of Egyptian families identifying their disabled members. In addition, the lack of training of census collectors to collect disability data and unclear and conflicting disability definitions between government and international organisations.

The high consideration that SDGs have given to the disaggregated data may help to bridge this disparity in Egypt (see 2.1.2). Egypt was the first Arab country to acknowledge disability needs, and this positions it as one of the most experienced countries in disability support around the majority world (JICA, 2002). From the 1950s, disability has been addressed in Egyptian legislation, with laws, articles or clauses providing protection and security for disabled people; these took an individual perspective. According to Abdel Sadek (2008, p.2), the first (1950) law came as a response “to the International Human Rights Declaration [UDHR] proclaimed in 1948 to which Egypt was a signatory” – but it was restricted only to covering social insurance and pensions. The Labour Law 91 (1959) and the Rehabilitation Law 39 (1975) also mentioned disability following the same traditional model (Ministry of Insurance and Social Affairs, 1987). Others include: Rehabilitation Law 14 (1959), Social Welfare Law 133 (1964), Health Insurance Law 75 (1964), and Law 62 (1964) which “regulates and exerts control over the various non-governmental organisations” (Hagrass, 2009, p.34).

The 1971 Egyptian Constitution dealt with disabled people as a distinctive group. The terms 'People with Disability' or 'Disabled People' were not used to identify them. 'Incapacity' was mentioned only when stating benefits or pensions given to people unable to work. Article 17 stipulates that, "The State shall guarantee social and health insurance services. All citizens have the right to pensions in cases of incapacity, unemployment and old-age, in accordance with the law" (constitutionnet.org, no date a). In 1975, the Rehabilitation Law (39/1975) viewed disability from both the medical and traditional model where people were classified with impairments only according to medical diagnoses (Ministry of Insurance and Social Affairs, 1987; Barnes, 2012; Drewett, 1999). Even with its amendment in 1982 during the Mubarak regime, the policy framework was still underpinned by the same perspective (Hagrass, 2009). At that time, disabled people were referred to as 'special needs' (Hassanein, 2015, p.3).

The Egyptian ratification of the UNCRPD is as an important milestone influencing Egyptian disability politics. Although the government did not send any official disabled representatives to participate in these negotiations, a few disabled individuals managed to informally participate in the discussions. Their efforts, along with other civil society Egyptian NGOs, have contributed to the country's signature and ratification of the Convention. During this time, and at the national level, efforts have been exerted by the Egyptian national councils and civil society to draft a new Disability Law to comply with the new social and rights-based approaches brought by the UNCRPD (Egypt Independent, 2018). Their aim is to ensure disabled people's equal access to public services, as well as participation towards building their communities. This ratification was seen as a factor that assisted the emergence of new DPOs, supported by international organisations such as HI (Sahwa Project, 2007). This thesis argues that the UNCRPD contributed to the rights gained by disabled Egyptians with the 2014 Constitution, an issue that is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

In summary, this section considered the chronological development of Egyptian disability policy since the 1950s and where it is situated within the legislative framework. It discovered that Egypt was the first country in the Arab world to acknowledge disabled people through its legislative framework, although with attachment to the traditional model of disability. It further contained a sample of definitions of the disabled person in the Egyptian context, which mostly situate the problem within the individual. This reflects the way in which policies supported disabled Egyptians. Finally, it interacted with the disparity between government and international organisations regarding disability statistics, viewing this as one reason behind the government's inability to provide efficient and equal support to disabled people nationwide. While the later sections of this chapter explore how DPOs interacted with the Egyptian revolutionary events improved the policy attention given to their rights, the next subsections discuss the development of activism and the multiple reasons that led to the Egyptian Revolution.

1.2.2 The Rise of Pre-Revolutionary Activism

The first signs of motives towards political or revolutionary activism came in 2000, with Egyptian solidarity protests for the second 'Palestinian Intifada'. The Egyptian organisation of medical convoys and 'Field Hospitals' to support injured Palestinians helped Egyptian activists build their capacities in this regard. Since that time, Egypt has experienced many disturbances which, though limited in scope and effect, further enhanced their revolutionary experiences towards the events of 2011. Some of these incidents were political in nature, particularly the American invasion of Iraq in 2003, which stirred activism at home and abroad. This manifested itself as support for a neighbour in distress, but more importantly as a series of internal demonstrations against the social and economic damage caused to families returning from Iraq without jobs. Other incidents took a social nature, with solidarity and fundraising efforts over the last decade for economically deprived countries like Somalia or others in distress due to wars, struggle and natural disasters (Ali, 2012). Another area of development was the dramatic rise in numbers of human rights associations and civil society advocates between 2005 and 2010. This paralleled an increasing awareness and

enthusiasm of the youth to establish their own associations which reached 30,000 by 2010 (Abd el Wahab, 2012, p.76).

Sutton and Vertigans (2006) argue that successful social movements reflect their organisational structure, their consistency, longevity and their ability to reach all areas of society by adopting a bottom-up approach to resourcing and mobilization. The case of the Egyptian Revolution, as argued by Abdelrahman (2013) disagrees with this view, as although the Egyptian demonstrators were disorganised and with a loose structure, they managed to oust the regime. He argues, however, that these characteristics tend to be less beneficial after the Revolution. While the traditional social movement looked at these characteristics holistically, the NSM divided between resource mobilization and identity-oriented approaches (Waters, 2008). Movements in this regard had a solid and well-defined leadership, a commitment to real social activism and active participation in addressing society's most critical problems (Munson, 2001; Benford and Snow, 2000). The nature of Egypt's geography contributed to shaping and developing many of the social movements (Darwisheh, 2015; Munson, 2001). Denoeux (1993) explained in his analysis of Egyptian urban social networks that the modernization process was another factor in reconstructing old and establishing new social networks throughout the country.

According to Darwisheh (2015), there is a crucial relationship between the state in Egypt and how social movements develop, through its role in directing authoritative power within society. One successful example is the Muslim Brotherhood. Since its foundation in 1928, it has spread across Egypt and the Islamic World, claiming the support of millions from different segments in society (Munson, 2001). Historically, the different Egyptian regimes' opposition to the Muslim Brotherhood helped to gain it support and sympathy from many local communities. It seems that they gained confidence and built solid capacity as response to the government pressure. These actions empowered them and other Egyptian movements, reaching their apogee in 2011 as they were ready to participate *en masse* in the Egyptian Revolution.

The forthcoming sections provide an insight into some of the political, economic and social reasons that led to the Egyptian Revolution.

1.2.3 Political, Economic, and Social Upheaval

During Mubarak's 30 year tenure as President of Egypt, corruption grew through the use of emergency laws and the application of the hereditary rule in the absence of opposition political parties (Bakr, 2012; Abdou and Zaazou, 2013). In June 2010, the assassination of Khaled Saeed propelled the lack of respect for human rights (El Nagggar, 2012; El Tantawy and Wiest, 2011), police abuse, and intolerance towards minorities into the spotlight (Bakr, 2012). This event came to be seen as the trigger fuelling the 2011 Revolution. The year 2010 also witnessed a controversial parliamentary election, creating a 'legitimacy crisis', with allegations of gross fraud and poor political performance (Abdel-Baki, 2011; Abdou and Zaazou, 2013). The leadership became more arrogant, reflected in delayed responses to public demands (Bakr, 2012).

These factors precipitated a widespread uprising on 25th January 2011 (Balata, 2011), with 18 days of protests demanding political reform and social equality. Egyptian author, Bakr (2012, p.61), illustrates these feelings:

There was a high sense of alienation amongst youth, to the extent that...youth on Facebook referred to Egypt in the following manner: "Egypt isn't my mother, Egypt is my step mother."

During the Revolution, strikers' escalated their demands in response to the regime's slow response. While there was an increase in the rate of social security payments, many perceived them to only be pretending to listen to the protestors' concerns (Abdel-Baki, 2011). Youthful strikers demonstrated on the streets for prolonged periods, resulting in the authorities eventually losing control. Following the Revolution, Mubarak stepped down and, after weeks of disorganisation, the military moved in to take control. At that time, they appeared to support the Revolution's goal: "freedom, dignity and social justice", conceding partially to the demands of disabled strikers. In June 2012, the Muslim Brotherhood regime was elected. Only one year later, however, President Morsi was overthrown after mass protests (Kingsley, 2013a). After

another round of elections, President Sisi was elected to govern Egypt until the present date (Bednarz and Brinkbäumer, 2015).

The above suggests that the expectations of a new and stable democratic system, with a bottom-up participatory approach, did not materialise (Abdou and Zaazou, 2013). Moreover, the population were disappointed not to see the Revolution achieve a well-formed economic and social strategy.

Moving to the economic context, both the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions fought for economic improvements, developments, and equality instead of political and civil rights. Demands may have been different in each country rather than there being a generic set of rights that people fought for (Beissinger et al., 2012). Although some classes were advantaged by improving economic conditions in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the question remains: why did the Revolution take place? Indeed, most Egyptians still lived in poverty, with 40% surviving on below the \$2 a day income poverty line; many faced extreme poverty of under \$1 a day (Korotayev and Zinkina, 2011; United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 2010).

Datt et al. (1998) and Hagenaaars and De Vos (1988) argue that Egyptian poverty is multi-dimensional. Pinstруп-Andersen (2009) shows that it includes a lack of food and nutrition, while another dimension is the lack of capabilities amongst service workers, crucially covering education and health (Wagle, 2002). Due to the Revolution's economic consequences, such as the increase in the unemployment rate, the extent of poverty widened, with considerable impact on disabled people. Datt et al. (1998) and Hagenaaars and De Vos (1988) demonstrate the profound relationship between poverty and social exclusion for disabled people.

According to Abdel Baki (2011), deteriorating socio-economic conditions were one economic reason for the Egyptian Revolution. Thus, Egypt's position in the Gini Coefficient index – the most used measure of inequality – ranged between 30 – 33 points, reflecting a high level of economic inequality and severe poverty. This was due, in part, to a global rise in food prices and an

inefficient operation of subsidies for the poor which helped justify the strike (Abdou and Zaazou, 2013; Korotayev and Zinkina, 2011). The cost of subsidies increased (Bakr, 2012) without covering essential and necessary food commodities. The combined effects of rising inflation, increasing tax levels, higher unemployment, and the previously mentioned multi-dimensional poverty fuelled the daily strikes that were aimed at removing these economic barriers. This contributed to social exclusion for disabled people. While the NSM theory argues that economic factors are not the most important drivers for social movements, this is seen as the motivation for many poor people taking to the streets to improve their standard of living (Waters, 2008).

These political and economic challenges led to much social upheaval. Datt et al. (1998) argue that poverty is closely associated with social exclusion from mainstream services. For example, vast numbers of students in overcrowded classrooms greatly reduce both the quality of education and subsequent graduates' ability to benefit their communities. Others, such as disabled people, though, do not even have access to this education. They fare much worse, as they are subject to further social exclusion due to limited access to basic services and national policies, sometimes ignoring their specific requirements (Hassanein, 2015).

According to Egypt's Ministry of Education (MoE) 2014-2030 Strategy (no date), only 2% of disabled children attended schools in 2012 due to low numbers of special needs schools. The absence of an inclusive education culture and policy — special or integrated — means an estimated ratio of one school for disabled children compared to 454 for non-disabled children (Barnartt, 2014; Mahmoud, 2012). The importance of access to adequate education is further demonstrated by the massive annual competition for jobs, with 200,000 new jobs being shared between 700,000 new graduates (Bakr, 2012). Conversely, many private companies fail to find qualified candidates to fulfil their job requirements (International Labour Organisation [ILO], 2017).

Other examples of discontented minorities are found along racial, ethnic, and religious lines. Bakr argues (2012, p.67):

Nubians and Bedouins felt deprived from the fruits of development – alienated and not integrated into Egyptian identity, and further neglected in their demands and aspirations. Christians too suffered a lack of responsiveness to their religious demands.

Authors such as Korotayev and Zinkina (2011, p.69) offer contradictory opinions, however, stating that the Mubarak regime eradicated extreme poverty nationwide and that “Egypt belonged to the group of the best performing countries of the world.” They compare Egypt with China and Pakistan: while 20% of the Egyptian population live in poverty, the majority live above the extreme poverty line. Indeed, they depict Egypt as one of the most successful countries in the majority world (Korotayev and Zinkina, 2011; Stone, 1999).

To conclude, the dramatic deterioration in the political, economic and social situation that occurred in the few years that preceded 2011 helped fuel the Revolution. The absence of a choice of political parties along with youth feelings of alienation, in addition to hyper-inflation, were contributing factors. These combined forces fuelled the anger of citizens towards revolutionary action. Whilst most writers and scholars endorse these reasons, there are opposing opinions that view the Egyptian government as moving towards social and economic reform. This represents conflicting political and ideological affiliations of the writers in question. The next subsection focuses on the disabled people’s movement to illustrate how their development prepared them to participate with the Revolution’s actions.

1.2.4 The history and the development of the Egyptian Disabled People’s Movement

This subsection contextualises the history of disabled people’s movements within Egypt up to the country’s ratification of the UNCRPD. As far as the literature indicates, glimpses of the Egyptian disabled people’s movement began in the early 1970s. Disabled people started to form themselves into specific groups to address challenges from their perspective while the same was happening amongst parents of mentally disabled people. Examples were found in both visually and hearing impaired groups, such as the NGO of Fagr

in Alexandria and the Egyptian Blind Association in Cairo in 1972. This was a unique development as disabled people's affairs were previously dealt with through their families due to the lack of social policy and welfare protection at that time (Hagrass, 2005).

The next development of the movement revolved around families of mentally disabled children who felt the necessity to establish their own organisation. This was to provide their children with the appropriate and necessary support that was not forthcoming from other providers. Such activists' enthusiasm and understanding resulted in the formation of a large number of parents' organisations over the last three decades. The 'Right to Live' Association, established in Egypt in 1981, is the first organisation of parents to support children with mental and intellectual difficulties (The Right to Live Association for Intellectually Disabled, no date). Their aim was to dedicate their lives to advance their children's standard of living by encouraging the community to accept and include them as part of society. They have united their efforts behind one slogan, "halve their sorrow by sharing" and the symbol of the blue rose. They were the first organisation to use the word 'right' as an approach to develop the capacity of people with learning difficulties through vocational training and work opportunities. Their encapsulation with the individual model influenced by the 1975 Rehabilitation Law however, motivated these organisations to provide services, viewing this as the pathway to promote their rights.

A further development was that, in recognition of the mobilisation of disabled people's rights, disabled activists, their family members and stakeholders initiated advocate groups to elevate their rights. Despite their efforts leading to the formation of alliances and networks, the community stigma and attitudinal barriers limited somehow the solidity of these alliances (Zidan, 2012). One example is Disability Awareness in Egypt, a virtual Google network formed by volunteers in 2006. The online group members share information about conferences and seminars held in the disability field in Egypt. They also counteract any misrepresentation of disabled people and their issues in the media (Disability Awareness in Egyptian Society, 2019). Another example is

the Inclusive Education Network established and run by Save the Children UK in Egypt. This is formed of activists, disability NGOs, and other governmental organisations e.g. National Council for Childhood and Motherhood (NCCM) who meet monthly to discuss the ways that would support disabled children's mainstreaming in education.

The era that followed the UNCRPD ratification witnessed a shift development of the disabled people's movement in Egypt. This was evident through the increased number of DPOs along with targeted funding and projects from international organisations to develop their various capacities and encourage them to coalesce into unions (see Chapter 4). This suggests that international conventions have been the main stimulus when considering the rights of marginalised groups. Further evidence is the country's ratification to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1989 (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, no date). The Convention obliged the country to initiate a new child law (12 for 1996) to comply with its principles. This Convention, along with the UNCRPD, acted as a stimulus for the NCCM, as a superior authority for children's rights in Egypt, to lead cooperative efforts with other ministries and NGOs to amend this law in 2008, adding a specific chapter to legalise disabled children inclusive rights. This was the result of joint efforts and the application of the participatory approach from NCCM which opened a larger opportunity for disabled children's NGOs to enrich these discussions to legalise disabled children's inclusive rights (NCCM, no date). As an insider researcher, I view this as unique in nature.

The UNCRPD also seems behind Egyptian disabled activists' aim to change the traditional model used by government during their service provision (Barnes, 2012). Disabled advocates relied on the social and rights-based models mentioned by the Convention to promote this culture of change, describing their benefits for both the community and disabled people. This included stressing the importance of the latter being in control of their own rights and affairs (Liebowitz, 2015).

The declaration of the UNCRPD also assisted disabled activists in acknowledging the necessity to draft a new law to comply with the convention principles (HI, 2006, p.54). Abdel Sadek (2008) expressed that saying “they reiterated the importance of drafting a comprehensive law that would regulate the rights of disabled persons in Egypt that would be in conformity with the political, economic and social changes taking place ... during the past two decades” (p.4). The result is that some national councils, such as the National Council for Human Rights and the NCCM, began to consider the challenges and rights of disabled persons by conducting conferences and workshops to draft relevant new laws (HI, 2006; The National Council for Human Rights, 2015). The National Council for Disability Affairs (NCDA) also held workshops throughout various Egyptian “governorates” – a term mostly used in non-English speaking countries to express a state or province - where the majority were disabled activists and their organisations. This was to ensure that the new draft Disability Law covered the challenges, needs and rights of disabled people (Roshdy, 2012).

Looking at DPOs’ developments through the presented history found that they have classified into two directions, influenced by the UNCRPD. The first is to do with DPOs that were formed since the 1970’s up to the UNCRPD. Their visions were focused on service provision influenced by the Rehabilitation Law no. 39 of 1975, which considered disabled persons as ‘un-abled bodies’, providing medical and rehabilitation support (Abdel Sadek, 2008). The second development entailed sizeable increases in numbers and geographical distribution, along with rights based direction following the UNCRPD. In 2009, one year following its’ ratification, large numbers of DPOs were created in Upper Egyptian governorates with a tendency towards collective and collaborative work approaches, and many projects were launched to serve that purpose (see Chapter 4).

Despite these improvements on both organisational and geographical levels, two main challenges still afflict DPOs in Egypt. The first is to do with the small number of disabled activists who have sufficient knowledge, experience and/or power to start their own organisations: “This has led to most DPOs being

founded by individual charismatic persons with disabilities, with very few protégés to follow and implement activities” (HI, 2006, p.42). Even with this shortcoming, this was seen as progress for disabled people expressing their own demands as, traditionally, non-disabled experts and scholars often spoke on their behalf (Hagrass, 2012). The second challenge is that both DPOs and civil society evolutions in Egypt are tentatively similar. Both move at a slow pace lacking the essential administrative, financial and planning capacities to advocate for their own rights (Meadows et al., 2014).

To conclude, the evolution of the Egyptian disabled people’s movement shows that it was built around a number of disabled individuals or parents who felt the necessity to align in support of their population. They fulfilled this either through providing different types of services or elevating their voices to influence national policy agenda. The latter, however, seems to have been greatly influenced by the UNCRPD which contributed to the solidity of the Egyptian disabled people’s movement through increasing the number of DPOs. The social and rights based models attached to UNCRPD supported DPOs to move away from the individualistic approach of work towards more collaboration. It drew their attention to the importance of establishing a new law and mainstreaming their affairs in other national policies. The convention was a stimulus for DPOs to change their models of interventions and approaches along with moving away from the use of disablist language and traditional disability models. The next section presents the second important driver supporting the development of the disabled people’s movement, demonstrating how the Egyptian Revolution developed the disability politics.

1.3 The Egyptian Revolution and Disabled People



Figure 4

Placards from the Egyptian Revolution (Al Masaeed, 2013).

This subsection discusses the situation of disabled people's involvement during the Egyptian Revolution. This includes their levels of participation and self-organisation. The aim is to understand how they took part in the solidarity and cooperative spirit palpable across the whole community during the revolutionary events. To familiarise the reader with the wider context, the section gives a synopsis of reasons, uniqueness and consequences of the Egyptian Revolution with disability in mind.

Disabled people were active participants throughout the Revolution, whether this was through marching, striking, demonstrating, or through political activism across Facebook pages (Barnartt, 2014; Hagrass, 2015). They succeeded in establishing their own new alliances, collaborating with other activist groups. Although the exact number of disabled participants in the Revolution is not documented, those who did participate managed to work cooperatively to get their voices heard and to gain fulfilment of their basic rights

and demands. The revolutionary atmosphere elevated community activism to its optimum level with mass participation.

The spirit of the UNCRPD inspired many groups of disabled youths to advocate for their rights, relying on its principles and articles even before the Revolution. An example was their strike in front of the parliament which started in February 2010 and lasted for around three months (Barnartt, 2014; Helmy, 2015). Although this was poorly organised, which may be why it gained limited results, it drew the community's attention and underscored the need to listen to disabled people's voices, rather than allowing others to speak on their behalf.

The Egyptian Revolution then came to fuel numerous activist movements, where disabled people found space to participate and call on policy makers to acknowledge and consider their rights. Their demands started to be adapted into the country's national policies one year following the Revolution. The 2012 Constitution contained disability subjects for the first time, focusing on removing community barriers facing disabled people, addressing them as equal citizens, and replacing the idea of individual tragedy and care which was embedded in the charity or traditional models (Barnes, 2012).

In 2014, and one year following the ousting of the Muslim Brotherhood regime, human rights advocates found it necessary to give more consideration to marginalised groups' rights through adopting a new constitution (see 6.1.1). They necessitated the importance of listening to their voices as part of the Constitution consultation process. Disabled people were among the groups that benefitted from this space, as DPOs and experts gathered to mainstream their rights into many Constitution subjects.

Organisations such as Coptic Evangelical Organisation for Social Services, Egypt (CEOSS) supported this mobilization through co-ordinating a number of workshops and conferences to translate disabled people's demands into the Constitution draft. Their publication "Why Not" promoted political participation among disabled people (CEOSS, 2015).

According to the Egyptian delegation speech at the UNCRPD 10th UN Conference (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UNDESA], 2018), the activists relied on articles 4, 8, 12 and 16 of the UNCRPD, among others, to motivate the Egyptian government to mainstream disability affairs within the constitution. According to the African Disability Year Book's report on Egypt (K4D, 2018), their joint efforts with government were successful in mainstreaming disability in seven articles as well as devoting a specific article (81) to explicitly mention disability rights. These included:

- Article 9 concerning equal opportunity and non-discrimination;
- Article 11 stressing women's rights in general and specifically the rights of disabled women;
- Article 16 granting equal rights to job opportunities and state care, specifically for disabled war veterans;
- Article 53 including disability as a cause of discrimination;
- Article 80 addressing the importance of qualifying disabled children to be mainstreamed in the Egyptian education system.

They also ensured appropriate representation of persons with disabilities in local elections in Article 281, as well as in the elections of the House of Representatives in Article 244 (see Chapter 5). This may also clarify how Egyptian disability stakeholders interact with these subjects.

To conclude, disabled activists found that the Revolution provided a space for them to jointly express their demands with others. They were also inspired by the UNCRPD to demonstrate for their own rights even before the Revolution. They continued this activism during the legislative framework amendments that followed the Revolution and this contributed to their rights being mainstreamed in both the 2012 and 2014 constitutions. The participatory approach they followed was informed by other groups during the Revolution and contributed to greater self-organisation while demanding their inclusive rights. Chapter 4 shows whether DPOs were able to reflect the unity and collectivism attached to the Revolution and whether this has led to a more solid disabled people's movement.

1.3.1 The Uniqueness of the Egyptian Revolution

Although several Arab countries witnessed revolutionary events known as 'The Arab Spring', the Egyptian Revolution had some distinctive characteristics that made it unique in nature and effect. It has been noted that, despite the unsafe and inaccessible environment created by the Revolution, unusually large numbers of disabled people were able to strike all over the nation asking for their demands.

As stated by Heggy (2011, no pagination):

The number of Egyptian men and women who took to the streets to demand change ran into the millions, while Tahir Square was the scene of million-plus demonstrations in Cairo over many days. The size of countrywide demonstrations over several days ran to beyond ten million.

Although these mass protests included people from different social and ideological backgrounds, they all gathered around one objective: to overthrow the regime and demand dignity, with one of their slogans calling for "Bread, Freedom and Social Justice" (Ali, 2012; Al Masaeed, 2013). These demonstrators succeeded in maintaining street power through protests for eighteen days, even though they lacked proper organisation under a well-defined leadership (Abdelrahman, 2013; Al Bishri, 2011). This characteristic connects the revolution with the NSM which includes a flattening of the normative hierarchy and a looser structure with multiple groups participating (Sutton and Vertigans, 2006) (see 1.1.1). The revolutionary spirit also succeeded in politicizing the general public, whereas before it was discussed only amongst the elite (Al Bishri, 2011). During the uprising, politics was the main concern for Egyptians – rich or poor, educated or illiterate, disabled or non-disabled (Hagrass, 2015).

Another key feature was technology, whereby the Egyptian youth, as the core of the Revolution, relied more on social media (Facebook, Twitter, blogs and YouTube) to organise and mobilise, rather than on traditional means of organisation (Bakr, 2012). Between 11th January and 10th February 2011, there were 34 million participants in the Revolution on Facebook across 2,313

pages, with 9,815 participants receiving 461,000 commentaries. Over the same period, 93 million tweets on the Revolution were exchanged within Egypt, and to the outside world (Fay, 2012). After the first three days of the Revolution, the regime decided to block internet access to stop the majority from communicating and organizing the protests. However, this had the opposite effect, as people became more aware of its importance (El Tantawy and Wiest, 2011). Disabled activists followed the same method in building their platform when planning their protests, benefitting from the Revolution's successful use of social media to establish their networks and seeking to solidify their movement (see Chapter 4).

The last feature of uniqueness was the 'Selmya' (peaceful natured) approach, labelled by the youth movement which enforced it (Korotayev and Zinkina, 2011). Thus, the revolutionary events took the form of non-violent civil resistance, "featuring a series of demonstrations, marches, acts of civil disobedience, and labour strikes" (Bakr, 2012).

The chapter now moves to touch upon some revolution consequences with an aim to understand whether these fulfilled the strikers' aspirations.

1.3.2 Consequences of the Revolution

There were political, social and economic changes following the Revolution. Economically speaking, and despite signs of immediate confidence in banking, with the Egyptian pound remaining relatively stable at 5.85 against the dollar, to 5.95 before the events (Bakr, 2012), other outcomes were quite the opposite.

Tourism was negatively affected as revenues dropped by 60% from June 2010 levels. Egypt lost around two billion U.S. dollars in tourism revenues due to this political unrest:

The Egyptian foreign exchange reserves dropped rapidly, as they were \$36 billion pre-revolution and \$15 billion post-revolution. The decline was sparked by the dramatic events in Egypt, which took their toll on the receipts of foreign currencies (Abdou and Zaazou, 2013, p.98).

A related consequence of the Revolution was a sudden increase in the unemployment rate. Due to the impact of political unrest, it rose from 9.5 percent in the last quarter of 2010 to 11.9 percent in the first quarter of 2011 (CAPMAS, 2011). Although investors felt the need to work hard to improve the economic and social circumstances in Egypt, the regime did not provide the basic environment necessary to achieve this goal (Abdel-Baki, 2011). This was not only limited to people in Egypt but also to Egyptians abroad, who were discriminated against; for example, Egyptians were forced to leave their jobs in some Gulf countries (Colombo et al., 2012). One reason for this discrimination is that some countries formed negative impressions of Egyptians as a result of the imprisonment of their president (Stein, 2012). As Bakr states, “regional events deprived the Egyptian economy of remittance of Egyptians living in Libya, Syria, and affected groups coming from Bahrain, Jordan and the Gulf in general” (Bakr, 2012, p.71). This shows another reason for the shocking effect that the Arab Spring spirit has had on the Egyptian unemployment rate (Hagen, 2011).

The political and social consequences of ousting Mubarak included the mass break up of institutions that once served his authoritarian regime. For example, parliament was dissolved and the Constitution suspended in an attempt to investigate political and financial corruption. Additionally, activists demanded more emphasis on human rights and the right of self-expression (Bakr, 2012; Hagrass, 2015). Despite this, some groups were subject to further marginalization and discrimination during the two political regimes that followed the Revolution (Kingsley and Chulov, 2013; Bednarz and Brinkbäumer, 2015). This was exacerbated by government policy not considering them a priority on the political agenda. According to an Egyptian Human Rights Report (2012, p.2):

Migrants in the Sinai, for example, were detained unlawfully and subjected to sexual and physical violence by non-state actors. Domestic violence and societal discrimination against women were widespread. Abuse of children and discrimination against disabled remained problems.

This situation was improved during the third regime (current at the time of writing), where national policies such as the ESDS and 2014 Constitution gave more recognition to marginalised groups' rights.

Evaluating each of the three regimes' treatment of disabled people found that their demands were heard and dealt with, but from different models and perspectives. One reason is that these regimes did not want to be seen as discriminating against disabled people. As an expert board member of the NCDA and with lived experience of these three regimes, I can express this as follows:

The first regime that followed the Revolution – the military regime – acknowledged disabled people's demands, inviting them to share their concerns and promising to fulfil them. The second regime – The Muslim Brotherhood – engaged in part with the demands of disabled people but towards a charitable perspective, while the 2012 Constitution was seen as a way forward to acknowledge their rights. Disabled activists pushed for further change from the third regime (current) where the 2014 Constitution allowed a more inclusive space for mainstreaming their rights with various subjects. One aspect of that Constitution's uniqueness is the space given for the disabled community to participate to mainstream their rights. This continuous mobilization assisted disabled people's voices to become more powerful. They aligned to participate adding a disability input to different political parties' programs (see 1.3). Further research is required to build an in-depth understanding of how disabled people's demands have been treated from each of these regimes and their interaction and satisfaction on their service provision.

To conclude, the consequences of the Revolution included instability and insecurity, often the case following any revolution. The situation was fluid with the Egyptian population uncertain of how the country's system would operate or which ideologies would take precedence. This unstable vision of the country was reflected in the short length of the two regimes immediately after the Revolution. Despite this community groups used its momentum to enshrine

their rights in national policies. This case was evident with disabled people where they were able to adapt their rights in political parties programs.

1.3.3 Civil society organisations position following the Egyptian Revolution

Immediately after the Revolution, Egypt, as other Arab countries, started to promote 'civil society' as one of the pillars of its 'good governance. The empowerment of NGOs, DPOs, and protest movements at urban and rural levels assists elevating the voices of civil society to policy level (Abdou and Zaazou, 2013). Their efforts resulted in a number of recommendations, some of which are listed below:

- Corporate governance should be used as an essential tool for development: a country may have many resources, but when they are not exploited the country stays poor (Abdou and Zaazou, 2013).
- Promoting the concept of decentralization to empower government institutions at the local level, which will open more dialogue between them and the citizens of their constituencies. The result of this should lead towards more enhanced participation and the sharing and mobilization of community resources (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 2012).
- Other exemplary recommendations are: improving the standard of living in slums and rural areas to assure social security and improving labour working conditions (Abdou and Zaazou, 2013).

Immediately after the revolution, the civil society cooperated with government to initiate projects in support of the above recommendations. (El Nagggar, 2012; Abd el Wahab, 2012). Their support included fact-finding commissions and anti-corruption committees. Another key role was setting a document of principles to guarantee that the Constitution would be based on freedom, dignity and social justice principles set by the Egyptian Revolution (Egyptian Human Rights NGOs Papyrus, 2011). Chapter 7 shows a sample of this through analysing ESDS and SDGs' implemented projects. Parallel to this, there was a general impetus amongst human development experts and

researchers to design and implement frameworks through which the country could alleviate its poverty (Abdel-Baki, 2011).

Despite civil society's increased activism, some factors may have contributed to decrease their power and affect their presence in their communities. The first is that some regimes built a barrier between these alliances and the public by degrading their image and credibility. They accused them of reliance on foreign funding and being committed to certain western agendas. This contributed to the suspension of many of their projects, which lost them public confidence and forced greater dependence on informal foreign funding (El Naggar, 2012). The second obstacle to civil society organisations was their adoption of elitist rather than grassroots approaches. This meant failing in some areas to connect with the public and develop effective leadership:

They never sought to establish coalitions with labour or syndicate movements, and their notion of collective action remained poor; they worked as separate islands suffering from overlap in their activities and lack of outreach (El Naggar, 2012, p.82).

El Naggar's (2012) observation applies to some civil society organisations, although arguably the Revolution motivated them to work in unity and collectively rethink their strategies of engagement and relationship with the masses. Other organisations, however, have managed to develop structures and policies to rely more on the creativity and energy of the youth, backed up by international organisations seeking their full involvement in decision processes (Abd el Wahab, 2012).

To conclude, the enthusiasm of the Egyptian civil society has consequently increased after the Egyptian Revolution. Many NGOs aligned together to support the government to have good governance, decentralization and to eradicate corruption. The barriers built by the various regimes to degrade trust between civil society and the public did not stop the former's activism, although many of their projects have been suspended as a result of the government's deliberate actions to stop their activism.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided some theories that support the evolution of social movements, considering both the disabled people's movement and the Egyptian Revolution within this category. Analysing the theme of participation showed the interaction between their evolution and the emergence of the global disabled people's movement. Many social movements also used this theme as a catalyst to mobilise their rights, elevating it to the policy level. Relating this discussion to the events of the Egyptian Revolution can suggest theoretical contributions to the concept of social movements. The unique solidarity, unity, and power built throughout the Revolution's events, along with the economic element as a pressing demand of the Revolution, are examples of these. Another contribution is the 'Selmya' (peaceful natured) approach developed by Egyptian strikers during the Revolution that was successful in ousting the Mubarak regime. This was not found to be among the methods followed by previous movements. Their events used to follow more violent approaches to achieve their goals.

The chapter showed that the Revolution did not emerge from the void, but rather it came as a result of political, economic, and social deterioration. In addition, the series of minor reactionary movements that Egyptians went through further enhanced their activism experiences in expressing demands. This is one reason behind the Egyptian demonstrators' success in adapting their demands as part of Egyptian national policies following the Revolution. Disabled people were among the groups that benefitted at the policy level. Their rights were mainstreamed for the first time in eight subjects within the 2014 Constitution, as well as other policies discussed in later chapters.

This chapter argued that the UNCRPD ratification three years before the Revolution supported this mainstreaming. It allowed the disabled protestors and activists to frame their claims, learning from the Convention's social and rights based models. The increased number of DPOs following the Convention was a contributory factor in elevating their voices and adapting their rights into post-revolutionary policies. The solidarity and unity attached

to the Revolution demonstrated the power of aligning together in support of their demands.

The chapter presented a snapshot of the history of disability politics in Egypt including definitions and statistics. It was found that government and international organisations' disability statistics contained scarcities and discrepancies – including under-estimations which negatively affected the efficiency, scope, and quality of service provision. The individual/medical model attached to the disability policies pre-UNCRPD directed the government to provide cash and in-kind services to rehabilitate disabled people. The era that followed the Convention witnessed a shift, however, towards the social model along with inclusion. Both are seen as a pathway to inclusive development (see Chapter 2). While this chapter focuses on participation, the next chapter interacts with both inclusion and sustainability as themes used by the revolutionary events, along with SDGs.

Chapter 2: Global Development and Disabled Egyptians

Introduction

The first chapter argued that ratifying the UNCRPD; followed by the Egyptian Revolution; may have paved the way for disabled people's demands to be more explicitly considered in national policies. This chapter considers SDGs as the third motive influencing disability politics in Egypt, as it situated the concept of inclusive development as part of a legal framework, thereby forcing countries to fulfil their obligations. In this, it addresses elements of the thesis' main research question by considering how the country's commitment to the SDGs paved the way for mainstreaming disabled people's rights within Egyptian national policy. It reflects upon the extent to which the Egyptian post-revolutionary context prepared the country to follow global disability discourses (SDGs).

As with participation in Chapter 1, this chapter analyses the themes of sustainability and inclusion, due to the attention given to them by both post-Revolution national policies (ESDS) as well as SDGs. This is to understand whether the inclusive spirit brought by the Revolution, revolving around the slogan "Bread, Freedom, and Social Justice" (Ali, 2012; Al Masaeed, 2013), has influenced Egypt's approach to the SDGs.

The chapter begins by presenting the history and definitions of concepts such as inclusion, development, and inclusive development, specifically focusing on disabled people. It provides a chronology from the establishment of the MDGs up to the emergence of SDGs.

2.1 Inclusion, development and inclusive development

2.1.1 Development

This subsection interacts with the broad concept of development before leading the discussion towards the evolution of the concept of inclusive development. The chapter argues that the absence of an inclusive spirit among MDGs is one reason behind the move towards SDGs.

The different perspectives on the definition of 'Development' nonetheless agree that it is about change in a variety of aspects of human society (McGillivray, 2012; Sumner and Tribe, 2008). Sumner and Tribe (2008) put forward three definitions (long-term; short/medium; and post-modernist). The first is concerned with a holistic view of structural societal change e.g. the shift from rural to urban society. Its characteristics include a loose perspective incorporating a diversified view of social and economic changes. This model has a long-term outlook and provides more emphasis on research as a tool to achieve these changes.

The second definition of development is viewed by Sumner and Tribe (2008) as a more concrete and measured type. It is concerned with human development, designing policies with goals and indicators as a way of achieving concrete results, for example eradicating poverty. Their third definition (the most recent) was based on Foucault's theories that development is not an objective by itself, but rather a social construct and, therefore, subjective according to "the reality of each discourse". This reality is affected by the social, political and economic constraints which exert a power regardless of the truth and context. This can lead to certain groups being silenced and suppressed (Booth et al., 1999).

Governments also indirectly benefited from these definitions of development. The Egyptian government plan, for example, may fit with the medium type introduced above. Their planning history declared short-to-medium term national plans (the Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, 2015). One critique of this is that this short-to-medium term, instrumental view loses the grand vision of societal transformation, by separating the concept of development from socio-economic structures, social relations and politics.

This suggests that development involves wider considerations of well-being beyond just income. These include increased urbanization and improvements in 'social indicators' such as health and education, etc. In Egypt, for example, the unequal distribution of healthcare units prevents the poorest from receiving

the most basic of healthcare provision (Rauniyar and Kanbur, 2010). Oxfam (no date) suggest that the country gains more equal distribution of its resources if it builds more transparency and accountability, and enhances cooperation between different stakeholders such as civil society, governments and private sector (Oxfam, no date).

Deacon (2007) observes that there is a competitive nature between economic and global social discourses. The latter developed to recognise that a social contract was necessary, but only when addressing adverse effects and for the sake of improving the economic growth of a country. He further argues that the UN does not challenge the global consensus on the need to underpin market based societies, but their position comes with a commitment to more social protection. The chosen course of action will largely depend on how the country is governed and the ideologies underpinning that specific government (Deacon, 2007).

Stanton (2007, p.3) views the Human Development Index (HDI) as “progress towards greater human wellbeing”. This approach covers a wider vision of development than focusing purely on economic means. The HDI treats “development as the process of enlarging people’s choices” and expanding their “capabilities to lead lives they value” (UNDP, 1990). Stanton (2007) argued that “the [1990] United Nations Development Program (UNDP) transformed the landscape of development theory, measurement, and policy”. One objective behind developing such an index was to evaluate a country’s development performance in a broader way (Rauniyar and Kanbur, 2010); this can be seen as one driver to inclusive development. In 2015, Egypt ranked 108 out of 188 countries in the HDI (medium category). It also expects a population of 100 million by 2030, and that will result in numerous development concerns such as poverty, governance and environmental challenges.

Across its history, the Human Development Report gives varied consideration to disability: the first, published in 1990 (UNDP, no date) has three references to disability, whilst this increases to ten references in the 2010 Report (UNDP, 2010). Consequently, it appears that the HDI gives a low profile to disability

and, even when mentioned, it is encapsulated within the individual model (Barnes and Mercer, 2005). This either deprives the disabled population's access to basic services or segregates them from having an inclusive engagement within their communities. The emergence of the HDI, however, can be seen as a step forward to the evolution of sustainable and inclusive development.

To conclude, the concept of development in this thesis refers to a process of change that takes account of the three definitions (long, medium and short) as they relate to the journey towards inclusive development detailed in later sections. Analysing their characteristics found a combination of a diversified view of social and economic changes, the designing of concrete policies with goals and indicators, and a social construct which is subjective according to different contexts. The next subsection interacts with the concept of inclusion due to its importance and attachment to development within both SDGs and the Egyptian Sustainable Development Strategy (ESDS). The application of this concept reduces marginalised groups' segregation through mainstreaming services within their communities.

2.1.2 Inclusion

This section acts as a mediator between the previously discussed concept of development and that of inclusive development. It demonstrates the influence of the UNCRPD on disabled people's understanding of the concept of inclusion and their efforts to achieve it. Considering the Egyptian context, this subsection presents the positive and negative characteristics that influenced their understanding and application of the concept of inclusion.

As discussed in 1.1.3, participation is the core focus of the disabled people's movement when advocating for the inclusion of disabled people's rights. They had a history of large scale segregation inequality, either by institutionalisation or being marginalised with poor service provision (Equal Rights Trust, 2018). The Disabled People's International (DPI) manifesto response was to fight against disabled people's marginalization, social exclusion and segregation, calling for equal access to their fundamental human rights.

All over the world societies are planned and developed without any regard for the needs of disabled people. As a consequence disabled people live on the fringe of their societies.

DPI, 1981

The DPI Constitution (Disabled People's International, 1984) views the unity of disabled people's voices through their DPO representation as a means by which these concepts can be fulfilled: "We urge disabled people all over the world to unite in organisations of their own and to join DPI in a common struggle for full participation and equality with our fellow citizens". Their advocacy was arguably behind the use of these concepts during the drafting of the UNCRPD, which was accompanied by the concept of inclusion. Article 33:3 of the Convention stressed the necessity of DPOs' voices being heard during the design and monitoring of any implemented policies: "Civil society, in particular persons with disabilities and their representative organisations, shall be involved and participate fully in the monitoring process" (UNDESA, no date a).

Despite this, the analysis of the World Social Protection Report 2017-2019 (International Labour Organisation, 2017) described some of the challenges facing communities leading to social exclusion. It reported a correlation between segregating disabled people to access education, health and infrastructure programs and their inability to compete equally in the labour market. One reason for this social exclusion is the discrimination and unjust policies when both designing and implementing the various legal frameworks. Another factor is multi-dimensional poverty (discussed later in this chapter).

The global disability discourses (UNCRPD and SDGs) necessitate disabled people's full participation, advocacy, and unity to achieve equal access to their rights. These are, therefore, important key drivers to inclusion. Articles 3 and 19 of the UNCRPD both reference full participation, equality and inclusion. Article 26 stresses the importance of habilitation and rehabilitation, which will also lead to disabled people's inclusion. Lastly, Article 24 promotes the right of inclusive education, influencing government and international organisations

to more widely incorporate the concept of inclusion. Reviewing the literature of this concept also shows the interrelation between disabled people fighting for their equal and inclusive rights and the increasing attention given by the global discourses to address the concept of inclusion (UNCRPD, 2018; United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, no date). One example is the International Disability Alliance (IDA) report during the High Level Political Forum (HLPF) stating that “poverty cannot be eradicated unless persons with disabilities and their representative organisations are at the heart of the design, implementation and review of international and national poverty reduction programs on an equal basis with other groups” (IDA, no date). This may have been encouraged by the SDG 1 which stresses the eradication of all forms of poverty from the whole of society.

Following on from this, an increasing attention has been given to the concept of inclusion. While this term is mostly used by disability advocates in support of their full participation with their rights, other scholars define it as a general term to support values, solidarity, a sense of belonging and offering an equal opportunity to everyone (Keys to Inclusion, 2019). Human rights organisations relied on this term to embrace all individuals irrespective of race, gender, disability, etc. The literature views the concept of inclusion as useful for policies to encourage the provision of accommodation and removal of barriers, so citizens could be more engaged and connected (Keys to Inclusion, 2019).

As with global discourses, and alongside other religions, Islam – including the Qur’an and Sunnah – does not discriminate or exclude on the basis of people’s impairment. The Prophet Muhammad’s hadith is one example: “God does not look at your forms or your bodies; rather, he looks at your hearts and your deeds” (As-Salihin, no date). This inclusive vision moved from the judgements based on the individual appearance and abilities towards evaluating people according to their actions. A balance is also found between declaring the inclusive rights of the disabled individuals (known as “disadvantaged” in this context) and the community responsibility towards them (Al-Aoufi et. Al., 2012); an idea that built a profound relation between solidarity and inclusion concepts. These messages however may be misinterpreted in many Arabic

societies, such as Egypt, where the disability stigma, along with inadequate public services, deprives people from being mainstreamed. As Al-Aoufi et. al, (2012, p.205) argue:

Despite the fact that Muslims share the same beliefs and principles, people's attitudes and understanding regarding these concepts, and their reactions to individuals with a disability, may vary depending on the intensity of a person's faith, as well as their socio-economic status, level of education, awareness and, more importantly, their cultural context.

Positively, the solidarity attached to the religious communities can support the concept of inclusion being empowered. Egyptians living in some slums are traditionally closer, more supportive and in greater solidarity with each other, and promoting this attitude can support mainstreaming marginalised community groups (Sims, 2003). Some NGOs support given to poor families in Egyptian villages can also lead to inclusion empowering the latter to participate in building communities (Equal Rights Trust, 2018).

Analysing this research demonstrated a different understanding of inclusion among the research target groups. Egyptian DPOs were found to be dissatisfied with the policy makers' perspective of inclusion as some felt that their voices had been suppressed from the policy consultation process (see 4.1.2). . This conflict could be seen as positive to foster their alignment, and advocacy to elevate their voices and demands.. In support of this alignment the UN has relied on the internet to involve and update disabled activists with their events through virtual platforms. However, this was not altogether successful due to poor internet resources in the global south (Ryungbeck, 2017).

To conclude, this subsection showed that the theme of participation, introduced in the previous chapter, was a milestone that supports the disabled people's movements to access more inclusive rights. Their collective efforts led to the enshrining of the UNCRPD. Although the associated stigma and poverty may hinder inclusion, the religious nature along with solidarity found specifically in slums are positive characteristics to support inclusion. The next subsection shows this concept's influence on the emergence of inclusive

development. It takes the reader on a journey to understand its influence on mainstreaming all community groups.

2.1.3 From Inclusion to Inclusive Development

Alongside other human rights advocates, disabled people's previous efforts at inclusion acted as one driver towards the expansion of the concept of development. The documented marginalization of many vulnerable groups from the development process also showed that the development concept should be widened to include different community groups. More attention is, therefore, given to the importance of adding an inclusive approach to the process of development, which has been introduced in 2.1.1 above. While this approach tends to be the focus of development organisations, the status of each country's service provision controls the degree to which these goals can be implemented. For example, the absence of specialised services for disabled people in some Egyptian communities resulted in government disability programs giving more attention to services at the expense of mainstreaming disabled people's rights (Hayes, 2013, p.2). This research's data confirms that constant vigilance from policy makers and active intervention from DPOs and other target groups were vital when moving from good intentions towards a real implementation.

Balancing between empowering disabled people and tackling the societal barriers to mainstream them in various aspects of development provides a 'twin track' approach towards inclusive development (CBM, 2008). Defined by Stubbs (2008, p.79) as ensuring the inclusion of marginalised groups through "system-level changes and on-going targeted support", it addresses inclusion as a process for society to accommodate differences and to combat discrimination. It sees society as the problem, not the person (Stubbs, 2008). Furthermore, the twin track approach aims to decrease the degree of poverty which exists among the disabled population, 80% of whom live in the majority world (Parnes et. al., 2009). Experiments from majority world countries such as India, Egypt, and Ghana demonstrate this approach's success in addressing "poverty in the lives of persons with disabilities, their families, and their environment" (CBM, 2008). This approach also evolved within the context of women's rights to ensure that gender equality is foregrounded within

development programs and initiatives, especially those which target economic and social change¹ (Woodroffe and Smees, 2013).

Combined with the twin track approach, Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) is seen as another successful intervention ensuring inclusive development although it came decades earlier than SDGs. It was devised by the World Health Organisation (WHO) in 1978 as a strategy to provide disabled people with basic service provision, as well as rehabilitating them. It is defined by the WHO (1981, p.9) as “involv[ing] measures taken at the community level to use and build on the resources of the community, including the...disabled...their families, and their community as a whole.” The success of this concept relies on the combined efforts of disabled people, their families and relevant government, civil society and private sectors to expand the community resources to be beneficial for all citizens. To systematise the use of this concept, a CBR matrix has been established by the WHO to give an overall visual representation of the five main components: health, education, livelihood, social, and empowerment (WHO, no date). While the WHO has designed this generic matrix, each country assigned their own CBR matrix and strategy. Following SDGs, the application of CBR was developed into a “multisectoral approach working to improve the equalization of opportunities and social inclusion of people with disabilities, while combating the perpetual cycle of poverty and disability” (WHO, 2019). Examining the application of the CBR concept found it to be more successful in lower and middle income countries (LMIC) where the government either gives less priority to the rights of disabled people’s affairs or due to the country’s poor economic situation (Lemmi et al., 2015). The Egyptian application to this concept is discussed in 7.2.2.

CBR is also designed to support the application of Inclusive Local Development (ILD). This is defined as a “rights-based, participatory and inclusive framework for local development” (Humanity and Inclusion, CAMID and the Employers’ Federation of Ceylon, 2019, p.6) geared towards encouraging marginalised groups’ participation in the “inclusion of a disability component in existing policies, projects, services and initiatives” (Handicap

International, 2009, p. 2). The application of ILD has been used to achieve gender equality and disability mainstreaming in some of the most service-deprived local communities. The concept uses a 'twin track' approach (Humanity and Inclusion, CAMID and the Employers' Federation of Ceylon, 2019) to ensure disabled people's effective participation while mainstreaming them in development processes (Humanity and Inclusion, CAMID and the Employers' Federation of Ceylon, 2019). NGOs, such as the Association of Upper Egypt for Education and Development and HI, have used both the ILD model along with local administration law (43/1979) to form Local Disability Action Plans (LDAP), ensuring that disability is mainstreamed in annual local plans submitted at the district level. According to CAMID (2019), ILD supports the application of inclusive development at the local level.

In an attempt to define inclusive development, it is important to differentiate between 'Growth' and 'Inclusive Growth'. The former refers to an increase in per capita income, even if there is an unbalanced use of these resources that will lead to more inequality (Rauniyar and Kanbur, 2010). Relying on this alone is not "feasible to cater for the needs of all disabled persons through "disability-specific" projects" (UN, 1997). 'Inclusive Growth' occurs when there is fair distribution of the available resources and poverty is reduced as a result (OECD, no date). Depending on this approach when shaping policy consequently 'level[s] the playing field' for involvement of all society to boost the economy of the country. Since the 1990s, however, the concept of development has moved from primarily focusing on economies to being more about people (see 2.2.1 above). Applying this to this thesis implies that 'Inclusive Growth' is more likely to advance poor or disabled Egyptians into mainstream society (Elwan, 1999).

Scholars such as Gupta and Vegelin (2016) see in the SDGs and its slogan of '*leaving no one behind*' a motivating force to balance the economic perspective with a social approach to development. Gupta et al., (2014) state: "This vision protects the most vulnerable people within developing nations, classified in Egypt...to include migrants, refugees, the disabled, indigenous peoples and future generations" (unpaged). Brazil, India, and Egypt amongst other

examples, present some successful inclusive development initiatives, which aimed to provide equal rights to all community members within an inclusive environment (Oxfam, no date). In Brazil, the government, NGOs and Community Service Organisations (CSOs) cooperatively established public policies for food security and to reduce hunger. As a result, initiatives and projects such as 'The Zero Hunger Project' were started by NGOs. These efforts protected 28 million people from the cycle of hunger and many countries were inspired by Brazil's success story (Gasnier, 2010). In India, CSOs working in health care started to implement community-based monitoring and planning processes. The government established the 'National Rural Health Mission' in 2005, with NGOs focusing on transparency, participation and accountability in the delivery of public health services (Bhatt and Sandhu, 2016). As a result, a more positive connection between service providers and recipients has developed, with improved quality of health services and an increased number of recipients.

Despite these successes, there are recognised barriers to slow SDGs full implementation. Examples are: multi-dimensional poverty and lack of available disaggregated data and resources (Cobham, 2014; Coe and Wapling, 2010). Chapter 7 analyses these in the context of Egypt. Both the United Nations World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen (UN, 1995) and the UN Standard Rules (UN, 1993) offered glimpses of inclusive development. They first centred people at the heart of development by "fostering social integration" (UN, 1995), including the promotion of universal accessibility goals for disabled people (Ghoneim, 2014). Secondly, they were keen to provide people with "equalisation of opportunities" (UN, 1993) identifying the preconditions and then target areas for 'equal participation'. The rules planned to achieve this by valuing equal partner cooperation between the state and disabled people in best addressing their needs, while stressing the role of the latter to "play an active role as partners in this process" (UN, 1993). This suggested that concepts of both equality and full participation are seen as a pathway to inclusive development.

To conclude, this subsection argued that disabled people's full participation and inclusion, as demanded by disability organisations, was behind the mainstreaming of their rights within SDGs. Their legalization of inclusive development motivated a partnership between governments and civil society opening further opportunities for DPOs voices to be heard. The journey from development towards inclusive development included moving beyond the economic approach towards a social and diversified consideration to all community members. Despite the successful example that learned from this concept, the subsection listed barriers that hinder its full implementation.

The final finding is that the UN announcement of inclusive development galvanised stakeholders to spark projects and initiatives. This was acknowledged by Ban Ki-moon, the former United Nations Secretary General, who stated that: "Development must be built on inclusive policy, aligned with people's needs and aspirations. There is one word above all that must guide us on this roadmap to ending poverty, transforming lives and protecting the planet. That word is "dignity"" (UNSDN, 2015). The next section will explore the similar chronological journey from MDGs to SDGs.

2.2 The journey until SDGs: Establishing a more fertile environment for inclusive development

The previous section presented the journey from development to inclusive development, showing some reasons behind this move. This section explores the concept of development goals and the process behind their adoption before arguing that both the MDGs and the UNCRPD contributed to disability mainstreaming in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It tells the interconnected story between these three multiple policy streams. In doing so, the section analyses the level of disability interaction within MDGs, moving to recognise the influence of the UNCRPD on the mainstreaming of disability within SDGs at the global level. The following chapters then examine the influence of the UNCRPD along with the Egyptian Revolution in order to understand whether they established a new horizon of policy inclusion at a national level in response to the 2030 agenda.

2.2.1 From MDGs to SDGs: More consideration to disability rights?

Since 1990, the UN has pursued extensive efforts to issue a global millennium declaration to motivate organisations towards unified development priorities (United Nations Millennium Declaration, 2000). At that time, DPOs used the momentum of the Decade of Disabled Persons, spurred by the 1981 International Year for Disabled, and announced by the UN through its World Program of Action in 1982, to urge governments to mainstream disability among their policies and plans. Three years following the Decade of Disabled Persons, DPOs' activism resulted in their submission of a joint statement to the World Summit on Social Development in 1995 (*Disability Dimension, A Joint Statement to the World Summit on Social Development, Copenhagen 1995*). The resolution from that summit included numerous commitments to mainstream disability and promote the 1993 UN Standard Rules (UN, 1995).

Their efforts also resulted in the production of *The Disability Dimension in Development Action Manual on Inclusive Planning* (UN, 1997). The idea was to capture the attention given by national governments and UN agencies to the actions that should follow the end of the Decade of Disabled Persons (UN, 1997). The manual aimed to support crosscutting “the disability dimension as a natural element” of strategies and projects leading to the inclusivity and cost effectiveness of the development process (UN, 1997, p.12). These developments are early indicators of the wide promotion of the concept of inclusive development.

Three years later, in 2000, the UN announced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), eight goals that aimed to promote education, protect the world from poverty and severe diseases and also promoted gender equality and environmental sustainability. Disabled groups, however, felt that they were neglected within these goals although the objective was to bring the global community further towards the support of poor and marginalised groups (Mulligan & Gooding, 2009). Goal 3, for example, expressed the importance of gender equality for women but without explicit reference to disabled women.

The MDGs' progress report at the time did not consider the feasibility of mainstreaming disabled people's demands.

The MDGs' development process was very 'top-down', rather than addressing grassroots development challenges (UNDP and the Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, 2015). It was heavily driven by quantity, thereby losing the qualitative nature which obscured the experiences and challenging stories (UN, 2012). Moreover, although the Millennium declaration was an ambitious document (UN Millennium Declaration, 2000), its eight goal framework results in policies being condensed, with a danger of missing other targets. Thus, its international attention on eradicating HIV and malaria, for example, left other less prominent diseases unaddressed (Melamed and Scott, 2011).

While the MDGs achieved major success in some countries, they failed to eliminate the same challenges elsewhere. Taking poverty reduction as an example, they achieved positive results in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia, whilst reduction indicators remained low in sub-Saharan Africa and other countries still facing conflicts (UN, 2013). In Egypt, the poverty rate increased from 16.9% in 2005 to 26.3% in 2013, influenced by the Egyptian Revolution (see 1.2.3). This undermined the aim of the first MDG to halve the poverty rate by 2015 (UNDP and the Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, 2015) and raised questions about the impact of poverty on the disabled Egyptian. Although the MDGs' declaration referred to the attention required for the least developed countries, their lack of consideration to mainstreaming disability as part of a combined holistic approach increased the challenges facing disabled people in having an equal access to services.

Goal 1 does not consider disabled people among the poverty eradication strategy, although there is a cause and consequence between disability and poverty, more increasingly in the majority world (Groce et al, 2011). Based on the UK Department for International Development's analysis (DFID, 2000), "Hunger and malnutrition and disability and poverty are inextricably

intertwined. 50% of disability is preventable and 20% of impairments are caused by malnutrition” (Thomas, 2005, p.7).

The goal indicators suggest that in order to reduce hunger, both an equal distribution of food and a minimum income over US\$1 per day are needed. However, its indicators did not recognise the varying equivalent rates of \$1 between 1990 and 2015 (Rauniyar and Kanbur, 2010).

Another example of disability not being explicitly mentioned is Goal 2, which aimed to “Achieve Universal Primary Education”, while not mentioning disabled children’s rights. Statistics show that, globally, the “majority of disabled children are out of school” (Thomas, 2005, p.8). In Namibia, 38.6% of disabled children have never been to school, whilst in Egypt only 2% of disabled children were able to attend schools (Thomas, 2005; Ministry of Education, no date). The latter percentage, however, started to increase following the declaration of the amended child law No. 126 for 2008 which was followed by the inclusive education ministerial decrees (People’s Assembly, 2008). As with the earlier Namibian example, the lack of access to primary education for disabled children results in their inability to contribute to the household economy as they are much more likely to be unemployed (Thomas, 2005).

Melamed and Scott (2011) claim that the MDGs also failed to take appropriate account of gender equality, disability, ethnicity, and environmental sustainability. This fact is also recognised in the UN Review of the contributions of the MDG Agenda to foster development (UN, 2013). The insufficient knowledge and understanding of other development scholars has stopped them crosscutting disability issues among national and international policies. It was assumed that disabled people’s rights would only be covered through specific programs (Groce and Trani, 2009). However, later research opposed this argument as most countries’ economic resources were not able to cater for their demands separately (UN, 1997). This, in addition to referencing the concept of inclusive development, however, drew the policy

attention to consider “disability mainstreaming” as a fundamental human right (Miller and Albert, 2005).

The UNCRPD came to force six years after the declaration of the MDGs, legalizing the social and rights-based approaches to disability (see Chapter 1). It aimed to overcome “attitudinal and environmental barriers found in areas such as education, access to health care, food, clean water, basic sanitation and economic empowerment” (UN, 2011, p.viii). These areas were also reflected in the eight MDGs, but without reference to disability either in the goals themselves or the 21 targets and 60 indicators. Disabled people then demanded the inclusion of their rights within MDGs through local, national, and regional DPOs (UN, 2011). International organisations also recognised that their development will not be achieved without considering disabled people’s rights (Groce and Trani, 2009). Their pressure resulted in disability being mentioned for the first time as part of the MDGs’ progress reports in 2010.

In September 2011, following the high-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly on the MDGs, the UN Secretary-General established the UN System Task Team to measure the impact of these goals, aiming to frame the post-2015 UN development agenda (known as the 2030 Agenda). This assessment stated that the timeframe and concrete targets of the MDGs had galvanised political leaders (particularly in Africa) and international development organisations around clearly defined priorities to further enhance equality for all (UN, 2013). It recognised, however, that it attempted to force national policy agendas to follow international benchmarks, thereby failing to address local contexts and demands. This reflected a ‘donor-centric agenda’ (UN, 2012, p.6), with power to control the international development plans as ‘third world’ countries, but from the perspectives and standards of industrialised countries (Melamed and Scott, 2011).

In 2012, the United Nations convened an international conference to express the need for a new agenda with a new set of goals to replace MDGs – not because of the failure of the latter to fulfil objectives, but because the possibility

of change allowed the opportunity for minority groups such as the one billion disabled persons to be mainstreamed (WHO and the World Bank, 2011). The result was the adoption of the 2030 agenda which consists of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

The UNCRPD acted as a guiding framework to the explicit reference to disability in SDGs. It is also used by United Nations' agencies to ensure that disability is among countries' national policy agenda priorities. Although the Convention saw wide ratification in its first year of declaration (2006), in both the global south and north, governments did not give enough attention to the rights of the disabled (Department for International Development, 2015). SDGs came to mobilise and support the Convention's implementation through wider mainstreaming of disability as a pathway to inclusive development.

The formulation process of SDGs' targets and indicators started with the UN Inter-Agency and Expert Group on SDG Indicators (IAEG-SDGs) being established in March 2015 by the UN Statistical Commission. The Committee was composed of statistical officials from 28 UN Member States and was assigned to develop a list of indicators by March 2016 at meetings held in New York (June 2015) and in Bangkok (October 2015) (IISD Reporting Services on Sustainable Development Policy and Practice, 2015). The Sustainable Development Solutions Network stated that, in addition to the targets and indicators created globally to ensure the SDGs' implementation, complementary indicators should be added to cover individual countries' circumstances such as specific diseases, extreme poverty, and war. Also, there was larger use of Universities' research support and new mechanisms of reporting and monitoring across all geographical levels to better evaluate SDGs' progress. Whether stakeholders in the development field will cope with this new system remains to be seen.

Gupta et al. (2014) stress the importance of SDGs having inclusive indicators to cover social, economic, and cultural factors. This ensures sustainability and fairer distribution of resources and also avoids social goals being marginalised and economic goals taking priority. Analysing SDGs' targets can show the

differences of clarity and specificity between them. SDG Tracker (2018) suggests that some of their indicators acted, however, to illustrate ways to understand and apply the targets. Merging some of them could, therefore, be useful, while it is understandable that their design was meant to be translated into activities at both national and local level. In essence, the SDG targets and indicators should not only focus on protecting populations but also on reforming the political, social, and economic structures to avoid inequalities in accessing services. In general, inclusive development is essential for multiple reasons – moral, legal, economic, social, security, and environmental.

Although some of the SDGs and their targets were designed to support the Least Developed Countries (LDC), such as Goal 1 about poverty, analysing these countries' responses exhibits a number of challenges to their progress (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2018). According to the United Nations, the social, economic, and environmental factors impact upon the degree to which countries can implement SDGs. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (2018) stress that this “requires the building of productive capacities and structural transformation”. Egypt is seen as one example where the rapid policy development related to disability, influenced by the country's signature to SDGs (the Constitution of 2014, new Disability Law of 2018, and ESDS, 2016), has had little influence on improving the services that disabled people receive. They are still marginalised when it comes to accessing basic services equally to others. This marginalisation is even more increased in rural areas than urban communities due to the existing centralisation and unequal distribution of services.

The next few paragraphs present a sample of these challenges. The first is that a lack of localised and sensitive Monitoring and Evaluation systems makes it difficult to assess the equality of benefits provided by SDGs. Putting this in the context of disability, international organisations such as Leonard Cheshire have researched the way in which current global policies support disabled people's rights and needs at the local level. They also examined the availability of resources required to ensure a full implementation. In their three-year conducted assessments in Kenya (Kenya National Bureau of

Statistics, 2013); Uganda (Musoke, 2013); Zambia (Chanda, 2017) and Sierra Leone (Kabia and Tarawally, 2017), the Leonard Cheshire organisation found that although the SDGs aimed for equal access to healthcare, education, livelihoods, and social protection, disabled people reported that their access to these services is still limited (Leonard Cheshire Disability and Inclusive Development Centre, no date). The organisation's assessment also found that, although the SDGs confirmed the importance of having qualitative and quantitative disaggregated data as tools to monitor its implementation, these countries' disability databases are still inaccurate. As a result, governments struggle to allocate adequate resources to meet the disabled population's demands (see Chapter 1).

The second challenge is the insufficient funding allocation to support disability mainstreaming in the SDGs' implementation. While the UN requested that countries' governments allocate resources to mainstream disability as a crosscutting theme, it was reported during their second high level political forum (UNDESA, 2017) that countries' financial resources were not sufficient to respond fully to the SDGs. As a result, marginalised groups, such as disabled people, are not prioritised within these countries' national agendas. The Egyptian SDS is one example which is explored in Chapter 6.

The third challenge is the absence of disaggregated data, especially in some Least Developed countries (LDC), to classify the numbers of people's impairment/s, their geographical location/s, and then relating this to the level of services received (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2018). Although these countries developed a suite of disability data to consider six gender and geographical locations, these failed to consider related issues that have direct effects on disabled people such as poverty and level of education. The Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) has relied on the Washington group short set of questions, using the International Classification of Function (ICF) framework, which focused on the component of activity, or functioning, limitations.

In a break from the past and the medicalization of disability that placed disability within the person and characterised it by impairments or deficits in

bodily functions, the ICF presents a bio-psycho-social model that locates disability as at the interaction between a person's capabilities (limitation in functioning) and environmental barriers (physical, social, cultural or legislative) that may limit their participation in society.

(Washington Group, 2017, p.1)

The set of questions, however, only focus on individual limitations.

Although the SDGs necessitated qualitative and quantitative disaggregated data to improve the monitoring of its implementation, studies by the Washington Group showed that this process has not yet completed in many countries (Washington Group on Disability Statistics, 2016). The High Level Political Forum (HLPF) in 2016, however, reported that Egypt had included disability data as part of their national statistics for the first time. This is seen as a positive sign towards mainstreaming disabled people in development programs. In general, a number of reported challenges hindered many countries producing reliable and contextual data related to disabled people and their families (Leonard Cheshire Disability and Inclusive Development Centre, no date; Washington Group on Disability Statistics, 2016). These include the community stigma which limited the availability of disability data, the lack of significant financial resources to conduct national censuses, and lack of awareness among people who work as "counters" (Cobham, 2014). SDGs, for which the data revolution is a central feature, recognised these challenges by explicitly specifying disability disaggregated data in the seven targets that referenced disability.

This fact was acknowledged by DPOs globally who reported that the unreliability of disaggregated disability data acts as a barrier to their advocating for disabled people's rights (UNDESA, 2018). Cobham (2014, p.326) states that: "Perhaps the most egregious failing of surveys in respect of the groups identified in the SDGs, however, relates to persons living with disabilities. Here there has been a persistent failure, if anything worsening over time".

Consequently, disaggregated data to consider groups who are either marginalised or live at the periphery of society is seen as necessary to the

achievability of the '*leaving no one behind*' slogan. The SDGs' signature motivated Egypt to improve the quality of its data generation process. It is a positive note that in the 2016 national census, the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) gave specific attention to the impairment classifications (CAPMAS, 2018).

The fourth challenge is related to the policy recognition of disabled people's inclusive rights. For example, according to the assessment conducted by the African Union (AU), both the UNCRPD and the SDGs have positively influenced national policies to increasingly recognise mainstreaming disability (Kuruvilla et al., 2012). This, however, was not the case in some policies where, for example, social inclusion of disability has been missed (Lang et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2017; Yoder, 1991). Regressively, none of the health policies of the nine countries assessed by the AU acknowledge disabled people's rights. The report, however, does not clarify whether this is due to their encapsulation within the individual model of disability or a lack of sufficient awareness among policy makers in the field.

International organisations also increasingly considered the mainstreaming of disability during the translation of policy into action plans (IDA, 2018; UN, 2015a). One example is the AU report which assessed the inclusivity of a sample of African countries' implementations. The report documented that disability is absent from the "inclusive implementation plans, budgetary allocations, enforcement mechanisms or disaggregated management information systems for monitoring" (Lang et al., 2017, p.156). Chapter 4 investigates if this absence is one reason behind the aggression and mistrust found between government and DPOs in Egypt.

When comparing MDGs to SDGs, a key difference was in their origins. As previously mentioned, the MDGs were seen as being imposed from above by senior leaders and policy makers. Collations of views from the slums and rural areas, where changes were required, were given little reference. The SDGs followed a more participatory creation, (UNDP and the Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, 2015) with seven of their 169 targets

making an explicit mention of disability. They over-relied on exclusionary elements such as access to the internet and the use of the English language (UNDESA, no date c). Even so, they created a platform for participation, at least in principle (UNSDN, 2015). The other feature is the 2030 agenda slogan, '*leaving no one behind*', which acted as a driver to fulfil the SDGs' targets (UNDP, 2018). It also assisted some national strategies and programs to be more diverse and inclusive. The goals' targets and indicators also seem to be designed to serve this slogan.

While Gupta et al. (2014) acknowledge the fact that having a larger number of SDGs (17 Goals) enabled wider consideration of community needs, Davis et al. (2015) argue that this, however, presents difficulties in administration and monitoring (UNDP and the Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, 2015).

Looking at the chronology of events that led to the Egyptian signature to the SDGs, the first key motivator was the country's ratification of human rights conventions and declarations, including the UNCRPD, which motivated the consideration of rights into national policies. The government ratified the UNCRPD in 2008 (UN Enable, no date), seven years before the SDGs were launched (and three years before the Revolution). At first, the policy makers and stakeholders gave little priority to the mainstreaming of disability; for example, they did not submit a new disability law to conform with the UNCRPD approaches (Rehabilitation Law 30 1975) and the country was not officially represented by disabled delegates to the UNCRPD, although it was represented among the DPO delegates (UN Enable, no date). This atmosphere, however, increased following the Revolution, which was the second influence.

The Egyptian involvement with the Commission for Sustainable Development since 2005 is another influence. It maintained its involvement through to the 1st Preparatory Committee Meeting UN Conference on Sustainable Development in May 2010, and this degree of involvement has continued either side of the Revolution. Analysing this suggests that the Revolution did

not necessarily impact upon the form of the country's global commitment, but it affected the style of engagement (UN, 2018). Four years after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, Egypt signed the SDGs which, according to the Ministry of Planning representative, was in response to revolutionary demands and the global community commitment.

Among the presented SDGs, Goals 11 and 17 seem to be relevant to this research. Goal 11 focuses on the theme of sustainability in terms of the built environment, particularly with the rapid growth of cities, arguing that this opens more inclusive and participatory opportunities. In response to this goal, chapter 7 explores DPOs' initiatives to increase the inclusivity of their public services at national and district level, along with their efforts to participate within with the development of national policies. This research uses participation, inclusion, and sustainability as themes that support the concept of inclusive development.

Goal 17 is an overarching goal which relied on the multi-stakeholder partnerships along with the use of sustainability mechanisms to implement the other 16 Goals. The six targets include capacity building, multi-stakeholder partnerships, and data monitoring and accountability. The latter encourage countries to establish their own monitoring units to follow up the SDGs' implementation. The Egyptian CAPMAS, for example, has established a department to provide technical support to stakeholders as well as produce statistical reports to monitor SDGs' progress (CAPMAS, no date). Those six indicators suggest a global challenge for countries to mobilise their financial and environmental resources, map their services, and combine the three key players' (government, civil society, and private sector) efforts supporting equal access to justice.

Although the Goal's targets gave a special consideration to the challenge of sustainability and partnership by sharing knowledge, co-operation, and increasing exports in developing countries, the definition of the latter includes some discriminatory elements. The World Economic Situation and Prospects (WESP), for example, states that several countries are classified under more

than one category, an issue that may confuse the focus of the goal targets (WESP, 2014). This Goal will further be useful in investigating the influence of partnerships in national development planning and in specific development projects, for example whether both the formulation and the implementation process of the ESDS was able to grasp the themes of cooperation attached to the SDGs, resulting in mainstreaming disability (see Chapter 6). A further examination of this partnership expansion to build coherence between civil communities and DPOs through some initiatives will be explored in Chapter 7.

The inclusive nature of the 17 SDGs made it cumulatively beneficial for all (Gupta et al., 2014). They assisted, for example, the mainstreaming of disability as they considered disabled people to be part of a human rights framework (UNDESA, 2015); previously, the MDGs had not adopted the human rights perspective – the UNCRPD assisted the SDGs to mainstream disability rights. Therefore, there is a developing story from the MDGs onwards. Disability moved up the UN policy agenda until the UNCRPD, after which the SDGs were developed and disability was included in goals and measures. Following this, the UNCRPD Committee benefitted from this inclusive nature as the SDGs were then used as a reference point for Convention implementation. Thus, there is ultimately a synergy between them in development and implementation.

To conclude, this subsection provided a snapshot of the global efforts that led to the emergence of MDGs, including disabled activists' efforts to mainstream their rights within them. It is unfortunate that these efforts did not make explicit references to disability within the MDGs, which deprived them from benefitting from these goals; for example, the eradication of poverty and diseases. They managed to draw the community's attention, however, to the importance of involving their rights as part of the global agenda. This was one contribution of the UN's announcement formulating the UNCRPD.

This section covered a sample of the accelerated efforts to implement MDGs and the reasons for the move towards SDGs. It found that the embedded participatory approach, attached to the UNCRPD, influenced the involvement

of disabled people's voices during the SDGs' formulation process. The Egyptian participation within these discussions was also driven by the post-revolution atmosphere including different community groups within the development process. The 11 references and seven targets to disability is an evidence of mainstreaming disabled people's rights within SDGs paving the way towards inclusive development. The later chapters argue that these discourses, along with the Egyptian Revolution, opened up new horizons and political space for more DPOs and alliances to be established with changing tactics to be involved within the Egyptian national policies.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the concept of development and inclusive development, demonstrating the relevance of disability mainstreaming to these. It told the story of the global efforts to coordinate the definition, measurement, and advancement of development policy, and how disability has featured. It introduced the SDGs and justified the focus for the thesis' research within their implementation in Egypt.

This chapter argued that the UNCRPD has relied on the SDGs as a driver to support its implementation, while the latter used the Convention as a guided framework to mainstream disability rights. Examples of the way both have influenced different countries' national policies were provided, while following chapters contextualise this into the research case study. The chapter connected the disabled activists' efforts, pre- and post-MDGs, demanding their global disability rights and the adoption of the UNCRPD. The SDGs' slogan '*leaving no one behind*' then came as another driver increasing the inclusivity of their rights into national policies across the globe.

While discussing the concept of inclusive development and the effect of disabled people's voices, the chapter has connected the participation discussion from Chapter 1 with the theme of inclusion, showing their influence on the extensive attention to disability rights in the SDGs. The evidence showed that their evolution was much supported and used by global disabled

people's movements, as well as DPOs at national and local levels (see Chapter 1). This conceptual analysis supports later chapters to answer the main research question of whether the "Egyptian Revolution affected national conditions for the implementation of international agreements on disability rights". During their activism, disabled Egyptians relied on these two themes affected by the UNCRPD to mainstream their rights into the post-revolutionary national policies.

While introducing multiple definitions of development, the chapter focused on economic and social angles, viewing them as drivers to inclusive development. Up until the 1990s, the emphasis was for development to be viewed only through economic growth, thereby losing basic support to society's vulnerable groups. The UN declaration of the MDGs in 2000 acknowledges this challenge, as it encouraged the global community to work together to tackle certain social and human rights as part of development. The result was the reduction of poverty to some extent, accompanied by the decreasing level of HIV/Aids and malaria. The evaluation of these goals in 2012, however, showed the necessity of a more inclusive nature to give attention to vulnerable and marginalised communities. The spirit of the UNCRPD, for example, was a catalyst to mainstream disabled people's rights within SDGs. Their 17 goals considered specific minority groups not referenced by the MDGs, ensuring that no one is left behind. The goals' reference to inclusive development, however, missed some sensitivities to local and national levels. It is up to each country, therefore, to set their own definitions and tools to be in compliance. The criteria of this contextual definition should consider the social, economic and environmental factors as well as responding to the developmental challenges facing that country. Examples are poverty, community stigma and social exclusion.

The chapter argued that positioning the UNCRPD between the MDGs and SDGs enforced disabled people's rights within the latter. This influenced member states' national policies to incorporate disabled people's demands. Traditionally, these policies tended to consider disability from the individual model (see Chapter 1). Moving towards SDGs is considered positive as

MDGs tended to miss crosscutting intersectional issues with implicit mention of disability rights. The SDGs provided 11 references and 7 specific targets citing disability. The ESDS is one example that used SDGs to support minority groups (see chapter 6). Although the application of all SDGs will support the policy of inclusivity as well as improving service provision to disabled people, this thesis has chosen both Goals 11 and 17 within the Egyptian context, arguing that the application of sustainability, along with partnership, can contribute to eradication of disabled people's social exclusion with more opportunity to access basic services.

Finally, these two chapters have argued that the position of the Egyptian Revolution after the MDGs and UNCRPD, but before the SDGs, supported disability mainstreaming within national policies. Following the presentation of research methods, subsequent chapters examine the development of these policies to understand how disability inclusive development (leaving no one behind) could be realistically applied in the context of post-revolutionary Egypt. This further includes the degree to which the disabled people's movement is satisfied with the government's interaction with these Goals up to 2017.

Chapter 3: Research methods

Introduction

This chapter first describes the research design including the connections between the main research question and its sub-questions, before moving on to discuss how the selected combination of research methods act together to serve the aim of this research. It then details the research strategy and design, explaining the data generation methods including; semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and document analysis. It also discusses sampling techniques, and the analytical methods applied. A section of this chapter concerns the ethics underlying this work. The goal then is to produce valuable and empirically-grounded answers to the research questions which support practical findings and conclusions.

This research is qualitative in conjunction with some supporting statistical sources. The latter was included to illustrate the disparity between international organisations and national authorities with regards to the recorded number of disabled people (see 1.2.1). The use of qualitative methods, such as semi-structured interviews and focus groups (see 3.3.3 and 3.3.4) enables an exploration of the disabled activists' stories in founding their DPOs, as well as highlighting the various challenges they faced in building a solid Egyptian disabled people's movement. Applying these methods also helped to better understand disabled people's experiences and community attitudes towards them. Using the social model of disability supported this research to recognise the barriers preventing, or the mechanisms assisting, disabled people to access more inclusive rights (Abberley, 1992).

As an insider researcher, I describe my position within the targeted groups (policy makers, DPOs and disabled Members of Parliament) in 3.4. This gives the reader an outline of the data generation, including my reflections on their responses and interaction with this research. As participation is one of the considered themes (see 1.1.3), this research examines the commonalities and differences among its participants through bringing disabled people's voices alongside those of policy makers. In addition, issues of inclusivity and

sustainability, were also explored as key themes in the research, to understand the degree to which these were transferred into national policy, following the attention given to them within global discourses.

3.1 Theoretical Assumptions

As Stone and Priestley (1996) state, disabled people criticised the methods that researchers use when interacting with their topics, viewing it as an “oppressive theoretical paradigm”. Zarb (1992) argues that a move towards participatory and emancipatory research is vital in making it accountable to disabled people. He stresses the importance of including disabled people’s voices within any conducted research, whether by DPOs or other policy or research institutions. This is to ensure that the research outcomes are in line with disabled people’s demands and aspirations by deploying the disability emancipatory paradigm. This has received increasing attention in recent years, along with the social model of disability, as tools to achieve better participation within disability research.

Stone and Priestley (1996) stress the importance of all researchers contesting their arguments from a social model perspective even if they subscribe to an individual model of disability. Using the social model helps the researcher to identify and remove barriers preventing disabled people from participating in society. I have used elements from the Emancipatory Disability Research methodology, to inform Egyptian policy makers about disabled people’s revolutionary aspirations. Analysis of the data incorporated these aspirations, alongside the global discourses of UNCRPD and SDGs. Highlighting these stories can inform policy makers of the challenges faced by disabled Egyptians. They also demonstrate how the consequent revolutionary events responded to these aspirations. The country’s signature to the SDGs, for example, supports the application of inclusive developmental approaches, and determines both the policies governing their regulations and the services they receive.

Chapter 1 argued that disabled people were active participants during and following the Egyptian Revolution, advocating for the mainstreaming of their rights. This suggests an opposition to the critical disability theory (see 1.1.3), as their voices were not “supressed and marginalised” (Hosking, 2008). Their unity, spirit and enthusiasm, were influenced by both the UNCRPD and the revolutionary atmosphere. The latter united disabled peoples’ voices which contributed to policy makers mainstreaming their demands as part of amended legislation. Their voices also drew policy makers’ attention to the importance of the social and rights based approach models of disability.

3.2 Research Strategy

Deciding which philosophical and epistemological standpoint to adopt is a pre-requisite for any research. The juxtaposition between idealism and materialism has been debated by many sociologists such as Callahan (2010) and Bhaskar (1993). Callahan (2010) defined realism as fundamentally connected with the theory of knowledge, whilst Bhaskar (1993) used the concept of realism to resolve this conflict, stating that, “to be a realist in philosophy is to be committed to the existence of some disputed kind of being...,” (1993, p.8). He argues that different layers of ontological reality may operate simultaneously or in interaction. In other words, the empirical realities of people’s experience are situated in the actualities of institutions and policies.

Taking these views into account, a blend of realism and idealism helps address the research questions (see 3.2.2). Research sub-question 1, for example (“What changes occurred in disabled people’s activism, organisations and alliances during and since the Egyptian Revolution?”), benefits from an understanding of how the unique political and social context of post-revolutionary Egypt may have affected the composition of the Egyptian disabled people’s movement. Realism has enabled me to observe the changing Egyptian policies, constitutions and regimes that impact the rights of disabled people after the Revolution. It also helped to situate the experiences, opinions and information given by the different interviewees, including disabled activists, which formed the empirical part of this theory. The idealist

theory may be useful when considering disabled participants' dreams and unconditional notions of disability and human rights. The research seeks to illustrate how the post-revolutionary opportunities and idealistic notions enshrined in the UNCRPD, 2014 Egyptian Constitution, and SDGs can be applied in the material realities of the Egyptian context.

Concerning the different research strategies suggested by Blaikie (2000), inductive and retroductive strategies most suit my research questions. As he claimed; "the inductive strategy starts with data collection, followed by data analysis, and then the development of generalizations" (Blaikie, 2000, p.100). Although a purely inductive strategy would assume no prior observations or hypothesis, it was beneficial as a guide during my research design stages (data generation and analysis leading to generalisations) whilst also making use of my experience as an insider researcher. The aim of conducting interviews with representatives from DPOs was to get an insight into the state of the disabled people's movement following the Egyptian Revolution. Using the retroductive strategy (which explains underlying mechanisms to observed regularities) demonstrates connections between their unity and participation during the revolutionary events, and the translation of their voices within the Egyptian Constitution and other national policies. This helped when analysing the position of the Egyptian disability politics, as will be explored later.

To conclude, employing a blend of realism and idealism theories guided the analysis chapters towards an in-depth understanding of the history of disability politics along with the status of the disabled people's movement up to the UNCRPD and following the Revolution. Their unity and participation which emerged during the revolution, was a factor that disabled people relied upon to successfully elevate their demands within national policy. Similarly, the inductive and retroductive strategies were useful in guiding this research through the stages of data generation and analysis. Finally, the academic and policy document analysis showed the influence of disability models on the activism fuelled by the disabled people's movement.

3.2.1 Insider Research

I am an insider researcher who lived through the developments of disability politics as constituted before the UNCRPD up to the SDGs signature including the Egyptian Revolution. In light of claims made by Unluer (2012, p.1), who states, "it is crucial for social researchers to clarify their researchers' roles especially for those utilizing qualitative methodology to make their research credible", this subsection therefore theorises the role of the insider researcher, showing its influence on this research. Adler and Adler (1994) present a wide range of possibilities for researchers' positionality, considering the advantages and limitations ranging between being fully involved within their fields to being complete outsiders. Unluer (2012) and Saidin (2017) bring attention to the ethical considerations that might bias the validity of data collected by insider researchers and cloud interpretations. Despite these concerns, others such as Bonner and Tolhurst (2002) view the outsider researcher as having limited involvement on his/her research topic, which could affect the research outcomes. This happens either due to a lack of familiarity with the research environment, or due to the length of time taken to establish a rapport with the research target group (Bonner and Tolhurst, 2002).

My participation, however, with the formulation of the new disability policies consequent to both the UNCRPD ratification and the Egyptian Revolution, gave me a better understanding of the veracity of the statements made by the interviewed stakeholders, some of whom were 'elite actors'/leaders of organisations. Although I acknowledge that these interpretations may differ from other activists/experts. There are many similar cases where sociologists were themselves involved in social action, such as Alain Touraine's (1971) work on the 1968 revolutionary activity in Paris (Waters, 2008). In addition, having lived experience of disability means that I am involved within the community and culture related to disabled's people inclusion in Egypt and internationally. This entails an ability to sense the underlying truth of a situation, as well as a high level of awareness of the studied culture, both of which were regarded as key advantages of being an insider researcher as discussed by Bonner and Tolhurst (2002). My inside experience was sometimes used to substantiate generated data or literature with regards to

the disability politics in Egypt, enriching the analysis chapters. Finally, my previous engagement working with policy makers and DPOs in Egypt familiarised me with their challenges and was advantageous when presenting the thesis' concluding recommendations.

3.2.2 Research Questions

During the course of the research described in this thesis, global disability rights have developed to a large degree. This includes the mainstreaming of disability rights within countries' national policies. Examining the pre- and post-Revolution situation of the disabled people's movement in Egypt shows its influence on the country's policies. Time is, therefore, a very important factor with this research. The period between the 2008 ratification of the new UNCRPD and the March 2015 declaration of the SDGs has contributed to the development of disability politics globally as well as in Egypt (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform, 2018).

The primary research question for this thesis is:

- **How, and to what extent, has the Egyptian Revolution affected national conditions for the implementation of international agreements on disability rights (UNCRPD) and SDGs?**

This is designed to question whether the mainstreaming of disabled people's rights within Egyptian policies is more feasible considering various contributing factors covered within the research objectives (see Introduction) or whether it could have happened without these factors. This question is divided into a set of sub-questions:

1. What changes occurred in disabled people's activism, organisations and alliances during and since the Egyptian revolution?
2. How did these opportunities for participation affect their tactics, perceived identities, and political positions when engaging with disability and development policies in the post-revolutionary period, including with the UNCRPD and SDGs?

3. What evidence is there that this engagement has promoted a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights and needs in Egyptian development policy and its practical implementation?
4. How have the above events influenced the Egyptian government to realise a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights and provision?

In analysing the primary research question, three key influences are highlighted as framing the core hypothesis of this research: the UNCRPD (2006), the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, and the post-2015 agenda including SDGs. The analysis aims to examine whether the generative connections between these three aforementioned influences, contributed to the empowerment of the Egyptian disabled people's movement, as well as the mainstreaming of disability rights within the Egyptian national policies.

Concerning the research strategy used in this thesis, Curry et al. (2009), suggest that in-depth understanding of any phenomenon requires a mix between both descriptive ('what?') and explanatory ('why and how?') research. The former has both concrete and abstract elements. The concrete elements are concerned more with factual information, statistics, etc., such as the discrepancy between the international organisations and Egyptian government statistics of disabled people. Such elements enhanced my understanding of the experiences and opinions of DPOs regarding how disability is included in government policies. The abstract elements relate to social and community barriers, shaping perceptions regarding disabled people's capabilities. The explanatory strategy is more concerned to understand the multitude of reasons behind any research subjects. Given the complexity of my research with its national and international connections, my research questions balance Curry et al.'s (2009) three question types to investigate the development of the disability politics focusing on Egypt.

3.3 Data Generation and Sampling

This section discusses the data generation process. It outlines each technique chosen to respond to the research question. The primary data has been generated in two phases. The first involved semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, along with the collection of national and international policy documents, e.g. the UNCRPD, the Egyptian Constitution, and SDGs' reports; the second utilised the same techniques to examine a sample of Egyptian government, international organisation, and DPOs' projects which responded to revolutionary demands, ESDS, and SDGs. Finally, the section details the chosen sampling technique, showing its validity and suitability to this research.

3.3.1 Sampling

Sampling is an important stage of any empirical research. Sampling strategies vary between qualitative and quantitative research with potential differences in terms of type, and the size and the method of selection (Sandelowski, 2000; Marshall, 1996). Selecting the sampling method depends mostly upon the research topic and question. For example, qualitative research is more concerned with answering humanistic research questions such as 'Why?' or 'How?' A random sampling technique was not appropriate here; a more purposeful or theoretical approach was necessary. To serve my research objectives, a combination of key informant and snowball sampling was relied on while generating and analysing my data. Marshall (1996) suggests that a small sampling number might hold the required epistemic characteristics depending on problem, population, and sample design (Marshall, 1996). I, however, have preferred to interview a broad sample of each of my target groups, balancing between Disabled People's Organisations (18, each with a history of activism), in addition to policy makers in touch with the design and implementation of the ESDS, as well as the majority of disabled MPs in Egypt (see 3.3.3 below). The aim was to provide a range of different perspectives and thoughts covering this research. Marshall (1996) also demonstrates that commonly used judgment samples (known as 'purposeful samples') depend on actively selecting the sample by purposefully choosing participants who have appropriate knowledge of the topic. As an insider researcher (see 3.2.2

above) who had an awareness of stakeholders working in the field of disability, this assisted me during the selection process to choose purposively the appropriate candidates to suit my research. My interviews with them showed their varied awareness of my research topic. I also selected research studies and disability legal frameworks at both the national and international level to enrich the data generation process (see 3.3.1).

Alongside purposeful sampling, snowball sampling was the second of the methods used to generate data (Noy, 2008). It is defined as chain, referral, link-tracing, or respondent-driven sampling. It is a process during which an informant guides the researcher to other participants. In this type of sampling, a researcher starts with a small number of participants and cumulatively reaches a large cohort. It is used on its own or with other methods (Noy, 2008). I have benefited from this method by relying on my former connections with disabled activists and policy makers. These individuals introduced me to further interviewees. As Silverman (2013), Marshall (1996) and Ghauri and Gronhaug (2005) advise, I chose potential interviewees with extensive knowledge who were available, willing to help, and able to act as a sample for other groups who were not able to be interviewed due to the time limitations. In summary, both the above methods were particularly useful as there are large connections between Egyptian disabled activists and policy makers.

3.3.2 Research Target Groups

DPOs located primarily in Upper Egypt were one of the major groups targeted in this research. According to Law No. 84 of 2002 on Associations and Foundations, there is no differentiation between DPOs (organisations of disabled people) and NGOs (organisations for disabled people). The criteria on which I selected my sample were:

- More than 50% of the association board members are disabled (as per the DPO definitions introduced in 1.1.2).
- Their organisation should have been established for at least three years. This was to ensure that they were equipped with the basic administrative and technical skills, and that they had implemented at least two to three projects.

Upper Egypt is a geographic and cultural division of Egypt. DPOs were selected from the Upper Egyptian area to examine whether they had been established in part to respond to unequal service provision and distribution compared to other areas of the country (Sabry, 2010). This poor service often contributed to disabled people's social exclusion (Datt et al., 1998; Moustafa, 2002). In addition to their work, international organisations have conducted Community-Based Rehabilitation projects to empower disabled people in utilizing their community resources to overcome poor services within these areas (Terre des hommes, no date). Another reason for this selection was the achievement of Sahwa project, which was implemented in four districts (Asyut, Sohag, Qena and Aswan) and resulted in the founding of around 120 groups and DPOs – 4.1. Hence, Upper Egypt was considered a fertile environment for this research (Sahwa Project, 2007).

Based on the above selection criteria, the first set of interviews was conducted with a diverse sample of 18 disabled activists representing 18 DPOs from Upper Egyptian districts. In addition to speaking on behalf of the work of their DPOs, they also provided their own views and personal experiences of disability in order to further enhance the evidence base for this research.

The aim was to investigate how their involvement within the Revolution changed their tactics, perceived identities, and political position when engaging with the new national and global policies (see research sub-question 2). The focus of the interviews connected with my research questions (see sub-questions 1, 3 and 4). Understanding the individual stories behind the DPOs' establishment, in addition to determining whether they have the required administrative, financial, and technical capacities to implement development projects, addresses sub-question 1 regarding the influence of the Revolution on their progress; it also addresses how their aspirations, communicated to the government, inspired them to have more of an inclusive approach to disabled people's rights and service provision (see research sub-question 4).

The second set of interviews was conducted with four high-level representatives from the Ministries of Social Solidarity, Planning, Local Development, and the NCD in Egypt. They were chosen due to direct interaction with disability affairs, including the creation of the ESDS, 2016-2030 (SDP). These interviews aimed to address elements of research sub-question 2 regarding tactics, perceived identities, and political positions when engaging with the new national policies. Understanding the mechanism upon which this Strategy was set and developed, as well as gleaning the level of coordination between various authorised bodies on implementing it, helped in determining whether it duly serves marginalised groups (specifically the disabled) in an inclusive manner (Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, no date) (see 6.1.3).

A third set of interviews was conducted with five of the eight newly elected disabled members of the parliament, as known advocates for disabled people's rights. This choice balanced between members who had a history of disability activism, as opposed to those who were new to the field. A balance of their impairments was also considered. Narrating their stories provides a sense of their efforts responding to the disabled people's revolutionary demands. This aim connects with research sub-question 1 which is designed to understand the influence of the Egyptian Revolution on disabled people's empowerment. Reflecting their rights and demands within legislation and policies may support this empowerment.

A fourth set of interviews was planned with three UN Alliance representatives who had been involved in the SDGs' formulation process and its new indicators. These are UNDESA, Development Policy and Analysis Division of UNDESA, and the United Nations Office for Sustainable Development (UNOSD). Drawing comparisons and contrasts between this data and the interviews with the Egyptian policy makers addresses how the Egyptian government utilised and responded to the SDGs' formulation and development process. This has been designed to respond to research sub-question 3 ("What evidence is there that this engagement has promoted a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights and needs in Egyptian development

policy and its practical implementation?”). However, ultimately, it was only possible to interview the IDA Liaison Officer for the 2030 Agenda as others did not respond to my communications. This limitation notwithstanding, this remains a valuable choice considering IDA’s efforts to implement SDGs in coordination with other UN groups.

In addition to primary data generated from all interview sets, I have also interviewed some international organisations’ representatives in Egypt, such as HI, along with disability NGOs, such as CEOSS. This helped to ascertain if there were certain projects being implemented in the field, related either to the ESDS or DPOs’ field initiatives. The choice was to focus on four projects in total; two Governmental and two DPOs.

Governmental projects were intended to be observed in order to examine the level of disability inclusivity within them. For example, whether they include all minorities effectively in their visions and targeted goals, with a focus on disabled people. The same method was planned to be used with DPOs’ field initiatives to assess whether their projects empower disabled people within the community in a more inclusive framework or merely provide charitable assistance in the form of basic services outside of the community. Limitations in the data collection process discussed in 8.6 resulted in replacing this method with document analysis, focus group discussions, and semi-structured interviews. The first was useful in learning about these projects’ objectives and achievements and whether disabled people were part of their design. A focus group discussion then took place with some of the Takaful and Karama beneficiaries in Sakkara district to glean their opinions, satisfaction, and recommendations regarding the services provided by the programs. In addition, semi-structured interviews with central and local authorities who are in charge of the programs’ implementation were useful to understand the opportunities and barriers facing them during implementation (see 7.1.3). This addresses elements of the main research question which aims to identify the Revolution’s influence on including marginalised groups within development programs.

DPOs are indicated with letters A to O, and policy makers including disabled MPs are indicated with numbers from 1 to 9, while HI and CEOSS are referred to as 10 and 11. The UN representative is referred to as 1A. Finally, the conducted focus group discussions with Sakkara beneficiaries are referred to as IV in the key. These codes ensure that individuals remain anonymous – see 3.6 for research ethics.

To conclude, bringing together the two ends of the spectrum (policy makers and beneficiaries) enables this research to analyse how the post-revolutionary policies responded to disabled people's aspirations. It also shows DPOs' satisfaction as they attempt to implement them. The choice of data generation methods also enable the examination of these policies on disabled people's service provision. This research has also chosen to interview UN representatives to identify the global efforts to implement the UNCRPD and SDGs, thereby showing how Egypt responded to them. Finally, the data generation process identified the challenges faced at the early stages of ESDS, in addition to examining the status of Egyptian DPOs and whether they require technical or financial support, in order to inform the conclusion to this research.

3.3.3 Interviews

Kvale and Brinkmann (2008, p.84) stress the importance of the researcher's skills, stating that when "...the researcher becomes the main research instrument, the competence and craftsmanship – the skills, sensitivity and knowledge – of the researcher become essential for the quality of the knowledge produced". As an insider researcher (see 3.2.2), while gathering and analysing data from each interviewee, my knowledge was used to enrich the analysis. May (1997, p.110), meanwhile, recognises that the real value of the interview comes from the variety of respondent answers to the same question, therefore "any differences between answers are held to be real ones and not the result of the interview situation itself".

According to Rowley (2012), there are various types of interview. Deciding which type to utilise depends on the topic and methodology: structured, semi structured, or unstructured interviews should be formulated according to

whether open-ended, finite, short or long answers, rigid or flexible ordering of questions are required. While structured interviews focus on producing quantitative data, the other types deal mainly with qualitative data. According to Diccico-Bloom and Crabtree (2006), semi-structured interviews are the most widely used method as the main source of data in qualitative research. "The individual, in-depth interview allows the interviewer to delve deeply into social and personal matters" (Diccico-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006, p.315). This research considered semi-structured interviews as the most suitable format. The open-ended questions and flexible nature of this interview type created an informal environment facilitating in-depth analysis of the research topic.

While it was my intention to give interviewees the chance to embellish their own narratives, most of their answers were short and factual. This may be due to the researcher presenting the questions in a more structured format or due to the interviewees' cultural influences and feelings of insecurity which prompt them to give short answers. Overall, ordering the questions in the same way did not stop their answers from being different according to their different positions. This was beneficial when thematically analysing the generated data.

Supplementary questions were also added on occasion to gain further information on particular lines of thought. My interview with the Secretary General of the NCDA is one example for this. As he was very keen to speak about his Council policies and pilot projects, various sub-questions were added to consider the Council's performance in more depth.

According to Diccico-Bloom and Crabtree (2006), qualitative interviews are used when in-depth understanding of communities or individual perceptions are required. This type helps the interviewee to participate, on occasion providing analysis and interpretations of their own experiences, and the research benefits from these during both the analysis and recommendation sections. For example, this allows for an in-depth understanding of the DPOs' involvement in the events and consequences of the Egyptian Revolution. Their responses demonstrated the results of their activism, which positively

translated into mainstreaming their rights into national policy. Their interviews also contributed to showing their level of satisfaction, challenges faced, and recommendations on how disability issues could be better mainstreamed in Egyptian policies. Lastly, their interventions included narrating their experiences in the design and implementation of their field projects (Rowley, 2012; Diccico-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006).

Interviews, including discussions and storytelling, were more pivotal in this research than other types of data collection methods for several reasons. Conducting surveys and questionnaires may present difficulties in narrating stories in addition to hindering the direct communication between the researcher and his target group. This method is mostly not applicable when the technology is not fully accessible for different types of impairment. Lastly, the flexibility of the semi-structured interviews (the type used here) allowed both interviewer and interviewees to interject and, at times, lead the discussion.

During the 30 interviews which lasted around 45 minutes to an hour per session (see 3.6 below), my former working relationships with the participants facilitated a rapport, creating an informal and comfortable environment, allowing participants to be more open. There is a risk, however, for the insider in that the former relationship might limit what the other person feels they can say. This is arguably not the case in this work as the researcher was not in a position to control their funding or the project implementation procedures. This is further evidenced by the amount and depth of data provided; individuals were prepared to talk frankly about challenges faced and mistakes made – for example, many DPOs expressed their struggle to work with each other, demonstrating their preference to work individually. I have also informed the participants that any shared information will be treated securely and with sensitivity – this is designed to increase levels of confidence when it comes to sharing information (see 3.6). My prior experience in generating data for consultancies, using similar techniques, also provided me with the skills and experience necessary to manage the interview and to motivate the participants to speak freely.

3.3.4 Focus groups

Following the conducted interviews with research target groups, a sample of government, NGO, and DPOs' projects were examined for evidence of disability mainstreaming within national policies and development programs. During this time, I planned to use participant observation as a method to observe four projects: the first two represent DPOs' initiatives to mainstream disabled people in their local communities. The other two, Takaful and Karama, as well as Productive Families, were related to the Egyptian Strategy, 2016 – 2030.

Productive Families was ultimately not worth visiting as the interview with the project leaders confirmed that no disability related activities were carried out. Observing DPOs was also difficult due to the absence of projects running at the time of data generation. The time constraints, along with the considerable distance between Upper Egypt and Cairo (the place where I live) made repeated visits impractical.

Due to the nature of government projects analysed, participant observation was not viable as Takaful and Karama's support was limited to financial assistance and personal care provision only (see 8.6). I have replaced this method, with semi-structured interviews and focus groups, with the projects' disabled beneficiaries and leaders. This provided me with a holistic insight into the participants' levels of satisfaction regarding government service provision. Document analysis was also used to analyse these projects' materials. Finally, CEOSS was chosen as a detailed case study to understand their model which managed to combine CBR and ILD within their disability program (see 7.2.3).

Focus groups were chosen a method as they provide another way of capturing differing perspectives from research participants. Kitzinger defines them as "...a form of group interview that capitalises on communication between research participants in order to generate data" (Kitzinger, 1995, p.299). Kitzinger (2005, p.60) further describes the method as "...facilitat[ing] the

expression of criticism and the exploration of different types of solutions.” Focus groups enable participants to clarify their views, as well as provide critical comments, as appropriate. The nature of the open-ended questions used in such groups provoke discussion. Therefore, accessing deeper levels of understanding than other methods of data collection can achieve (Kitzinger, 1995, p.299). Researchers can also employ humour and other means of informal communication as more effective way of generating ideas or investigating attitudes, rather than using formal direct questions (Krueger, 1993).

With the support of the Minister of Social Solidarity, I conducted a focus group discussion with disabled beneficiaries of the Karama project in Saqqara village in Giza to gain a sense of their satisfaction about the support given by this project (see 7.1.3). While doing this, I maintained an emotional distance from my interviewees (Baker, 2006; Gorman et al., 2005; Gold, 1958) because my impairment may have encouraged the project’s disabled beneficiaries to assume a commonality of opinion which could elevate the emotional content of their responses. While this approach suits my research, other disability researchers may prefer emancipatory research principles as they feel that this atmosphere of emotional distance ‘detaches’ the researcher from those interviewed and the setting (Stone and Priestley, 1996; Zarb, 1992).

3.4 Research Positionality and Reflexivity

This subsection analyses my position as an insider researcher and how it influenced my data collection and analysis. It includes feedback regarding the conducted field work and how this position has facilitated meeting the disabled activists and policy makers involved with my thesis’s main themes.

I am a disabled Egyptian person who has lived through all the events and consequences of the Egyptian Revolution. Moreover, I worked for around 12 years in the field of disability, on both policy and practitioner levels. My in-depth understanding of Egyptian disability politics was further developed by witnessing the Egyptian ratification to the UNCRPD in 2008, where various

projects started to support this treaty. I was also part of many disability developments that happened after the Revolution.

I am, therefore, positioning myself as an insider researcher (Unluer, 2012) who has lived within the core action of this thesis. I view this position as providing an added value, given the limited research available on the influence of the Arab Spring on their countries' disability politics. It also had its effect in both the phase of designing the data collection tools as well as facilitating the conducted discussions with my data collection target groups. While Unluer (2012) sees maintaining neutrality and boundaries as important for any successful research, it is argued that feminist emancipatory researchers, for example, benefited from having an insider researcher who enriched the research content.

The next few paragraphs outline my reflection on the data generation process, analysing my interactions with each of the research target groups.

The first group interviewed consisted of 'elite actors'/leaders of organisations, in this context ministers and National Council secretary generals. Reserving an appointment with them presented a degree of difficulty because of their busy schedules. The Minister of International Co-operation was not, ultimately, available for interview, after her office repeatedly cancelled appointments at the last minute – this occurred five times. In contrast, the Minister of Planning and his deputy were very enthusiastic to meet, providing some relevant documentation which supported my document analysis. The deputy minister seemed engaged with the ESDS formulation process as well as demonstrating her understanding of the challenges and opportunities available within the different Egyptian ministries. She provided me with a plethora of documents which proved to be beneficial for this research. The same level of support was provided by the Minister of Social Solidarity. While I did not manage to interview her herself, she was very keen to assign me to another expert who was enthusiastic to provide insight. I relied upon my network of contacts who are employed either as professional journalists or at ministers' offices to assist in arranging meetings with various policy makers.

Moreover, my former position as a board member for the NCDCA helped me to have a swiftly arranged appointment with the Secretary General. This prior contact also, arguably, helped build rapport and create an informal environment, and this ultimately resulted in more information related to the interview topics being volunteered. One disadvantage of this rapport, however, is that it may reduce the criticality evident in the questions and responses, and thus reduce the honesty of the answers. My experience in moderating conferences and discussion panels assisted me to develop this criticality and to remain conscious of the need for follow-up questions to provide additional evidence/clarity where required.

The second group interviewed consisted of a sample of Egyptian DPOs. It is worth noting that I have a former connection with some, either through my provision of technical support as a consultant or through leading projects that were funded by international organisations. While these factors may bias their responses to my questions, the fact that they understand that my PhD research will not bring them direct funding, in addition to the fact that I do not have a current working relationship with them, reduces the risk of them being overly influenced by the position of the researcher. Using the snowball strategy was key to conducting these interviews as some DPOs interviewed nominated others. I also used my former connection with a key contact who was working at HI Egyptian office to recommend a list of DPOs. I communicated with all of them via phone as email culture is less developed in Upper Egypt districts. The DPO was chosen using a fair distribution method between Upper Egypt districts and other criteria mentioned in 3.3.2. Due to time limitations, as well as some physical accessibility barriers in Upper Egypt, I visited all my DPOs at their organisations or met them at a place of their convenience. While this made it easier for them to meet, it was more of a challenge for me to reach all their addresses in different districts, given my visual impairment, and also the hot summer. Finally, the result of these interviews is an extensive amount of knowledge gained (see Chapter 4).

The third group interviewed consisted of disabled MPs. The time and effort that they exerted to meet with me differed from one to another. While they

have many demands on their parliamentary schedule, it seemed that conducting an interview with a researcher was not a priority. Their understanding of the influence and importance of research perhaps varied according to their own knowledge of the ongoing global debates about disabled people's rights. One interesting observation is that, although they are disabled activists, they are not necessarily enthusiastic to participate in disability research. This could be due to their lack of understanding of the benefits of research or because they are being targeted by many other researchers or international organisations working in similar fields (Clark, 2008). This may pose some questions: are they diverted from their focus on disability activism due to their other parliamentary responsibilities? Or are they not the right candidates to advocate for their population's rights due to their lack of disability rights and models knowledge? If the latter is correct then disabled people's demands and voices may not be elevated. My former working relationship with some of these MPs helped to secure permission to enter the Egyptian parliament to conduct these interviews at their convenience, with some offering additional time for more developed explanations.

The fourth and final group interviewed consisted of UN representatives. After considerable email communication, I ultimately failed to interview all three. To ameliorate this, I have followed their communications on various platforms, such as *Facebook*, which enriched my analysis of both the SDGs' formulation process as well as the early stages of their implementation phase (see Chapter 6). As an alternative to interviewing the representatives, I have interviewed the IDA liaison officer for the 2030 Agenda who was very informative, providing me with lots of practical steps to ensure disabled people's participation was in place. It is worth noting that being a former Egyptian delegate to the fifth and the eighth of the UNCRPD states parties' conferences at the UN, as well as an attendee at the eleventh session in 2018, has informed me with the global efforts to enforce the mainstreaming of disability while implementing SDGs.

The second phase of my data collection was to conduct participant observation. After communicating with the Minister of Social Solidarity, who was very cooperative and responsive, a focus group discussion was

conducted with a group of Takaful and Karama project beneficiaries in Saqqara village in Giza. It was an informative focus group with many disabled poor families. They expressed a group of demands, although not all of them related to the project objectives. The second project that I was planning to observe is called Productive Families, where, after conducting an interview with a project stakeholder at national level, they stated that disability is not mainstreamed as part of the project's objectives. Consequently, the interviewees reported the unavailability of disabled families as part of the project's beneficiaries. As a result, I relied on a desk review of the available materials and statistics provided by the Ministry. While this saved me a field visit to their project, it can be viewed as an omission in the project design that has failed to acknowledge the rights of disabled families. Whether this was because disabled people did not have the chance to participate in the project design could be investigated by another research.

3.5 Data Analysis

This section addresses methods used to analyse the data generated by this research (in 3.5.1), before guiding the reader through the pre-analysis transcription and translation process (in 3.5.2).

3.5.1 Methods of Analysis

Primary data analysis was employed to gain an in depth understanding of the changes wrought following the Egyptian Revolution within disability politics in Egypt. This analysis was useful to demonstrate how the research target groups (see 3.3.2) had interacted with the themes of participation, inclusion, and sustainability. This demonstrates how the use of these themes influenced the reality of the mainstreaming of their rights within Egyptian national policies. The data generation process included transcription and translation of the conducted interviews and focus group discussions before moving to the analysis stage which included thematically coding them in response to the research questions. This aligns with Bryman and Burgess's assertion that;

[D]ata analysis is not a discrete element of the research process which can be neatly bracketed off from the other phases of the project. Instead, we would argue that data analysis is integral to the way in which questions are posed, sites selected and data collected (1994, p.142-143).

Examining the disability and development literature (as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2) was also used alongside an analysis of various national and global disability policies: the Egyptian Constitution of 2014, the ESDS, national legislation related to disability, and global disability discourses (UNCRPD and SDGs). While both participation and inclusion concepts have increasingly been discussed amongst the global north, a limited literature is available to examine these themes and applications within the Egyptian context. The choice of Egypt as a case study of disability mainstreaming in policy development provided an opportunity to compare the conceptual literature with the primary data (Claridge, 2004).

The thematic analysis approach (Braun and Clarke, 2006) involves indexing data into themes and sub-themes relating to the outline given in the interview sheets (see Appendix E). The interviews with Egyptian DPOs, for example, have been classified into themes, each aiming to examine specific aspects in relation to DPOs (see Chapter 4). This was useful to analyse their internal capacities (administrative, financial, and technical) and to understand the shift in development and numbers following the ratification of the UNCRPD. Chapter 5 was also divided into several themes to examine the development of national policies in a post-revolution era. The thematic structure assisted the chapter to identify the stages of the disabled MPs' journey to and inside the parliament. Overall this method supports clustering recommendations within the research conclusion.

While Nvivo has proven successful with facilitating the thematic analysis process, this was not used in this instance due to the partial inaccessibility and unfamiliarity with the software, as its visual interface does not suit my visual impairment. Instead, interview responses have been coded manually according to the specific themes that emerged, using an inductive approach (Blaikie, 2000). While coding is not the only way to analyse qualitative data, it is useful when interviews and participant observation are used as a method of data generation. According to Saldana (2015, p. 4), coding is a short word or phrase that the researcher uses to summarise a piece of collected data “and

thus attributes interpreted meaning to each individual datum for later purposes of pattern detection, categorisation, assertion or proposition development, theory building, and other analytic processes". Through coding I was able to divide my gathered data into themes. This thematic analysis led to findings, which responded to the research questions.

3.5.2 Translation and Transcription

Considering that most of my interviews had been conducted in Arabic, a process of both translation and transcription was required before proceeding to the analysis phase. I view this process as a combination of both mechanical and analytical processes; the latter involving the selection of data determined to be relevant. Deciding to translate these data myself was useful to enable a deep look at the generated data by not only transcribing the tape recording but also reflecting on the meaning underlying the content in order to ensure an accurate translation into English. Transliteration was also used to familiarise the English reader with terminologies that could not be easily translated into English. Careful consideration has also been given while translating terms that may have a conflicting meaning in relation to disability (e.g. special needs, impairment, and disability itself). The rapid evolution of disability rights and terminology at the global level, conducted mainly in English, presents challenges for Arabic translation in policy debates, as these have – in some cases – been slower to change. Although some Arabic editions of the UNCRPD conflate the meanings of these terms, which may be due to the translators' lack of awareness, I have relied on the frequently used term to reflect both the social and traditional model of disability (Rubel and Rosman, 2003).

I decided to transcribe and translate into English all of my interviews which were conducted in Arabic. Being an English Faculty of Arts graduate and having a translation diploma also assisted me with this aspect of my work. This process took a long time, due to the fact that over 25 interviews needed to be transcribed. While this could be greatly shortened by sending them to a translation and transcription company, transcribing and translating these documents myself proved highly beneficial in deepening my awareness of my generated data as well as drawing some themes that could cluster the

analysis. It also engaged me with each participant's phrases, which was very useful, especially during the first phase of analysis.

At the end of the transcription process, I shared the detailed transcripts with their specific interviewees to revise any misunderstandings and omissions and for general clarity and validity. There were no requests made for changes which indicates the accuracy of the transcription. While collecting the data and taking audio-visual recordings of the semi-structured interviews, I ensured that all data were safely saved by locating the transcriptions on the computer M-drive as well as backing up on a password-protected external drive. The recorded interviews were also transferred from the recorder to the same drives. Moreover, a Personal Assistant, a braille note-taker and a recording device were sometimes used during the transcription and translation process.

3.6 Research Ethics

Many ethical considerations informed the fieldwork, data analysis and writing-up process. Wellington (2015, p.4) states, "ethical concerns should be at the forefront of any research project and should continue through to the write-up and dissemination stages." These considerations ensured that this research was morally adequate in all stages (Pring, 2015). This section outlines how the research complies with ethical considerations.

As I have a former working relationship with some of my interviewees, I was keen to avoid pitfalls such as the Hawthorne effect, whereby the act of being observed, particularly by a former colleague, may negatively affect the research participants to change their behaviours (Sommer, 1968). While observation may affect the participants' responses to some degree because of the inherent and unequal power relationship that exists between researchers and participants in any case, leaving my former position working with one policy-making organisation that provided them with technical capacities removes that previous power relationship between us, creating an informal and friendly environment. However, the informal relationship and rapport/connection is still there. This environment aimed to ensure that no

participant felt obliged to participate, or under pressure to provide a particular response, either because they felt they were required to do so, or to adjust their answers to please the researcher. This is an important ethical consideration when working with people who are considered more vulnerable either because of class, or disability, or social status.

After completing risk assessment procedures, including both the ethical review (AREA 15-109, see Appendix J) and health and safety applications, as well as ensuring that all University procedures were satisfied before the fieldwork began, I obtained the consent and permission of interviewees. No specific permissions relating to Egypt were required beyond this individual consent and the approval of the Ministries to conduct interviews. Participants were verbally introduced to the scope of my research before data collection started, receiving information sheets and consent forms in accessible formats to suit different impairments. Part of my briefing was to inform the participants that they had the freedom to leave the exercise or not participate whenever they wanted, except during the last six months before submission. The Information Sheet in Appendix K indicates that they have the right to access the published thesis.

Appointments were reserved with adequate notice to ensure that key people in Government were not rushed into making a decision to participate in this research. This was also helpful in ensuring their availability. I have used the same methods to notify the project coordinators before conducting any field visits or running any short interviews with the project beneficiaries. During this process, and due to my visual impairment, I have recorded these short interviews to ensure accuracy during the analysis process.

Whilst conducting the actual interviews, I always sought to strike a careful and considered balance between getting the necessary data and ensuring that there was nothing harmful or sensitive in the interview process. I also ensured the confidentiality of any data collected, by using codes, and keeping it safe and secure as described in 3.5.1. Due to the link between individuals' positions and information provided and/or its implications on my research, in

some cases titles have been used to refer to the source of the information. This was confirmed with the participants.

Although this thesis uses codes (see 3.3.3 above) to maintain confidentiality, a small number of individuals acting in distinct and therefore identifiable roles are consequently less anonymous than others, for example MPs also acting as council employees or ministers.

3.7 Research Dissemination Strategy

During my PhD journey, I have managed to disseminate my research via academic papers and conference presentations. Examples of this included: the fifth and sixth European disability forum, the Leeds Centre of Disability Studies postgraduate conference, and the University of Leeds Faculty of Education, Social Sciences and Law conference. In addition, I have also managed to accompany this with some academic activities such as being a representative to the White Rose Doctoral Training Partnership, 2016-2018. I also published a co-authored paper about work/family balance and disability in Gulf countries. I have acknowledged my research participants' valuable contributions by ensuring that they have been kept apprised of developments in the work. Following the submission of this thesis, I plan to continue sharing the summary of the research participants so they are aware of the results of their contributions.

There are many opportunities for my research findings and data to be available for governments, research institutions, and national or international funding organisations. One way of sharing is the use of the White Rose Repository (an archive which includes Leeds, Sheffield and York Universities). Also, my research findings will be printed in braille and in large print and 20 copies will be distributed to approximately 10 public libraries and other relevant public organisations (e.g. NGOs and governmental institutions) in Egypt, after translation into Arabic. While it is important for these research findings to be used, the raw data cannot be shared or used in secondary data analysis due to the potential risk of identifying participants (see 3.6 above).

I aim to allow the use of my research, analysis and conclusions to reach a wider audience to enable better policy making and practice. I wish to organise a conference in cooperation with the Egyptian Government and relevant ministries, considering the fact that I have good connections with policymakers. This conference will present the findings of my research, the field observations and the work of other Egyptian analysts shedding light in Egypt on worldwide efforts to mainstream disability in the arena of development. I will prepare an academic monograph based on my PhD dissertation and publications in academic journals, together with presentations at international conferences.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the research strategy design and the rationale, underpinning the selection of each method. The validity and reliability of these methodologies were considered as important factors which may contribute to answering the research questions. Given the complexity of this research field, a combination of theories and strategies were selected to ensure that the appropriate data would be generated covering the research's three main concepts. Due to the qualitative nature of this research, an analytical qualitative method was used to analyse the gathered data from semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and document analysis. The methodological design underscored the strong connection between thesis concepts. It considered ethics implications, accessibility measures, and feasibility. The main aim is to enrich Chapter 8 (Conclusions) with the lessons learned, as well as bridging gaps and challenges found during the research journey.

While the two previous chapters introduced some concepts which form the core content attached to the contributing factors of this research such as the UNCRPD, the Egyptian Revolution, and the SDGs, the next few chapters contextualise the research findings further by bringing the voices of different research participants together. This demonstrates how they may have been

influenced by the Egyptian Revolution, changing their tactics, and paving the way to more inclusive development.

Chapter 4: The Mobilization and Capacity of Egyptian DPOs

Introduction

This chapter considers the capacity and challenges facing Egyptian DPOs in a period of international policy development and national revolution. In this, it responds to elements of sub-research question 2, understanding the effect of this period on their tactics, perceived identities, and political positions when engaging with disability and development policies. The chapter reflects upon the history of the disabled people's movements presented in Chapter 1 to understand whether the organisational robustness of the DPOs automatically leads to success in mainstreaming their rights into national policies. The slogan, '*Nothing About Us Without Us*', has been adopted by democratic traditions over time, for example it was used in disability politics in the 1990s by both South African and Eastern European activists (Charlton, 2000). It has also asserted itself in the case of Egypt. The events and consequences of the Egyptian Revolution, as previously discussed, have contributed to the mainstreaming of disability rights with numerous national policies such as the 2012 and 2014 Constitutions.

This chapter also responds to research sub-question one ("*What changes occurred in disabled people's activism, organisations and alliances during and since the Egyptian Revolution?*") by considering the post-Revolution situation through a diverse sample of Egyptian DPO members, who represent both themselves and their organisations. The chapter also analysed opportunities and challenges that occurred following the country's signature to the UNCRPD, up to SDGs. It also addresses the development of the DPOs' technical, financial and administrative abilities along with networking issues that may assist them to be more united and empowered. It further examines whether they have the necessary skills and sources to engage with government and/or external organisations to advocate for the rights of the disabled population. This analysis illustrates the degree to which stakeholders acknowledge disabled activists' efforts resulting in their voices being heard. While the majority of DPOs globally advocate shifting the views of disability from the traditional to a social model (Finkelstein, 2007), some still focus only

on service provision, which could trap them within the traditional model of disability (Barnes, 2005). Equally, and in recognition of this, there are organisations 'of', as opposed to 'for' disabled people.

The chapter narrates disabled activists' stories prior to and during the establishment of their DPOs. This includes the obstacles they faced in establishing them, the outside support they received, and their ability to sustain their activities. By this, the analysis addresses aspects of research sub-question 4 (*"How have the above events influenced the Egyptian government to realise a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights and provision?"*). These centre upon tools which are considered by government and funding organisations as supporting the enhancement of DPOs' capacities. Whether DPOs' revolutionary aspirations have been met through these efforts is also examined.

The table below introduces the 18 DPOs who were targeted for this research. While I was planning to interview all of them, only 15 responded to my call and were successfully interviewed. I have also selected one DPO union as an example of coalition work. As the interviews have been conducted with one representative from each DPO, their views do not necessarily represent the whole organisation. The stories narrated in this chapter often reflect their personal situations and/or challenges which acted as a driver to establish their DPOs.

DPO name	Regional Location	Date of Foundation	Characteristics
Fagar El Tanweer DPO	Cairo	2002	Medium
el Erteqa DPO	Beni Suef	2006	Medium
Seven Million Association DPO	Giza	2009	Medium
El Haya DPO	Minya	2014	Small
El Noor El Haqeeqe (True Light Society)	Minya	2003	Small
El Shad DPO for Sona El Khear at El Tanmieah	Minya	2009	Small
El Ebtsama DPO	Asyut	2015	Small
Motahady El Eaaqa	Asyut	2009	Small
Motahady El Eaqa	Sohag	2010	Small
Sahwa	Sohag	2009	Large
Shamet El Haya DPO	Sohag	2009	Small
Khatwet Khear DPO	Sohag	2015	Small
El Noor Association for the Blind DPO	Qena	2011	Small
El Mostaqabal DPO	New Valley/ Elwadi ElGedid	2001	Small
Homat El Salam DPO	Aswan	2006	Medium
Egyptian Union of Disabled People's Organisations	Aswan	2011	Large

Table 1: List of Egyptian DPOs

As seen in the table above, the DPOs cover nine Egyptian governorates in Upper Egypt (see 3.3.2 for selection criteria) including the capital city. Those are Cairo, Giza, Beni Suef, Minya, Asyut, Sohag, Qena, Aswan and New Valley. Most are small in size, with fewer than five full-time employees (a medium-sized DPO, for the purposes of this work, has between five and ten employees). The size of the larger DPOs, in some cases, reflects their earlier establishment and funding projects that were carried out in conjunction with international organisations.

The majority of interviewed DPOs were established around 2009 through the Sahwa project run by Handicap International (HI). This was two years before the Revolution and one year after the ratification of the UNCPRD. The project collaborated with Terre Des Hommes (TDH) to support the transformation of disabled people's groups into official DPOs (Terre des Hommes, no date). One example is Seven Million Association DPO, which transformed from a free movement to become an officially registered DPO. The majority of their membership represented people with visual and physical impairments. The choice of DPOs interviewed for this thesis aimed to achieve a balance between both visual and mobility impairments. The research sample also maintained a gender balance. This is particularly important as, according to Sheldon (2013), disabled women face multiple forms of oppression and discrimination, compared to non-disabled women (see 1.1.3). Examples are: equity in work and attitudinal barriers, which may result from the associated stigma which is more exacerbated within the male-dominated culture in Upper Egypt (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

This design aims for a broad insight into the situation of DPOs through the period in which the core incidents occurred – namely the Egyptian ratification to the UNCPRD in 2008, the Egyptian Revolution in 2011, the 2014 Egyptian Constitution, the country's signature to the SDGs in 2015, and the declaration of the ESDS in March 2015.

4.1 From the UNCRPD to the Egyptian Revolution and SDGs: Influences on the Egyptian Disabled People's Movement

Chapter 1 briefly touched upon the history of Egyptian Disabled People's movement up to the country's ratification of the UNCRPD along with their engagement with the 2011 revolution and its immediate consequences. The convention contributed to the sudden increase of Egyptian DPOs working together through collaborative initiatives. This section continues this story by examining the influence of both the UNCRPD and revolution with its subsequent national and global policy development on the movement. The aim is to learn whether they provided further opportunities for DPOs to begin mainstreaming their rights.

4.1.1 The UNCRPD and Egyptian Revolution

Since the beginning of this century, international organisations such as HI, International Disability Alliance (IDA) and Disabled People International (DPI) have increased their efforts to support the establishment of a large number of DPOs. Some glimpses were seen in Egypt, and this subsection details the reasons/motivations behind their establishment. Briefly, these include: the development from NGOs into DPOs to better advocate for disabled people; moving from an individualistic approach towards a collegiate unity to increase legitimacy when demanding their rights; channelling the available economic resources in some richer communities; and disabled activists' sense of political injustice and lived experience.

The declaration of the UNCRPD in 2006 further motivated disabled activists to continue establishing their own DPOs. International organisations consequently supported increasing the number of DPOs, viewing them as first-hand advocates for their affairs. In order to elevate their population's voices to the policy development agenda, they understand the importance of self-organisation and advocacy rather than focusing only on the service provision.

The Sahwa project of 2009, funded by HI, is a good example (Disability Monitor Initiative Middle East, 2009). It engaged around 120 groups and DPOs

in four governorates (Asyut, Sohag, Qena, and Aswan), with a second phase funding around 48 smaller practical initiatives for new or existing DPOs. The aim was to facilitate 'an accessible local environment', with schools, railway stations and religious centres around the DPOs (see 7.2). These initiatives were intended to motivate more cooperative mechanisms between DPOs. However, the lack of ownership and loyalty to the overall disabled people's movement prior to this project contributed to a challenge faced by Sahwa. It took time and effort to persuade everyone that teamwork would enhance both the work of individuals and, ultimately, the collective outcome.

In general, the years following the ratification of the Convention witnessed different forms of activism in the Egyptian disabled people's movement, either through the establishment of new coalitions or the demonstration of their rights. 2010 saw the first disabled strike in front of the Egyptian parliament which provided evidence of how individuals were keen to express their demands even before the fuel of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution (see 1.3). This activism prepared some of these individuals' participation in the Revolution, demonstrating and uniting with others around the Revolution slogan (see 1.3). Its events proved the effect of collective power, further elevating their spirit of solidarity. Summarising the above shows that both the UNCRPD and Revolution were milestones supporting the solidity of Egyptian DPOs. Their poor capacity, however, sometimes acted against this – see 4.2.

The stories behind the establishment of the sampled DPOs are varied. Some of them were transformed from movements into officially being recognised as DPOs (see 1.1.2 for definition) whilst others transformed from being a group of individuals aiming to support and advocate for their population's rights but without clear direction or strategy. This was the case with the majority of DPOs in this research. One example of the first transformation is the Seven Million Association DPO (Seven Million Association, 2011). The movement was begun in 2009. It advocated the rights of disabled people, using the UNCRPD principle as a core of its activism. The leader of the movement, who is also a chair of the DPO, stated:

All the movement's objectives are related to the rights of disabled people, by first and foremost activating the UNCRPD to encompass inclusion, education, employment, and accessibility. (A)

In 2010, this unofficial movement was transformed into a DPO, which not only changed the type of activities undertaken but also lost the movement leaders' interest (Seven Million Association, 2011). They felt that they would be more restricted and controlled by the government, rather than having the 'free' power to determine action without restraint; this resulted in most of the movement's board members refraining from participating within the DPO's formation. Their representative stated:

The other four board members did not feel very comfortable working within a formal NGO and preferred to work without restrictions rather than a service focused environment. (A)

The fact that no similar movements existed at that time made the Seven Million Association unique, which contributed to their voices being easily heard. Their representative stated that it is the first activism movement in Egypt to rely on 'Nothing About Us Without Us' as a slogan (Charlton, 2000), as well as grasping the Convention spirit. They advocated and mobilised the communities with their ideas, an approach that was used later by the Hiwar project funded by the European Union (EU) to increase disabled people's participation and the control of their own affairs (Hiwar, 2016).

Analysing the DPOs' situation following the Convention ratification in Egypt found that the majority of them were established by HI, while others were supported by organisations such as TDH (Terre des hommes, no date), the Upper Egypt Association for Development and Education, and CEOSS (CEOSS, no date – see Appendix A). HI's cooperation with others built a synergy between all established DPOs through initiatives while unfortunately not supporting the sustainability of running DPOs' activities following the project closure.

Comparing the process of DPOs' establishment in Egypt with the UK found that the UK Independent Living (IL) movement (Evans, 2003) originally

established as campaigning DPOs were de-politicised through their engagement with the managed market for public sector service contracts. The situation in Egypt stands in contradiction to this, as organisations that started with a service provision approach then became more political through campaigning and advocating for the mainstreaming of their rights. The history of Egyptian NGOs, working in the field of disability, started with a provision of services either in kind or in cash (Resala.org, no date; Spare, 2012; Mittermaier, 2014); for example, food subsidies, or medical aids. Although some of them viewed this as the only way to support disabled people, given their 'special needs' (as presented in Chapter 1), other NGOs provide these services as a necessary step forward towards their independence. El Noor El Haqeeqe DPO in Minya, for example, balanced between provision of medical and braille services for disabled people; both are in compliance with the UNCRPD's requirement for reasonable accommodation (Article 2) and disabled people's rights to health (Article 25). They accompanied this with some rehabilitation services, following the Convention (Article 26) to ensure more comprehensive support is being given to disabled people.

An HI representative stated that their research in 2010 revealed that some DPOs' objectives were intended to provide charity support to disabled people. This conflicts with the definition provided for DPOs above (see 1.1.2). Their objectives are to advocate and mobilise disabled people's rights. DPOs established after the UNCRPD, however, digested the Convention content to a degree in their visions and objectives (UNCRPD, 2008; Sahwa, 2009). While Fajr Al Tanweer, an organisation of visually impaired people, was established in Cairo in 2002 to provide them with services (charity approach) (Drewett, 1999), Al Haya DPO, (Minya governorate) established in 2014, took a rights-based approach by advocating for disabled people as well as raising stakeholders' capacity at their governorate level (Fajr Al Tanweer, 2018). Their representative stated "*this is why we found it necessary to unite members from those different DPOs...to create one larger DPO which could play the same role but at the governorate level*". **(C)**

Another means by which the number of DPOs increased following the UNCRPD was through the transformation of pre-existing NGOs working in the field of disability such as Homat El Salam in Aswan. In addition, groups of disabled people came together with an enthusiasm to support their population but without knowing the direction, such as Khatwet Khear DPO in Sohag (Khatwa, no date). This included groups representing women which is particularly positive considering the dominant male culture found in Upper Egypt which has resulted, over the years, in multiple forms of oppression against disabled women (Kirkpatrick, 2012; Sheldon, 2013). One group, for example, found that supporting their university's disabled colleagues was enough of a goal for their own DPO. They have managed to remove the multitude of barriers facing disabled students at Sohag University (USAID, 2017) by working together on a formal and organised platform. They had previously failed to overcome these challenges on an individual basis. The Vice President of Shamet El Haya explained that:

...we thought that we would have to change from being an informal group of students (25 members) to becoming a formal alliance in order to sort out challenges that face visually impaired students whilst studying at the University. (G)

They were empowered to play this role with the aid of the Sahwa project that provided them with some financial support.

This success is an example of many that motivated other DPOs to start local initiatives, known as LDAPs (see 7.2.1) to improve their population's access to public services. The Sahwa DPO conducted a bottom-up initiative where disabled people turned their educational barriers into a project which was received with enthusiasm and acceptance by Sohag University. The result of this was an assistive technology lab capable of supporting disabled students for years to come (Sahwa Association, 2010).

One key mechanism behind the establishment of DPOs was the opportunity to channel available economic resources into richer communities such as El Qosia and Sohag in order to benefit the disabled populations who live there. Motahady El Eaqqa's objectives revolve around implementing the 5%

employment quota enshrined in law, as well as improving the quality of the prosthetic devices which, up to that point, were manufactured from poor materials that were very difficult to obtain. They expanded the community resources to assist disabled people to access public services such as healthcare units, youth or sports centres and schools etc. These activities were also seen as digestion of the UNCRPD, mobilizing the mainstreaming of disabled people to equally benefit from the community resources (WHO, no date).

Disabled activists' sense of political injustice and the personal challenges they faced were other key motivations for them to establish DPOs. Although services are available from NGOs, some DPO representatives prefer to provide these services themselves as their lived experiences improves the appropriateness and the delivery of inclusive services. For example, the chair of Shamet El Hayah DPO found it very difficult to take care of her female relative without having the support of a DPO. Other individuals established a DPO to improve the disability services within their governorates, seeing this as strengthening their position when advocating for their rights. One stated:

I dreamed that one day I could be responsible for a DPO or alliance which could advocate for the rights of disabled people. (F)

The final motivation to establish a DPO was to compile and elevate local DPOs' demands to the authorities at the governorate level. El Hayah DPO is one example. They have used the rights-based approach and their members' connections with authorities in Minya governorate to translate plans at the governorate level. Their representative stated that: "*we found that although DPOs exerted many efforts at the local level, other interventions, however, are still needed at the governorate level to manage and sort out disability problems within the local authorities*". In doing so, DPOs established a network in El Minya with representation of local DPOs. They met periodically to share concerns, demands, challenges and opportunities.

Analysing the above motivations found that DPOs used advocacy as a tool to improve both the inclusivity of public services as well as demanding their political and social justice. Their vision was likely to have been influenced by the three post-revolutionary Egyptian regimes' different perspectives to disability. As a disabled insider researcher who met Morsi (President of the Muslim Brotherhood regime) and worked as an expert board member of the disability council during the President Sisi (current) regime, I contend that the way in which the regime's leaders governed disability differed. The first (military) regime's approach to disability has been analysed as in-between the traditional and social models. They governed the country for only a few months, aiming to respond to community groups' demands. The second regime, the Muslim Brotherhood, relied more on the charitable approach to support disabled people through provision of donation programs (Susumu et al., 2016; Finkelstein, 2007). The third and current regime appears more influenced by the UNCRPD and the social model of disability, as it appears in the Constitution of 2014, the disability encapsulation within the ESDS of 2015, and the announced Disability Law 2018 (Soliman, no date). DPOs' representatives confirmed, however, that these differing views did not influence their motivation to advocate for the disabled population.

To conclude, the establishment of Egyptian DPOs demonstrates a variety of motivations, as elaborated in the stories above. These reasons include: an understanding of the power of working in unity instead of scattered individual efforts; disabled activists' sense of political injustice and generating more power to advocate for disabled peoples' demands. The period following the declaration of the UNCRPD witnessed a sudden surge of DPOs being formed, with the support of international organisations. DPOs' collaborative initiatives via the Sahwa project (HI) developed their sense of collective power as well as managed to improve many local districts' internal accessibility (see 7.2). This practise clarified to them the UNCRPD approach of unity as a necessity to mainstream their rights in development programs. This knowledge and activism arguably prepared them to participate within revolution events.

The next subsection turns to discuss the UNCRPD's influence on DPOs' activities and to understand whether it acted as a stimulus for international organisations to support building their capacities.

4.1.2 The influence of the UNCRPD on the capacities and activities of Egyptian DPOs

The previous subsection examined a sample of international organisations' efforts following the Convention which contributed to the establishment of a large number of DPOs. This subsection argues that the UNCRPD also acted as a stimulus for international organisations and governments to put together projects to support the capacities of DPOs. It presents examples of these projects to examine the UNCRPD's influence on DPOs' ability to communicate their demands to government. While this can be seen as a positive move, it is also arguably a top-down approach to development as international organisations' may use their authority as the providers of funding to dictate their agenda, thereby impacting upon DPOs' ability to freely design their own projects. This suggests that global influences drive local provision, rather than activists' own agency furthering their advocacy claims.

In general, both the UNCRPD and SDGs motivated many governments to consider structuring inclusive strategies with an international dimension to support the capacities of DPOs nationally and in other countries. One example is the Department for International Development (DFID) Disability Inclusion Strategy which provided diversified support for several African countries (DFID, 2018). International organisations also established projects to involve DPOs within the policy making process (IDA, no date; Handicap International, 2011; Global Environment Facility, 2009). Examples were found in the Middle East (where HI has started the Hiwar Project) which:

aim[ed] ... [to] promot[e] the participation of disabled persons' organisations as active, reliable and qualified representatives in revising and analysing the national policies with the public authorities and civil society organisations.
(Hiwar, 2016).

Egypt was part of this project. One DPO representative noted Hiwar's success to increase their level of involvement during national policies consultation. Their representative stated "through the project network we have more opportunity to join ESDS discussions" **(C)**.

Although Hiwar project opened regional opportunities for some DPOs, others were deprived of this due to their limited capacity. This may have led them to work individually and in competition with others – hence losing the concept of collegiality. One of them stated:

DPOs are not cooperative, and they are not working together. Even those who are within the DPO union at the governorate level would like to work individually and in competition. **(E)**

National councils and other NGOs also instituted some pilot projects to support existing DPOs' capacities and to establish new DPOs. The organisations' programs aimed to develop the latter's administrative, financial and technical capacities. The National Council for Childhood and Motherhood (NCCM), through its family and child rights program funded by the EU, is one example (European Union External Action, 2017a). After conducting a needs assessment, the Council designed a training package to support three DPO coalitions in three governorates of Upper Egypt, each including 10-15 DPOs, to improve their technical, financial and administrative skills, providing them with cooperative mechanisms to assist their unity. While assessing DPOs' needs prior to the project start is a positive step, the lack of DPOs' representation during the project design can add a top-down approach which is similar to some international organisations' approach to development (UNDP and the Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, 2015). The NCCM also responded to some disabled groups' desires, assisting their official registration as DPOs, supporting them with administrative procedures. One DPO representative confirmed this by saying: "*We worked with the NCCM, taking some training on disability concepts. Other training was related to the same disability concepts organised by the Arab Organisation for Disabled People – AODP – and was attended by our Chairman*". **(H)** The list of training received included the UNCRPD and the UN standard rules including

Agenda 22. The aim was to utilise these international discourses within DPOs' daily activities (UN, 1993).

One challenge, however, was the unequal distribution of training amongst DPOs. Their representatives were dissatisfied as some received comprehensive training from different organisations, whereas others did not get this opportunity. The unwillingness of international organisations to conduct needs assessments prior to delivering training packages also contributed to inappropriately pitched training and the potential wasting of resources. Interviewees reported that some of the training providers even invited the same DPO representatives on each occasion, thereby depriving other board members from benefitting. The former Egyptian NGO Service Centre attempted to map NGOs' services and training needs which were used as a source for international organisations while designing their projects (Egyptian Government, 2015). Since the closure of this centre, the NCCM has taken the initiative to assess their needs as a pilot model and then designed its program of NGOs' technical capacities accordingly.

Generally speaking, Egyptian DPOs were lucky to receive a large number of training components in the period following the ratification of the UNCRPD and this continued to be the case after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. Although they have received training on the social and rights-based approach to disability, the interviewees in this research still demonstrated confusion between terms such as impairment and disability, as well as their use of the term Special Needs. Some of them also refused to use 'people with disability', maintaining that disabled people have a difficulty, but not a disability. A DPO representative with mobility impairment confirmed this, saying:

Simply speaking, there is nothing called disability from my personal perspective. It's just a lack of some abilities. For example, I could consider myself as not disabled. All I have is a difficulty when I walk a lot. I have all my other abilities, energies and creativity. (H)

This poses a question about the degree to which it is necessary to have a unified agreement about the terms such as disability and/or impairment. While disabled people who participated in producing the Convention agreed that the

term disability expressed societal barriers, some – including disabled Egyptian activists – refused to be labelled as 'disabled people'. It was not clear whether this was due to them not viewing impairment as an important part of their self-identity or whether they denied this labelling due to its negative cultural perception and potential for discrimination. This matches Watson (2002), where only three of his 28 interviewed disabled persons identified themselves as 'disabled', while others refused this classification. As argued by Winter (2003), and stated by the UNDSPD and UNDESA (no date), the increasing use of 'traditional or charity models' to deal with disabled people in the majority world was behind their reluctance to use that term. They may refuse this labelling as this positions them as 'unable bodied'. They are scared as this may force the community towards the service provision approach, e.g. providing them with cash and in-kind support. The challenge this presents is that disabled people will not be mainstreamed or provided with the necessary tools towards independent living.

The training received by DPOs, however, assisted them to differentiate between these models, such as Motahady el Eaqa in Sohag, who understood that although individuals have different appearances, they should have an equal relationship with their community. They acknowledge, however, that people are impaired because God created them to be that way. While some scholars present the socio-economic elements (e.g. poverty, malnutrition, etc.) as factors behind people's impairments (Abberley, 1987), activists with religious beliefs suggest that it is the will of God. They have more positive religious views towards disabled people. Although they see the person's impairment as irrevocable, they acknowledge their equal rights, duties and abilities. The latter is supported by the verses in the Quran and Hadith (Muslim, Birr, 33; Ibn Majah, Zuhd, 9; Ahmad b. Hanbal, 2/285, 539):

God does not look at your forms or your bodies; rather, He looks at your hearts and your deeds.

Although with these religious acknowledgments, cultural factors may override this. For example, according to Etieyibo and Omiegbe (2016), disabled people

in Nigeria have been subject to severe discriminatory practices as there is a belief that people's impairment is an indication of sin.

The training on the UNCRPD was also beneficial in enhancing DPOs' knowledge and capacities, although the quality of this training varied. Some of their representatives managed to transfer this knowledge to their colleagues, thereby helping them utilise it in both their internal structure and plans. Understanding the Convention also supported DPOs to recognise the legal conflicts between it and the Egyptian rehabilitation laws (No. 39 from 1975), leading them to develop a new version considering the Convention principles. One DPO gave an example, saying "*while the UNCRPD enshrined financial support to children with learning difficulties since birth, the Egyptian Rehabilitation Law No. 39 from 1975 said the pension should start at the age of 18*". **(G)** This interpretation arose from their engagement with the UNCRPD, where article 28 urges provision of financial support to all disabled people and their families especially in poorer countries.

Following the training received, some DPOs took the initiative to transfer them to government service providers. They documented that the results of the training changed their perception and efficiency while supporting disabled people. One example is Sahwa DPO who stated:

We could definitely observe how this training changed their vision, moving from serving disabled people as a matter of reward from God, towards providing disabled people with a right guaranteed by law. (G)

In general, the knowledge acquired through these training was useful during the country's formulation of the new Disability Law in February 2018 (Soliman, no date) (see Chapter 5 regarding the development of the Egyptian disability politics).

Since the beginning of this century, Egyptian DPOs seemed to be both active and aware of their rights. Even before the declaration of the UNCRPD, some attempted to inform the disabled individuals attending the UN negotiations of the challenges they faced. El Erteqa DPO is one example. Their chair, who

participated in the workshop organised by CEOSS to transfer their demands to activists travelling to the UN stated:

In 2006, and during the UNCRPD discussions prior to ratification, the Egyptian government objected to five subjects of the Convention as they did not fit with their culture and traditions. We reshaped some recommendations with Dr Heba Hagrass and after that she took them back to the UN. (I)

This a positive sign, although it is unfortunate that the Egyptian government failed to send a disabled delegate to represent the country on the UNCRPD negotiation stage (see 1.3). The government did, however, make an interpretive declaration about the Convention articles giving an equal legal capacity for people with learning difficulties as well as the right to adopt disabled children.

Analysing the selected DPOs' visions and objectives shows that they have been influenced by some Convention principles. The quote below presents how DPOs incorporated the terms 'rights-based approach' and/or 'inclusion' into their goal. "*Our main goal is to follow the rights based approach of the UNCRPD*" (E) This interviewee expressed anxiety, however, in receiving training to differentiate between goals and action plans. Others felt that, while the UNCRPD embodied useful principles and rights, they viewed a difficulty in its application as government gave less priority to disabled people's demands:

Yes, I read some of its articles. It looks very good in theory but there is a big difference between what should be and what you could find realistically here in Egypt. So while the Convention always says that the country is committed to several rights, in reality nothing is implemented, and the country is not doing anything for us. (L)

The interviews with DPOs also had positive views, seeing the 2014 Egyptian Constitution, and their representation on the Egyptian Parliament, as evidence of government developing an acknowledgement of mainstreaming their rights (see 5.1). The question remains what should be done to better satisfy disabled activists who are not happy with this progress.

To conclude, this subsection examined the influence of the training provided to DPOs, finding that it developed their capacities to comprehend and use the

UNCRPD in their engagement with government and plans. The country's ratification of the Convention directed some of the international organisations' and government efforts to provide extensive support to Egyptian DPOs. This technical training received by DPOs enhanced their knowledge of the UNCRPD disability models and other related topics. This knowledge was beneficial during DPOs' utilisation of the UNCRPD into their visions. The inequality of training received along with the absence of needs assessments resulted in DPOs misunderstanding the theoretical knowledge attained and consequently misinterpreting them within their action plans. Another finding is that the absence of a comprehensive map of Egyptian DPOs' geographical distribution and service provided hindered organisations to provide them with the appropriate support. Positively, however, it is argued that their knowledge and experience of the UNCRPD, along with their participation in the revolutionary events, opened better involvement within the policy consultation process. The next subsection considers the Egyptian Revolution as the second influence on elevating DPOs' aspirations to the national policy agenda.

4.1.3 The Egyptian Revolution as a second motivator to elevate Egyptian DPOs' aspirations

The previous subsection argued that the UNCRPD encouraged various organisations to establish regional and international programs to build DPOs' capacities to stand alone for their rights. This subsection examines the influence of the revolution as a further motivator for their unity (as discussed in chapter 1) and whether this led to their demands being fulfilled.

The events of the Egyptian Revolution demonstrated the importance of unity, which DPOs viewed as a pathway to the solidity of their movement. The Revolution also elevated activists' spirit and eagerness to mainstream their demands into the country's national policies. DPOs' other aspirations included moving from a services-based approach towards a rights-based one, following the new national and international disability legal frameworks. The final aspiration was for them to better express their anger when government policies do not reflect their demands.

While expressing these aspirations, DPOs were also aware of the challenges that may hamper their realisation – six of these will be discussed below. The first is the lack of DPOs working in a more unified spirit, supporting each other, and advocating for the rights of disabled people. As discussed in 4.1.2, each DPO works in an isolated environment and competes with others to obtain funds. Their efforts are consequently scattered, with minimal influence reaching the decision makers, and this has been expressed by one DPO representative in strong terms:

Unfortunately, the activists in the disabled people's movement in Egypt are not working together as one unit. I could think that it is the only movement that is scattered... Each group is thinking how to position themselves individually rather than within the movement as a whole. (C)

This poses a question about how genuine their intentions are and the level of their belief to support the rights of disabled people. For more details about their networking position see 4.2.5.

This lack of unity weakens the disabled people's movement. It could also create many conflicts, where DPOs prefer to keep information to themselves. This isolation even persists in cases where DPOs have formulated unions at the national and local level. It seems that some DPOs feel that they have a lot to lose if they share and co-operate. One of them described his concerns stating:

Everyone feels that they alone could be the leader. Everyone thinks that they are the only one with the working knowledge. Consequently, this scattered our power and our collective efforts. (J)

The second challenge was the absence of a disability law to comply with the UNCPRD, and to replace the rehabilitation law (39) of 1975 (see 1.2.1). DPOs were dissatisfied from the latter as their rights for a 5% employment quota are not implemented. Although various organisations have conducted workshops to discuss the new law draft, DPOs' level of connection with these organisations influences the degree to which they are invited. One of them commented:

We didn't see the new draft until this moment. And we didn't even get invited to attend the draft discussions. As far as I know, this draft will be presented to Parliament very soon. In my opinion, it has a lot of deficiencies. (H)

DPOs that did not get the chance to participate were very angry, stating: “*What we miss is a discussion between the disabled population / DPOs and stakeholders who are working in the field of disability and the government.*” **(A)** Even when they were invited, they were given limited opportunity to express their demands. This, along with their lack of policy knowledge, hinders their perspective and contributions to enrich the law discussions. Such action may waive meaningful participation to tokenistic attendance (Yoder, 1991; Lee et al., 2017 – see 1.1.3). Although with these debates, the issuing of the new Disability Law of 2018 was seen as a milestone in Egyptian disability politics (see 5.1). Further research is required to understand DPOs’ and activists’ satisfaction with this new law and its by-laws.

The third challenge to achieve their aspirations is the DPOs’ conflicting approaches and the models followed when supporting disabled people. While the majority of them stated their eagerness to apply the social model of disability and the rights-based approach, which may be imposed by some international organisations (Drewett, 1999), some of their practice focused on service provision due to the poor nature of their districts. It is positive, however, that they realised a need to unify their direction following the advocacy approach as stated within the definition of a Disabled People’s Movements (see 1.1.2).

What we need is to amend the trends or directions as the majority of disabled activists inside El Minya governorate still speak or tend towards the charity approach of disability. (C)

The charitable approach to disability, found in historic government policies, has contributed to an increase in disabled people’s dependency. One DPO representative stated that: “*if you visited any person in charge asking for a service, he would give it to you as a gift, not because it’s your Right.*” **(N)** DPOs’ responses suggest that the community interacts with them as service receivers whilst ignoring them as potential partners. This analysis suggests

the reason for DPOs preferring to the social model of disability, and thereby remove the multitude of barriers that create disability.

The fourth challenge relates to the upskilling of DPOs. It is unfortunate that this is still the case, although numerous organisations working in the field of disability and development provide technical support (see 4.2). Some stated that the need for government approval prior to each training activity or receipt of funds stands as a barrier.

As a disabled insider researcher, I perceive a fifth challenge in the relative ages and communication gap between the disabled activists and those purporting to be 'experts', who are often older and mostly do not have lived experience of disability. Youth activists are not satisfied with so few genuine experts speaking on behalf of disabled people at national and international conferences, consultancies, and discussions. These experts have often not been nominated to hold this role, and it is sometimes not clear why they are representing disabled people. It is debatable which is the most valuable background for someone speaking on behalf of disabled people – is it the lived experience or academic and theoretical qualifications? The disabled people's movement's fragmentation, with no elected and organised hierarchy, is one reason for such dissatisfaction.

The sixth and final challenge was the mistrust around financial issues. Some DPOs discussed their belief that others misuse the received funds, aiming to profit from their work. The same mistrust exists between some DPOs and their targeted individuals. Disabled people have questioned how donations received by DPOs from international or international donors will be used. The lack of transparency in DPOs' accounting for how they spend their money is one reason behind this mistrust, as indicated by the following comment:

Disabled people pretend that DPOs are not working perfectly, but are just taking the money that's supposed to benefit them. There is no confidence between all partners working in the field of disability and development. (A)

One reported suspicion is that they use a minimal amount from their funded projects or paid activities to implement them, whilst keeping the larger amount for themselves. If donors believe such corruption exists, they may withdraw their support and funding. The disabled people's movement, then, lose outside supporter.

In general, the disabled population will gain greater quality of services only if they are more educated about their rights (Ramírez et al., 2007). Their DPOs, however, should have: "*a vision for the future of disabled people's rights and inclusion*" **(B)**. This would also allow them to support their population when fighting towards more inclusion.

To conclude, this subsection provided a brief synopsis of DPOs and activists' post-revolutionary aspirations followed by the challenges that can hinder these dreams from being realised, such as mistrust around financial issues and the lack of upskilling opportunities. Their eagerness to mitigate the above presented challenges is a source of hope, however. In addition, the UNCRPD and the Revolution may have opened further opportunities to encourage them to work in unity, mainstreaming their rights into national policies. One finding is that these events drew attention to the importance of participation and advocacy. The result is the government's declaration of the new Egyptian Disability Law which is seen as responding to one of their aspirations. I concur with the below quotation summarizing some of the aspirations presented by Egyptian DPOs:

I think what we need is a realistic attendance of disabled people not only as a small amount of individuals, but it is important for all of us to participate strongly and in this year we could see the increased participation, which is evident in disabled people's representation in parliament. (B)

The next section provides a deeper look at their internal resource mobilization to see how this developed their capacity to implement daily activities as well as better engaging with government policy discussions.

4.2 DPO Internal Structure and Plan

This section is devoted to DPOs' resource mobilization. It aims to understand their internal administration, financial, and technical capacities, and reflects on how this informs their daily activities. This includes an analysis of Egyptian DPOs' responses to local, environmental, and social barriers that may hinder disability inclusion. Learning about their skills and engagement with local communities will enhance our understanding of their involvement within the national policy consultation process in the post-revolutionary era.

This section is divided into five subsections, classifying elements of their structure such as financial status, administration and planning abilities, and networking activities. Section 1.1.2 found that variation or omission amongst these elements challenges the solidity of the disabled people's movement. Findings from the data generated in Egypt are, on occasion, similar to DPOs in other countries, and this will be acknowledged where appropriate in the discussion to follow.

4.2.1 Financial instability – a bigger challenge to DPOs in the Majority World

According to Ncube (2005), financial instability is a major barrier in the field of development, especially in the majority world. Reasons for this include the inequality of funds distributed to DPOs, as the majority is given to organisations *for* disabled people (NGOs) instead of those *of* disabled people (DPOs). The latter are found to have difficulty sustaining resources from existing projects (and, indeed, when applying for funds, smaller DPOs with fewer skills struggle to submit high quality proposals). According to the WHO (2006), the inability for DPOs to access and control funds to run their own projects is one constraint in applying the UN Standard Rules referred to above in 2.1.3. Some, however, managed to implement the CBR matrix issued by the WHO as a solution to sustain their resources, relying on their communities (Khasnabis et al., 2010). This approach is proven to be successful in the majority world. DPOs in rural areas of Kenya and Uganda, for example, faced financial instability. The social exclusion situated in this environment deprives

disabled people from accessing public services (Datt et al, 1998; Hagedaars and De Vos, 1988), an issue that put extra pressure on DPOs to compensate for this deprivation. The financial limitations faced by Egyptian DPOs, as reported by their representatives, were similar to those faced by their colleagues in other countries. It hinders their ability to continue their planned work, even in a very short term. Some of them have already closed down due to their failure to pay running costs and salaries.

This instability has affected the overall sustainability of the DPOs, which is evident through their struggle to pay running costs, as well as implementing their day-to-day activities. It could further cause them to become insolvent, which happened to many Egyptian DPOs, as reported by my interviewees. Some of them were reluctant to design annual plans due to the lack of money (see 4.2.1). In most cases, DPOs relied on a group of funding sources to maintain their activities as well as guarantee their running costs. These ranged between international organisations, individual donations, and income from services provided by the DPOs.

Examining the financial situation of the DPOs found that they generally accrue money from five main funding sources. The first of these is a reliance on larger NGOs, gaining financial resources through outsourcing some activities to DPOs, or providing them with some initiatives to facilitate public services for disabled people. An example of this is El Ebt sama DPO, which was supported by Kayan NGO working in the disability field to establish their own rehabilitation center.

The second source of funding is support from international organisations, which many DPOs have faced barriers in obtaining. The newly established DPOs, for example, find it harder to receive these funds as some international organisations prefer to support DPOs who have a documented history of experience. Small DPOs also found this challenging due to their technical inability to submit professional proposals following the different procedures required by international organisations – staff difficulties with the English language further complicate this demand. In addition, limitations when it

comes to documenting their activities narrowed their chances of receiving funds:

To be clear we are not doing well in terms of documentation and reporting. We need to receive support in this issue. We also need to receive support on how to prepare a strategy, filing and other related issues. (I)

This analysis showed the unequal balance in terms of funding distribution among DPOs. The geographical position of DPOs affects their fortunes as they will easily secure funds when they are in a new area. El Mostaqabal DPO is an illustration of this:

They think of El Wadi El Gedeed as a new area and fertile environment to support. They try to network with us even if they are not implementing current projects, but for future communications. (O)

Another challenge is for DPOs are not able to freely and independently control their funds; instead, they are directed by international organisations to implement some of their funding projects. Although they have used various mechanisms, their general objective was to decrease international organisations' tendency towards partnership projects between NGOs and DPOs without differentiating between each role. They require NGOs to provide DPOs with the necessary financial and technical support but leaving the full control of budgets within the hands of DPOs (Ncube, 2005). According to the K4 Helpdesk Report (Quak and Rohwerder, 2018), this was found in many countries, including in North Africa. The DPO representatives interviewed for this research agreed, believing that there is a tendency for international organisations to provide funding to the big NGOs who know how to direct their activities to fit with the former's agenda.

The third source of funding for DPOs is personal resources. An example of this is Fajr Al Tanweer DPO, where the chairman funds all of its activities from his own pocket. Other DPOs, such as Motahady El Eaq, Tahta District Sohag, rely on board members in the same way, as in their opinion this is the only option open to them to continue funding their work:

It's important to note that a year and a half after our DPO was established, all of our funding was self-financed by our DPO board members, who were covering all of our DPO running costs. We know that this is a problem in relation to sustaining our funding resources. (A)

Even if they are able to fund their own work, there is no guarantee that this can be maintained with any level of consistency, particularly if board members and/or their circumstances change. It is positive that DPOs recognised the necessity to learn mechanisms to sustain their existence.

The fourth funding source consists of the individual donations received from outsiders, the level of which varied according to the time of the year. In Ramadan month, for example, NGOs and DPOs receive extra donations due to public preferences to pay their Zakat and/or Sadaqa, interpreting this action as bringing them closer to God (Sparre, 2012). Zakat, the third Islam pillar and Sadaqa, religious voluntary donations, were enshrined to mitigate the poverty differential between classes (Mittermaier, 2014). It is unfortunate that the majority of Egyptian NGOs, including the ones working in the field of disability, further persuade people to spend their Zakat on them by using emotive, provocative and stereotypical images of disabled individuals to enlist community sympathy (Al-Jadir, 2017). This matches the wider literature as, according to Hevey (1992, no pagination):

...the body of the person with an impairment becomes both the essence and the symbol of disablement. The body is fragmented and the major fragment – impairment – becomes the centre of attention.

Such an attitude may promote the use of a charity-model, decreasing the concept of equal opportunity and capability approaches (Barnes, 2005). One DPO expressed their dissatisfaction with this approach, stating: '*Yes, we know that collecting donations could be lawful, but in reality the mechanism used at the moment is not appropriate for us as disabled people or for the whole disability field.*' (I). This illustrates that some DPOs are forced to use this model as an easier approach to implement and sustain their daily activities.

Generating donations presents two associated problems – the first is the legality of collecting money, as this requires following long administrative

procedures with the MOSS to issue the official permission. The second challenge reported by many DPOs is that the disabled population are not satisfied with DPOs collecting on their behalf, suspecting that the boards may be misusing their money.

The final source found during the analysis centres upon using revenue from DPOs' internal activities such as kindergartens, rehabilitation centers, or computer labs, etc. While these support DPOs' running costs and the wider implementation of their plans, the question here is whether it is affordable for the disabled public to pay for these services, especially those who live in the slums. According to Law No. 70 of 2017, each newly established civil society organisation, including DPOs, receives financial support to start planning their activities with some basic financial stability (Refworld.org, 2017). However, in reality, some DPOs are not aware of the existence of this support or they find it difficult to apply due to its complicated procedures (as stated by them). Others, however, manage to use their connections with government to chase their funding rights, which brings attention to the importance of networking (see 4.2.4). One DPO who managed to benefit from this stated:

Each NGO has to receive three types of subsidies: exceptional, establishment and structural. We received two of them – the establishment one of 25,000EGP and exceptional one of 3,000EGP. This is quite unusual. (G)

Periodically, in line with the Law, MOSS performs thorough investigations of Egyptian NGOs before providing any funds (Ministry of Social Solidarity, no date).

In addition to the above five sources, DPOs developed further methods to generate financial resources. Some have considered membership fees collected from disabled people to benefit from their services, along with in-kind donations. This is a common method followed by NGOs globally and the Norwegian Association of the Disabled (NAD) is one example (IDDC, no date).

It appears, therefore, that DPOs mostly rely on disparate funding to widen their resources, balancing between individual donations and the support of

international organisations. *'We receive funds from both individual donations as well as international organisations.'* **(D)** A small number have chosen to invest in their community resources, via approaches such as CBR (see 7.2.2) to best sustain their activities following project closure. They used their connections with government stakeholders, businessmen etc., to be able to gain some free resources which will reduce budget expenditure. Sahwa DPO in Sohag and El Noor Association for the Blind DPO in Qena are positive models in this case.

Analysing DPOs' degree of financial stability and sustainability demonstrated various challenges. Although many of them received training on sustainability mechanisms, they still experienced difficulties in running their project activities after the withdrawal of funding. This was found to be a general challenge facing projects assigned to policy implementation and sustainability. Some stated that they use their project budget to implement their general DPO activities which is seen by international organisations as a misuse of allocated funds. To prevent this, they took control of project activities to ensure that DPOs were using budget lines as designated, leaving no authority for them to control their budgets and reinforcing the idea of donor dependency. This action dissatisfied DPOs, who do not feel trusted to control project budgets by themselves.

One DPO stated:

Even when we work with H.I, they are responsible for all the financial procedures and we just implement the project activities. **(O)**

Similar cases were found in other majority world countries, where DPOs and their networks face discrimination as they are unable to control the funding of their projects. Examples reveal that their partnership with NGOs and/or international organisations found them having full control of projects' various resources while subcontracting DPOs to only implement a number of activities (Ncube, 2005).

Financial instability is such a serious problem that it can threaten DPOs' continued existence. One commented, *'previously, we faced a difficult*

problem to pay our rent for three months, and the landlord was about to kick us out during a board meeting'. (C) However, Motahady El Eaqa, Sahwa, El Noor El Haqeeqe and other DPOs have managed to remain financially stable by using multiple funding sources, as well as heavily investing in their communities' activities and connections (True Light Society, 2018).

Another reason for financial instability is that DPOs' beneficiaries are not paying the membership fees or even contributing small sums. Motahady El Eaqa, Tahta District Sohag stated:

A difficulty arises when you ask your DPO members to pay small amounts towards the monthly rent, as they frequently refuse. They are more available when they need you, but when you need them they disappear. (E)

This lack of co-operation and loyalty between DPO boards and beneficiaries creates a non-reciprocal relationship, decreasing the former's motivation to support the latter.

Geographically speaking, development funds are not distributed equally among different Egyptian governorates, which affects the stability of one DPO over the other. As a result, NGOs in Beni Suef and Sohag governorate, for example, are still deprived from benefitting from funding opportunities. A representative of El Erteqa DPO in Beni Suef, expressed:

We feel insecure and this is due to the fact that Beni Suef is a very poor and marginalised governorate. (I)

It is worth noting that both are considered to be the poorest two Egyptian governorates (UNDP, 2016; CAPMAS, 2018).

To conclude, DPOs rely on various sources of funds to sustain their work. These include international and national organisations, individual donations, donations from board members, and DPO internal activities. As a result of the wide range and variability of sources, most of the DPOs faced some financial instability. Their difference in size, language, technical skills, and also the failure of some to sustain activities following the closure of funded projects are among other challenges. The inequality of funding allocation between DPOs,

along with the unfair distribution of funds through international organisations is another challenge for some of them. One recommendation, further detailed in 8.2, is that international organisations should develop acceptance criteria to include small civil society organisations as well as ensuring equal geographical consideration. Moreover, their funding programs should include a space to orient and train the newly established DPOs, developing their language and proposal writing capacities, so that they can compete equally when applying for funds. Despite these challenges, some were able to sustain their activities.

4.2.2 The challenges of staffing DPOs

According to the International Disability Alliance (IDA), the majority of DPOs across the globe started with believers or activists who joined forces to advocate for disabled people (IDA, no date). South Africa and Uganda are good examples, as their movements started with activists who applied lessons from other disabled people's movements, building a self-organised community to elevate their demands to the national level (Abimanyi-Ochom and Mannan, 2014). While DPOs generally started in capital cities, the situation in Egypt has been different. Through the Sahwa Project (HI), most started in Upper Egypt, about 400 km from Cairo, more specifically in villages and rural areas. This is another reason why their resources tend to be limited and their hands-on experience to overcome barriers is reported to be weak. Their limited financial resources also restrict them from employing sufficient staff to carry out all required technical and logistical activities. Consequently, it is the case that some of their board members have to be completely involved in executing day to day activities, in addition to designing their organisation's plans.

A representative of one DPO stated that:

Five of our nine board members are fully involved in both strategic planning and participating with our activities. Unfortunately, due to our limited resources, our board members work as DPO employees at the same time. (C)

DPOs in this situation struggle to balance between being both board and staff members. In this case, the board members will be consumed with detailed implementation activities rather than drawing up a strategic vision for their

organisations (Moser, 1993). In addition, their other full time responsibilities mean that they do not have time to implement the plans that they have designed. As demonstrated, mixing between strategic thinking and micro level demands slows the performance of development organisations.

Another challenge faced by DPOs is having limited staff, sometimes as a consequence of short-term project based funding. This situation is similar to other countries, where DPOs' dependency on project funders, such as international aid donors, forces them to abide by dictated policies. DPOs in Mozambique, for example, were dissatisfied by the lack of a participatory approach when it comes to the spending of international organisations' funding resources (Ncube, 2005). The lack of core domestic public investment in capacity also results in both short-termism and in aid dependency.

As one DPO observed:

We sometimes employ someone related to a project. But once this project is finished, the person will leave as we cannot pay them further. (E)

This is a barrier facing the majority of DPOs consulted in this research due to their limited financial resources as well as their inability to sustain the existing employees.

One solution to preserve staff is to employ them via paid services such as DPOs' rehabilitation centres or attached classes. This ensures that staff such as teachers then receive a stable salary:

Yes, we have employees who are working with us. We have three classes that are attached to our DPO, two of them concern skill development for children with mental impairments, and the third one is an educational class for preparing disabled children to enter mainstream schools. (K)

My interviewees confirmed that they have used the revenue from paid services to buy assets for their organisations which help them to sustain projects. It is unfortunate that this is not widely applied among DPOs. Publishing such approaches in a manual will develop DPOs' mechanisms to continuously support their communities. Barnes and Mercer (2006) argue that while this

solution has proven successful in providing greater financial stability for many DPOs, it may dilute the political dimension of DPOs as change agents.

To compensate for the absence of full time dedicated staff, another solution is to rely on volunteers. Some Egyptian DPOs, for example, managed to benefit from volunteers as an alternative approach to pursuing their daily activities. One DPO representative stated:

I think we made a good effort to organise the ongoing activities, with the assistance of volunteers who offered part-time support to carry certain tasks. (A)

The organisation was keen to attract and develop volunteers' loyalty and commitment by providing numerous training programs to enhance their skills development. Examples are organizing trips and encouraging their participation in cultural events.

El Noor Association for the Blind DPO (Qena governorate), is another example, utilising a number volunteers to conduct the required work.

Some of the interviewed DPOs view volunteers as a cheaper option than employing full-time staff. They maintained their loyalty by providing a stipend in addition to covering their transport expenses. A representative of Motahady El Eaqqa DPO stated:

We prefer to pay [with a stipend] our established volunteers, rather than bringing in labour from outside the organisation. (F)

Religious aims were another reason found to motivate volunteers to support DPOs. As stated by the Chair of Sahwa DPO:

At the outset, some of the volunteers joining us did so with hope of reward from God. (G)

Other DPOs, however, did not manage to rely on volunteers either due to a shortage available volunteers or a lack of their commitment.

We do not have any employees with us... At the beginning we had some volunteers and support, but they have since left. (N)

One DPO in Sohag stated that: *'We are always asking them to participate, assist and visit the field with us. Either they promise to join us without action or give reasons for absence.'* (E)

The above two examples demonstrate that this method seems to have proven unreliable to compensate for employing full-time staff. This challenge to secure volunteers may be related to Korotayev and Zinkina's (2011) argument that the majority of Egyptians' low economic status may require them to work full time or even pursue two jobs in the same day to reach a decent income.

Another related challenge is the variation in DPO board members' commitment, time, and availability. DPO board meetings are not consistently attended by board members, sometimes because they are not regularly scheduled in advance by the DPO. Instead, they meet informally to discuss their daily activities. Although with limited time and other commitments, some board members have managed to support their DPOs. This is often demanding, with one DPO board member in Qena saying:

Although we have 11 board members, I am working every day from morning till 3 pm, and if anything new emerges then I will go back to the DPO even if I have already left... I am acting as managing director, whilst I am only a board member. (K)

What makes it even more difficult is some disabled individuals join more than one DPO board. This case was found with EI Ebsama DPO.

To overcome this barrier, some DPOs have chosen board members who have more time and availability, thus ensuring their full participation. This analysis poses the question as to whether it is necessary to enquire about the board members' time and commitment before joining the DPOs.

In summary, while nine was the average number of board members involved in the interviewed DPOs, analysis showed that only an average of three to five

of these were actively involved with DPO activities. Reflecting upon my former position as an NCDA board member, I observed that this was the case among DPOs nationwide. I have also experienced that, in certain DPOs, charismatic and active board members exploit the chance to work on their own, while using the name of the DPOs to gain more credibility. If this situation continues to worsen, the disabled people's movement will become artificial and fragile, hindering the benefit of working collectively.

Despite the IDA definition of a DPO as an organisation whose board members exceed 50% disabled members (IDA, no date) (see 1.1.2), the disabled people's movement literature debates whether non-disabled people could join the DPO or if they should be fully run by themselves. This argument is encapsulated by the '*Nothing About Us Without Us*' slogan (Charlton, 2000), which some disabled people interpret to mean they should be fully responsible for their own affairs without any external support. The DPOs consulted in this research had a range of disabled board members from 54% to 100%. This variation indicates that the some are keen to be in charge of their own destiny, while other DPOs may be more welcoming to non-disabled colleagues joining their boards. A similar discussion was conducted among disabled activists prior to the establishment of the NCDA. Some of them strongly supported the employment of disabled cadres only, while others appreciate bringing in specialisms from non-disabled colleagues to compensate for missing expertise amongst disabled people. They view this as a wider application of the concept of inclusion.

The absence of non-disabled allies may result in some DPOs struggling to fully realise their own activities. DPOs' poor capacity to fulfil all required positions is due to multiple reasons. One reason is disabled people's deprivation to access many sub-specialities in Higher Education. Another reason is the segregated and unequal pre-university education in the majority world (USAID, 2017).

Another important element when it comes to the DPOs' internal structure is documentation. The interview analysis showed some positive examples of

DPOs' ability to document their projects, meetings and other daily activities. Others, however, acknowledge the necessity to develop the whole documentation process. One of them stated: *'We are not doing well in terms of documentation and reporting. We need to receive support on this issue.'*

(I). This was also the case observed with many DPOs during my former work monitoring their activities. This barrier prevents DPOs' concrete work on the ground from being seen, presented, and acknowledged.

To conclude, this subsection found that the limited staffing, unavailability of board members and lack of funding opportunities are barriers that influence DPOs existence and associated achievement. It described volunteers as one of the options used by DPOs to ameliorate their shortcomings at both board member and employed staff levels. The analysis also showed that financial instability, lack of planning capacities, and confusion as to which disability model should be followed is behind the distracted internal structure found among the majority of the targeted sample.

4.2.3 Awareness-raising and Advocacy

Test et al. (2005) argue that disabled people's voices are more effective than their allies in changing negative community stereotypes. Their voices are seen as more trustworthy than others speaking on their behalf and the further impact of this is that disabled people's lived stories are an inspiration to their peers (Dodd, 2014; IDA, no date). Their use of advocacy was also remarkable in not only promoting the UNCRPD but in mobilizing some policy formations to acknowledge the rights of disabled people (Harpur, 2011). This subsection sheds light on DPOs' awareness-raising efforts globally in addition to steps that they have taken to advocate for their population's rights, focusing on Egypt. Some Egyptian DPOs did not allow their limited resources to stop them from promoting their work but instead built a positive image of disabled people. They have used social media and very simple marketing tools to promote their rights. For example, one interviewed DPO created a YouTube channel, stating:

It considers the positive sides and success stories, to challenge the stereotypical view introduced by the mainstream media. (I)

Their aim was to challenge the stereotypical media portrayal which hinders the community from understanding disabled people's capabilities, resulting in stigmatising them.

This stigma, particularly in the majority world, has been a profound reason behind the families of disabled people having no confidence that their efforts will support their disabled members' independence and productivity (Khasnabis et al., 2010). This would be devastating as, also according to Khasnabis et al. (2010), disabled children are more dependent on their family's efforts to provide them with basic services, especially when public services do not accommodate their impairments. This reflects the profound relationship between stigma and social exclusion (Datt et al., 1998; Hagenaars and De Vos, 1988). One approach employed by DPOs to eradicate this is to promote disabled people's roles in their communities, showing their efforts to provide services for the whole population. One DPO stated: *'Also, we try to give services to non-disabled people just to change community attitudes towards disabled people and let them know that disabled people can give services to everyone.'* (I) While this positive local initiative supports the community acknowledgment of disabled people's equal capabilities, some DPOs found that focusing on service provision is a shift from their main goal. As a consequence, some DPOs moved towards advocacy. Advocacy assisted their population's demands to be elevated to a higher level. DPOs' ability to achieve this advocacy is constrained by the resource and autonomy limitations discussed in the previous two subsections.

This shift confuses the disabled population, who expected DPOs to provide them with basic services such as health and food support rather than teaching them how to advocate for their rights.

Despite these challenges, some of the interviewed DPOs were able to collect and classify demands faced by disabled people and represent them to the

responsible authority. Sahwa DPO in Sohag compiled disabled students' difficulties in Higher Education and co-operated with the university in providing solutions:

The focus was to train visually impaired students to use the screen reader software. We trained around 44 persons. As a result, the university established an assistive technology lab which cost about 1,008,000 Egyptian pounds. (G)

Their advocacy has continued to build disabled students' capacity to cope with the Higher Education environment.

To conclude, this subsection narrated a sample of DPOs' activities relating to awareness and advocacy. Despite their limited finances, staffing, and resources, some managed to draw the community's attention to disabled people's capabilities, fighting the community's associated stigma towards disabled people. In this, some DPOs decided to provide services to the whole community as an example of their ability to support the latter. Through their awareness-raising activities, DPOs have relied on free or low cost methods using both online and off-line tools. The failure of others promoting these activities is found to be due to their poor capacity in having feasible awareness-raising strategies. The next subsection analyses DPOs' networking skills to understand whether it supports their interaction with their communities.

4.2.4 The networking activities of Egyptian DPOs

This subsection examines the influence of networking on Egyptian DPOs' internal structure. The aim is to understand their ability to learn, transfer knowledge, and work alongside each other in support of their population. One factor behind the solidity of the global disabled people's movement (discussed in 1.1.2) was its ability to align and network together, advocating for disabled people's rights. According to Khasnabis et al. (2010), their voices started to be heard at both the regional and national level only when they came together in the form of organisations such as DPI raising their demands and benefitting from the concept of networking. This is a concept that has been used by "...a variety of local, national, regional and international organisations [who] are working to improve the situation for people with disabilities (PWD) across

Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia...” (Quak and Rohwerder, 2018, p.2).

Among the definitions of networking, Forret and Dougherty (2004, p.420), for example, define it as “individuals’ attempts to develop and maintain relationships with others who have the potential to assist them in their work or career” and “a proactive behavior that helps develop one’s relationship constellation”. The Egyptian Revolution has applied this definition, with protesters coming together, putting aside their own demands, with the objective to revolve around one theme. The Egyptian DPOs who participated in it also followed this approach, although their limited ability to align diminished their voices. Similarities were found in other African countries, as outlined in the K4D Helpdesk Report (Quak and Rohwerder, 2018). The report maps the organisations working to address disability issues in North Africa, demonstrating the importance of partnerships to support disability organisations. The Egyptian Revolution events influenced the community’s attention to the importance of networking (Khasnabis et al., 2010), including organisations working in the field of development. Consequently NGOs started to reshape their plans, working together to develop the country’s political, economic and social situation (Ali, 2012). The created unity around one slogan helped this spirit to grow (Hagrass, 2015). Following the Revolution, and up until 2016, the disabled people’s movement gained around seven to 10 new DPOs, unions and coalitions. “We are all One” network in Minya is an illustration of this. El Hayah DPO (the network leader) made extensive efforts to establish this network with a large participation of DPOs in Minya. The network representative stated: *‘It is important to note that these networking activities are funded by ourselves, rather than an external donor.’*

(L)

Despite this positivity, the Revolution’s consequences had some negative influence on civil society, depriving them of the right to continue their activities freely and sustainably, especially those who were not in line with the Government (Elagati, 2013). It seems like they have been “under assault” by the authorities (Brenchenmacher, 2017). The military regime’s investigation

into foreign funding (NGOs' funding sources and related activities) has built some barriers between Egyptian NGOs and international organisations (Elagati, 2013). The decisions made resulted in many NGOs being forced to close down, especially those related to the Muslim Brotherhood (previous regime) party. The government then transferred all their resources such as computers, offices and other equipment to other NGOs (Daily News, Egypt, 2015).

Muslim Brotherhood organisations viewed this action as an attempt to weaken their power by limiting their funding resources and suspending any projects or plans related to political awareness. This unstable political situation and the quick succession of regimes negatively affected the perceptions of international organisations which resulted in their weak networking with NGOs, decreasing financial support and resulting in them ceasing to view Egypt as a fertile environment to pursue development work (Brechenmacher, 2017). This situation made it harder for the civil society, including DPOs, to conduct many networking activities. Rather, they worked in isolation, with the fear that if they joined forces with other DPOs, their work would be suspended by the government.

While the above are specific factors that hindered some network opportunities within the Egyptian context, other factors are shared with DPOs across the globe. These include, "marginalization, stigma, lack of awareness of disability prevalence, lack of comprehensive protection and enforcement of the rights of people with disabilities, and inaccessible environments, services and workplaces" (Quak and Rohwerder, 2018, p.2). This matches the reflections made by this research's DPOs, which show that many of them did not give enough attention to networking activities, either because they were unaware of their influence and importance on their day-to-day work or because their enthusiasm was not matched by their technical abilities. Some of them reported not having any external networking experience: '*We haven't networked with any international organisation and we do not know how to do it.*' (N) They relied instead on their personal connections when participating in joint activities. Reasons behind this limited capacity include the lack of

institutional structures with a clear plan of networking activities at both national and international levels.

Geography is another factor impacting upon DPOs' level of networking across governorates. It is argued that the smaller governorates provide a more fertile environment for the networking of DPOs. One reason is the connected neighbourhoods and pre-existing interrelations between citizens. As most of them were established in Upper Egypt, this made it the best geographical location for them to network. An example of unions was found in Minya, Asyut and Sohag supported by the SAHWA project in 2009 and NCCM which created such an advantage (Sahwa Project, 2009) (see 1.2.4). These DPOs unions aimed to collect disabled people's demands in each DPO district and compile them in an advocacy plan. Analysing the Sohag DPO union, for example, found that Sahwa DPO, along with others, played a significant role in its establishment. They exploited their community's resources and connections with both civil society and government stakeholders to fulfil their aim. The representative stated: *'We managed to involve all DPOs in Sohag except two. We received many requests from a number of DPOs to join our Union but I don't have enough resources to benefit them at the moment.'* **(F)** It seems that Sohag Union has a strategy to involve DPOs nationwide but in stages starting with Upper Egypt and moving all the way down to Cairo.

This analysis contradicts other scholars who view Cairo as a more fertile environment for networking, as both international organisations and governmental head offices are based there. Other examples of unions are found at the national level. DPOs were enthusiastic to form national unions and alliances influenced by the UNCRPD and movement colleagues in other countries. This idea received support from some disability regional organisations such as the Arab Organisation for Disabled People (AODP) (IDA, no date).

The Egyptian DPOs' union established by the chairman of Homat El Salem DPO in Aswan is one example. There are conflicting opinions of its ownership and national coverage according to the interviewed DPOs. The majority of

interviewed DPOs argued that it is not a representative union to speak on behalf of DPOs at national and regional levels, considering the small number of DPOs attached to it. Others, including the union members, disagree and believe that it helps to elevate their advocacy to the national level. The latter may be because of their union's capacity building and conference participation benefits. They also have more chance to network with disability organisations at the Arabic regional level e.g. the AODP. These opposing opinions create a tense environment, dividing DPOs into different parties, which impacts on the concept of networking.

The newly established union supported by CEOSS, the DPO Egyptian Forum (CEOSS, no date), is an example that was welcomed by this research's DPOs due to its larger participation. By establishing this union, CEOSS aimed to bring DPOs together following a participatory approach to formulate a code of conduct as well as guidelines and future plans. It is a positive note that CEOSS provided 'behind the scenes' technical and financial support while letting the forum take the lead (see 7.2.3). The forum representatives confirmed their adherence to the principle of the exchange of power, conducting meetings in order to build their Strategy, but with a failure to have clear future plans (CEOSS, 2015). Their DPOs' poor resources limited their activities to local initiatives while struggling to form a national plan.

Analysing these two examples found that they contributed to offering further opportunities for Egyptian DPOs to represent their country internationally. Examples of this include the Seven Million Association in Giza governorate representing Egypt in the Regional Arabic Office for DPI, and Homat El Salam in Aswan governorate representing Egypt at the Regional Arabic Office of the IDA (AODP). It is unfortunate that the poor administrative and organisational capacities of both DPOs limited their networking skills, depriving them from forming a strong representation of large DPOs beneath them at the national level. The result is that they represent only a small number of DPOs. This challenge necessitates organisations to examine DPOs' networking and internal capacity prior to representing their countries at the regional level.

Although many DPOs have increasingly participated in unions, some of them are not satisfied with their performance or the mechanisms by which decisions are taken. Also, they are not convinced with the quality and the amount of activities conducted by these unions. They expressed their opinions, stating, *'we participated with this union, but we did not feel that there is authentic work going on, which is why we withdrew.'* **(A)** They seemed to be more supportive of the created Egyptian disability forum funded by CEOSS (CEOSS, no date).

While the previous paragraphs presented some challenges that hindered the concept of networking to grow amongst Egyptian DPOs, the next turns to shed light on some DPOs who were able to conduct networking activities despite the previous challenges. Globally, DPOs' proactive spirit, along with international organisations support, supported some networking activities.

Examples of networking at the governmental and civil society level include Kenya and Uganda, where DPOs have managed to conduct initiatives at grassroots level, thereby expanding their power to influence the mainstreaming of their rights into their country's national agenda. As a result, they have been viewed as a successful model at the international level where Kenya managed to co-host the global summit of disability with the United Kingdom in July 2018 (UK Government, 2017; IDA, no date). Analysing this showed the excessive consideration given by international organisations to funding for DPOs to implement networking strategies.

Egyptian DPOs have benefitted from this support to enlarge their reach, resulting in a number of cooperative initiatives. Some of them created a local network with other DPOs, aiming to deliver the same requested services but within a wider geographical range. One of them stated: *'For example, if we have someone needing services in Malawi and they came to our DPO, el Haya, I will then refer him to the DPO that I am working with in Malawi.'* **(C)** A question could emerge around how this referral system could satisfy disabled citizens. The fact that service quality differs from one DPO to another makes some disabled people prefer to travel further away to receive a better service, rather than using local services which are convenient but poor.

Others stretched their connections either with DPOs or NGOs working in the disability field by signing protocols and memorandums of understanding. El Ebtsama DPO, for example, signed a memo with Kayan NGO office, Asyut. Part of this project was to open a CBR unit and establish a local disability committee. Moreover, they also participated with HI in a project to empower disabled people to have better access to their rights. Another example is Homat El Salam DPO, which was able to network with the government authorities. They have conducted some protocols with the Ministry of Education, MOSS and the National Council for Women (NCW). They proudly stated, *'we are very clever at networking. I am trying to do my best to communicate and work with everyone. We are working with some Regional Federations for NGOs as well as DPOs' unions.'* **(H)** The interviewee named these as AODP, Stars of Hope in Palestine, and HI in Sahwa and Maswa projects. A few of them reported that they attempted to initiate some collaborative work, but they are struggling as others are not responsive:

In our governorate, DPOs are not cooperative, and they are not working together. Even those who are within the DPO union at the governorate level would like to work individually. So there is always competition between DPOs in all Asyut districts such as Dairout, Manfalut and Qosia etc.....everyone is waiting for the other to initiate communication. **(F)**

This indicates one reason for some DPOs finding it easier to co-operate with NGOs who are working in the field of development and disability, whereas others were keener to co-operate with their colleagues' DPOs, believing that this is better when it comes to advocating for disabled people's rights.

To conclude, the global growing attention given to the theme of networking, which was also embedded as part of the Egyptian Revolution, supported the unity of Egyptian DPOs. Sahwa, which was established one year following the Egyptian ratification of the UNCRPD, was the first to draw their attention to the importance of networking through its collaborative initiatives. Following the Revolution, and with international organisations' support, DPOs signed a number of MOUs with government and colleagues which influenced their networking capacity. They have also managed to use their connections and resources to build unions at both local and national level. With this in mind, the

subsection summarised some limitations that hinder Egyptian DPOs' ability to network, such as limited staff, finances and resources, and the lack of a proactive spirit among some organisations working in the field of development. The result can be negative influences, such as poor networking skills. These are not due to others being non-co-operative as much as deficiencies inside the DPO hampering its ability to adequately network. One finding is that these challenges were similar to DPOs in other countries, some of whom, despite this, managed to conduct several networking activities. Finally, this subsection presented examples of Egyptian DPOs unions, supported by international organisations, evaluating their legitimacy according to DPOs interviewed.

4.2.5 Do DPOs' plans address local environmental and social barriers?

This subsection examines whether the presented DPOs internal capacities and networking skills were able to respond to the environmental, social, and other barriers disabled people face within their communities. It explores their ability to utilise the essence of global discourses within their localised work.

Subsection 1.1.3 demonstrated the importance of disabled people's participation in reflecting their demands in policies and development programs. Khasnabis et al. (2010) suggest that establishing a solid connection between DPOs at the grassroots level with their targeted communities is one mechanism whereby the theme of participation can be effectively realised so the former's plans can reflect the latter's needs. The majority of Egyptian DPOs have received training on how to design their plans funded by various organisations such as NCCM, HI, etc. However, their levels of understanding of the importance of planning differ. Some of them were able to design their plans strategically, while others still need to develop this ability. Another factor discouraging many of them from producing short, medium, or long-term plans is the lack of adequate staff (see 4.2.2). This reality forced them to implement one activity at a time, which prevents them from applying what they have learned.

The history of their origin is another factor influencing their willingness to structure their activities in the form of plans. 7 Million Organisation, for example, developed from being a free disabled people's movement to being an official DPO. They view this transformation as more restrictive as, according to the Egyptian civil society laws, they should follow a number of procedures prior to their establishment along with receiving government approvals in order to start their activities. Turning their daily activities into yearly plans was a challenge that was not necessary while being a movement. Their interviewed representative states: '*We were implementing one individual activity at a time, rather than following a long term action plan*' **(A)**.

The interviewed DPOs' plan of action included provision of service for a wide range of impairments. None of the DPOs interviewed, however, were able to provide an accurate percentage breakdown of these impairments. Only one was found which supported purely visually impaired people. To ensure that their activities responded to community demands, DPOs used various methods such as questionnaires and/or surveys, as well as conducting periodical meetings with their board members to identify education or employment challenges. Some of them transformed from being an NGO, introducing individual services to disabled people, to being a DPO without changing the type or the methodology of given support. Numerous international organisations attempted to motivate DPOs towards advocating for their rights through the usage of some key words on their funding proposal such as advocacy, lobbying and empowerment, etc. However, due to the nature of their plans being service-based, some have received '*a minimal amount of funding from the international organisations*.' **(D)** Therefore, those who still provide individual or charitable service are left out of gaining such a fund.

This clarifies one reason behind my DPOs' representatives' preference for the rights-based approach to be embedded within the design of their visions and objectives. They have accompanied this with a number of in-cash and in-kind services due to the poor government provision of services within their communities. They used their connections with local authorities to support

disabled people in claiming their pensions. One representative explained: '*I am a member of the governorate executive board in which we try to assist disabled people to complete all the necessary procedures to get their pensions according to Karama program.*' **(J)** This recently issued program offered disabled people financial support including pensions (see 7.1.3). As a disabled Egyptian, I evaluate this initiative positively in the framework of the complication and inaccessibility of these procedures, as well as the existing centralization of services in Cairo. Previously, disabled people had to travel from all governorates to claim their financial support.

Other DPOs provide in-kind services such as food staples, Ramadan bags and meals during feasts, which may position them in the charity model. Other DPOs, however, prefer to offer some assistive tools to build disabled people's independence. A white cane initiative run by one of the interviewed DPOs is as an example. Whether this can be considered a means of empowerment without the application of the charity approach is an important question.

Following the UNCRPD, there is a growing attention to remove the environmental barriers. The World Bank, Microsoft, and the UNDP are examples of many organisations that funded projects to build an inclusive environment either through improving communities' physical accessibility or providing disabled people with the necessary training and assistive tools. This twin track approach is seen as a pathway to disabled people's inclusion (CBM, 2008) – see 2.1.2 for definition. The sudden increase of Egyptian DPOs supported through HI (see 1.2.4) contributed to some of the initiatives to improve districts' physical and technological accessibility. One of their representatives was proud of their achievements, stating:

We created a ramp at Sohag railway station as an initiative to address the problems of people with both physical and visual difficulties. We also created a sign language book for the hearing impaired and we distributed these to simplify communication between railway officers and disabled people. **(H)**

Other initiatives aimed to improve the capacity of disability stakeholders by providing them with a suite of training. Through the Hiwar project conducted

by HI, the Ministry of Education was targeted to improve the feasibility to apply mechanisms that facilitate inclusive education (Hiwar, 2016).

Another community initiative run by Sahwa DPO in Sohag is to use the university Assistive Technology lab to train visually impaired people to have the International Computer Driving Licence (ICDL) (see 4.1.2). With this certificate, the DPOs managed to employ disabled people in both public and private sectors. This is another example of the twin track approach whereby they have achieved a balance between presenting the capabilities of disabled people, e.g. encouraging both the public and private sectors to apply the 5% employment quota, and providing disabled people with the necessary training to compete in the labour market.

According to Fuchs (2014), the employment quota system was enforced to overcome the inequality and discrimination that disabled people face within the labour market. It is a concept applied by the majority of OECD countries with an average of between 2 and 7% of the workforce. Sanctions enforced by laws in these countries, however, are relatively low, which encourages companies to pay the fine instead of employing disabled people. Other companies were fulfilling these quotas through their choice of employees with adequate qualifications to meet the vacancy requirements (Fuchs, 2014). In the case of the Egyptian community, the 5% employment quota is seen as a protection scheme to support disabled Egyptians' inclusive employment. Despite their efforts, DPOs have only managed to achieve partial success in convincing employers to take on disabled people, due to negative community perceptions towards disabled people's qualifications. The below quotation is a positive example, however: '*we successfully employed one disabled person according to his capability*'. **(F)** The DPO convinced the manager not to evaluate the disabled person according to his impairment, but rather on his capacity and productivity. This is a positive approach that could be followed by other DPOs to inclusively employ disabled people in the labour market.

To conclude, this subsection found various responses from DPOs to remove the environmental and exclusionary barriers within their communities. Their

activities cover a broad range of channels, varying from individual services for disabled people and their families, such as monthly financial support, in-kind donations, surgeries and treatments, to simple assistive measures such as prosthetic devices and ramps. These also include rehabilitation and psychological support services. Other activities are aimed towards providing physical accessibility to remove the community disability. While providing this support, DPOs were not keen to classify these services according to different disability models; they preferred balancing between the global DPOs' definitions, as well as providing some necessary services for their disabled population. The omission in their long and medium-term planning is either influenced by their insufficient ability to think strategically or their poor internal capacities.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter provided a snapshot of Egyptian DPOs' engagement with the development of both national and global policies, considering the UNCRPD and Egyptian Revolution as influences. It found that the UNCRPD was behind the sudden increase of DPOs who were then able to participate in solidarity with other demonstrators during the Revolution. This sense of unity supported this research's positive findings of collaborative initiatives and indirectly developed their networking capacity.

The chapter has examined DPOs' resources and capacity, demonstrating that these have developed following the UNCRPD and were used to participate within the Revolution and throughout the activism that followed. The selected sample of DPOs balanced between geography, impairment, and type of support. The reasons behind their establishment were to unite and coalesce to support disabled people's rights. They were either free movements or a group of individuals and/or NGOs registering themselves as official DPOs with the support of various organisations. The chapter provided an analysis of their internal capacities, showing their influence on building a solid disabled people's movement. Although the majority of the targeted sample had limited financial, administrative and technical capacities, some of them managed to

achieve positive action either by sustaining their available resources or by using their networks to outsource some services. On a national level, DPOs were able to advocate towards a more inclusive disability politics. The failure of some, however, to apply these concepts stands as a barrier to their ability to advocate, respond and interact with disabled people's demands. On a larger scale, the chapter examined a sample of DPOs' unions and found their positive influence to increase solidarity between DPOs. In contrast, the analyses found that the DPOs' poor resources along with some preference to work isolation are barriers to the solidity of these unions.

Devoting a specific section to narrating DPOs' insightful stories behind their establishment was useful to understand how the challenges they faced acted as a driver to impassion them. Despite this positive motivation, along with the successful practice of unions at governorate and national levels, many conflicts were found between DPOs as they preferred to work in isolation and lacked understanding of the benefit of unity and networking on a collective level. This is why more networking activities among Egyptian DPOs at both local and national level are vital.

Examining DPOs' plans found most of them had difficulties engaging in strategic thinking and long term vision. This is due to their mixing between the macro thinking and micro level activities. This is one reason behind many of their plans being short term, while others implement individual activities. The absence of a clear vision and objectives can hinder the fulfilment of their aspirations. While some of them have made good progress in this regard, more training could be provided to differentiate between strategic planning and the implementation of small activities.

The Egyptian Revolution's consequences opened more space for disabled people's voices to be heard resulting in the Government offering them invitations to join some policy consultations. Despite little engagement found between Egyptian DPOs and the government disability stakeholders, their alliances have positively managed to become involved in mainstreaming their rights in national policies, e.g. the Egyptian Constitution of 2014.

During the examination of various internal capacities of DPOs, they expressed financial and staff limitations, which can hinder their ability to continue their planned work, even in the very short term. Many of them have already closed down due to their failure to pay running costs. This also influenced their inability to sustain and expand the community resources to support their goals.

Although DPOs have received a large amount of capacity training, they expressed the necessity to obtain 'hands on' training and coaching programs, accompanied by enhancing their capacity in monitoring and evaluation. It is positive that they are aware of their limitations and areas for development. Assessing and mapping their training needs is a prerequisite to direct any agenda aiming to support them. A related challenge is the lack of both monitoring and evaluation systems to learn from DPOs' challenges while designing future projects. If these existed, DPOs would have the chance to dynamically develop their action plans as well as being aware of mitigating their limitations.

Another finding is the absence of unanimous agreement amongst DPOs as to which disability model they should follow, e.g. service-based or rights-based. This sends conflicting messages to disabled people, for example their being dependent on receiving services or working towards achieving equal opportunity and independence. Mixing between the service-based and the rights-based approach can be useful to support vulnerable groups, while it is important not to conflict with the DPOs' objectives, advocating and lobbying for their rights.

This chapter's analysis will be used while framing recommendations as to how the situation of the Egyptian disabled people's movement could be mitigated (see 8.2). This builds upon chances that have been created as a consequence of both the UNCRPD and the Egyptian Revolution. If applied, this will contribute to mainstreaming disabled people's demands in the development process.

Chapter 5: A new shape to policies in the post- revolutionary era

Introduction

This chapter examines the changes in disability politics in the period between the Egyptian Revolution and the signature of the SDGs in 2015. In this, this chapter responds to elements of research sub-questions three and four. What evidence is there that this engagement has promoted a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights and needs in Egyptian development policy? How have the above events influenced the Egyptian government to realise a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights? It touches upon opportunities that have emerged since the Revolution, which contributed to the mainstreaming of disabled people's fundamental rights in national policies or within specific disability policies. Examples are the 2014 Egyptian Constitution and the newly established Disability Law in 2018. The chapter will continue the chronology of policy development in disability opened in Chapter 1 by introducing the reform of the constitutions following the Revolution between 2011 and 2014, as a case study. Chapter 6, then, presents the ESDS declared in 2015, as a further case study. This chapter argues that these policy examples are the 'quick wins' consequent to the Revolution. The Egyptian Constitution led to more diversification inside the Egyptian parliament, where all community groups are represented. Considering this, the chapter examines whether the disabled MPs' involvement within the parliament's activities enforced their rights in the national policy agenda. This was useful considering the large number of laws that had to be amended by MPs consequent to the revolution.

Chapter 1 (see 1.3) demonstrated that the policy developments that have occurred since the Revolution have been mostly positive. The 2012 and 2014 Egyptian constitutions were the first to mainstream various rights to marginalised groups into their articles. This was preceded by a participatory approach allowing their voices to be heard and translated into these policies. Disabled people, for example, are among those who greatly benefited from the

2014 Constitution. Their widespread participation in the Egyptian Revolution along with their consequent activism may have supported this to happen.

After the dissolution of the 2013 Egyptian parliament due to the ousting of the Muslim Brotherhood regime, a new parliament was shaped according to the 2014 Constitution. It is unique in that it is the first time an Egyptian parliament ensured quotas of all community groups, resulting in guaranteed representation of disabled people (nine seats), women, youth, and Christians (The Constitution of the Arab Republic, Egypt, 2014) (see 5.2). MPs collectively represent the Egyptian population; as stated by Article 244 of the Constitution, disabled MPs, act as representatives of disabled people and their own geographical community. While these quotas frame a more diverse parliament, the chapter considers debates around their actual power and effectiveness. In addition, it covers their journeys to the Egyptian parliament and their involvement in its activities, through narrating a sample of disabled people's experiences.

The chapter examines the accessibility of the Egyptian parliament to see how the new quota system has influenced its architecture. This is to see whether it has facilitated opportunities for disabled MPs to participate in different parliamentary committees and discussions. While examining these internal efforts, the critically assesses: whether disabled MPs manage to respond to DPOs' revolutionary demands; whether the disabled MPs have the power to implement the inclusive policies suggested by the 2014 Egyptian Constitution.

5.1 An investigation of the disability mainstreaming within post-revolutionary policies

One of the thesis' objectives is to examine whether the Revolution's consequences paved the way for the mainstreaming of disabled people's rights into the Egyptian politics (see 1.2.3) and whether this differs from before the Revolution. Chapter 1 told the story of the policy development process from the 1950s up to the country's ratification of the UNCRPD in 2008. Then, it continued to detail the disabled people's involvement within the Revolution,

referring briefly to its policy results in relation to disability. This subsection has chosen two samples of the post-revolutionary national policies: the 2014 Egyptian Constitution as an umbrella legislative framework and the new Egyptian Disability Law of 2018, whilst leaving discussion of the 2015 ESDS to Chapter 6.

Analysing the history of constitutions in Egypt shows how they followed revolutions. The first constitution – seen as ‘liberal’ (Ibrahim, 1996) – emerged in 1922. This was a response to the 1919 revolution, sparked due to anger at British rule (Adballa, 2008). The Constitution’s slogans – liberty, independence and democracy – translated into “a mandate for primary education, privacy of the house, property, and telephone” (constitutionnet.org, no date b). The second constitution, which came as a response to the 1952 military coup, was designed to oust a corrupt and pro-British system, transferring the country from monarchy to republic. This constitution implemented a “...revolutionary-populist system that emphasised economic development and social equity, but turned its back on political participation and democracy” (Ibrahim, 1996, p.129). Both constitutions included principles of democracy and liberty mirroring their inspiration. The third example was the 1971 constitution, which was declared by President El-Sadat in his first year of leading the country. By adopting this constitution, he called for more freedom, democracy, and for a variety of political parties. This constitution was the longest-serving Egyptian constitution to date. It governed the country through both the El-Sadat and Mubarak regime and up to the Egyptian Revolution of 2011. Although this constitution was amended in 1980, 2005, and 2007, democracy principles were not fully applied, as multi-party governing did not exist (Abdalla, 2008; constitutionnet.org, no date b).

The 2011 Revolution then came to call for similar principles which included in its slogan “freedom, dignity and social justice” (see Chapter 1.3). One of its objectives was to change the country’s constitution towards greater democracy and equality of rights. Al Monitor (2013) has argued that the first post-Revolution regime, that of the Muslim Brotherhood, explicitly mentioned disabled people’s rights in the 2012 constitution while failing to consider some

of their revolutionary aspirations. Al Monitor also argued that the disability subject within this constitution is not compliant with the UNCRPD. The 2012 Constitution included weak provisions for disabled people. It exclusively limited their rights into one article (Article 72), stating:

The state commits to providing people with disabilities with health, educational, economic and social care, and provides them with employment opportunities, raises social awareness on their situation, and adapts public facilities to suit their needs. (The Constitution of the Arab Republic Egypt, 2012)

This article provided numerous services and opportunities for disabled people akin to a traditional welfare perspective. This perspective originated in the desire to eradicate poverty after World War II in Britain. Briggs (1961) describes welfare's provision of social and economic change as aiming for freedom and equality of opportunity. He criticised the concept, however, by stating that, "...the demand for more comprehensive... 'freedom from want' – was linked, often with little thought, with the demand for greater 'equality of opportunity' through educational reform. The differences between the two goals... were not usually stressed" (or recognised until later) (Briggs, 1961, p.221).

The 2012 constitution was an important national milestone in the support of disabled people's rights; they relied on it while establishing their National Council for the first time (Ghoneim, 2014). However, the regime treated the Council as rather a nominal / figurative entity according to my interviewees' opinions (see 5.4). Disabled people's voices were not strictly considered during its preparatory phase. One reason behind this is the rapid turnover of the Constituent Assemblies (CA) who were responsible for preparing the constitution. In addition, disabled people's rights did not seem to be amongst their priorities. One example is the 100 CA which was established in June 2012 (Sharp, 2012). They refused the NCDA's request to include a disabled representative to participate in the constitutional discussions. This action contributed to disabled people being deprived from direct involvement in these discussions.

Two years later, and one year after the dissolution of the Muslim Brotherhood regime, the government declared the new 2014 constitution (see Chapter 1). Its preparatory stages started when the interim president Adly Mansoor issued a presidential decree to compose the 50 CA (Bernard-Maugiron, 2018). The government aimed for this committee to be more diversified to represent all community groups. “The logic for the selection was essentially corporatist, pulling together members from the country’s religious institutions (Azhar and Egypt’s three main churches), professional syndicates, labour and trade unions, industrial and culture associations, the security forces, and minority groups” (European Parliament, 2014). This elevated the opportunity for minority groups to participate during the process of forming the 2014 constitution (Meadows et al., 2014).

Comparing between this formulation process and that of the 2012 constitution shows that more space was given to disabled activists to be involved with the second constitution preparatory discussions than the first. The CA also included representatives from national councils, including women (NCW), human rights (NCHR) and disabled people (NCDA). This supported the latter’s voice to be influential in the drafting phase (constitutionnet.org, no date b). The NCDA disabled representative to the committee gained collaborative support from both the Council and other disability organisations, which assisted him to deliver disabled people’s demands into the constitution. Together, they have organised workshops including DPOs, NGOs, and some policymakers who managed to propose many amendments resulting in the mainstreaming of disability in the eight constitutional articles (The Constitution of the Arab Republic Egypt, 2014). The interviewed NCDA representative stated:

When the first draft of the Constitution was issued, we as the NCDA... made objections to it and declared our refusal to this amendment as it wasn’t up to the expectations of the UNCRPD, and doesn’t stipulate real constitutional provisions representing the rights of people with disabilities. **(2)**

This suggests that activists used the leverage of global discourses to enforce mainstreaming their rights into the Egyptian constitution. The participatory approach used within the Constitution formulation process managed to translate minority groups’ voices (see 1.2.3). Other policies such as ESDS also

relied on this model to ensure the inclusivity of all community groups (see chapter 6).

As demonstrated in Chapter 1, Egyptian DPOs' involvement within the 2014 constitution discussions led to their rights being mainstreamed. Their insistence that the constitution should comply with the UNCRPD's principles and models was realised (see 4.1.1). For example, Article 9 and Article 53 of the constitution considered the UNCRPD's principles of "equality in public rights and duties" (The Constitution of the Arab Republic Egypt, 2014). This is concurrent with the history of the disabled people's movement, as their advocacy was behind adopting their rights in human rights conventions (see 1.1.2).

The Constitution was also in accord with the intersectionality cited in the UNCRPD in that it emphasised mainstreaming disability rights into different areas, such as women's and children's rights mentioned in Articles 11 and 80. Article 80, for example, ensured disabled children's rehabilitation and incorporation rights. While incorporation implies inclusion, the language of rehabilitation could confuse stakeholders' understanding since, it is mentioned in the rehabilitation law 39 of 1975 (Ministry of Insurance and Social Affairs, 1987). As such, the language suggests the traditional model of disability. Although the country had specific policies considering disability issues, such as the 1996 strategy of limiting disability (Lababidi, 2002), as well as the Rehabilitation Law 39 of 1975, arguably this constitution is the first inclusive policy following the revolution to largely consider disabled people's rights.

While disabled people's rights are included in other Articles, Article 81 dealt with them exclusively. This suggests that the Constitution has considered the twin track approach (CBM, 2008) by not only mainstreaming their rights but also targeting them explicitly. Article 81 is powerful, as it made provision for a multitude of rights such as political, health, education and sports rights. The article also stipulated that, "the state shall provide work opportunities for such individuals, and allocate a percentage of these opportunities to them, in addition to equipping public utilities and their surrounding environment" (The

Constitution of the Arab Republic Egypt, 2014). The interviewed DPOs are proud of this Article as they found that their participation in the preparatory workshops resulted in their demands being reflected. In addition to these rights, the article stressed the importance of both equal opportunity and justice.

The new Disability Law of 2018 is a second policy example. It is an aspiration for DPOs, disabled activists, and other disability organisations that have made extensive efforts since 2007 to produce a new disability law draft to replace the rehabilitation law number 39 for 1975 (see Chapter 1). Since that time, governmental and civil society organisations have conducted workshops where DPOs and NGOs have participated to express their demands, which have been turned into law drafts. One example is NCCM's efforts in 2010 to draft a new law for disability to be compliant with the UNCRPD (Hagrass, 2012). Although the latter was ratified by Egypt during these policy efforts, the Convention was not a stimulus for encouraging the parliament's declaration of a new disability law. The enshrined rights within the Egyptian Constitution, including disabled people's participation as members of parliament, however, were stronger motivations than the Convention to turn these efforts into a declared law in 2018.

As documented by disabled MPs, parliament has conducted workshops as well as receiving written proposals to be incorporated within this law. This, however, does not satisfy some interviewed DPOs' representatives who expected more invitations to participate from both the parliament and NCDA. Analysing this law found that it has benefitted from the UNCRPD and the Egyptian Constitution in enshrining unique rights for disabled people. Ismail (2018) states that "the law...says that persons with disabilities shall exercise the right to education, learning, work and recreation, and in the use of public facilities and services." One example is that it protects disabled children in receiving an inclusive education by obligating every public school to have a 5% quota of disabled children (Egypt Independent, 2018; M. Shalabi, 2018). A further example is that it allows disabled people to receive "a combination of salary and pension," while obliging the state to provide accessibility measures

for disabled people to equally access services and to be protected from “economic, political or commercial exploitation, violence, abuse, torture, neglect, negligence, [and] humiliating treatment” (Ismail, 2018).

According to the NCDA representative, good communication was going on between the Council and the parliament, aiming to mainstream disabled people’s rights, not only on the new Disability Law but also on other discussed laws. The representative stated: ‘*So far, you will find subjects related to disability and disabled people in some of the new laws discussed in the parliament e.g. the civil service law*’ (II) (see 5.4). This example suggests that there is an increase in disability mainstreaming across national policies.

Analysing disabled activists’ participation in the previous two policy examples found that both the 2014 Egyptian Constitution along with the new Disability Law of 2018 have witnessed a wider participation of DPOs, disability organisations, and the NCDA. The stakeholder organisations’ efforts over time suggest more opportunity has been given to disabled people to participate in producing law drafts. As an insider researcher involved within this process, I have observed that these efforts worked to support succeeding drafts. Although with some dissatisfaction reported among my interviewed DPOs, the disabled MPs and the majority of stakeholders viewed this law as a shift in the disability politics in Egypt. Chapter 6 examines whether disabled MPs’ hard work and commitment resulted in including extensive rights into the a further policy example, the ESDS.

To conclude, the period following the Egyptian Revolution in 2011 up to 2018 witnessed positive changes in disability policies. The disabled people’s official participation in these policy processes contributed to enshrining their rights in eight subjects of the Egyptian Constitution of 2014 (including the election of disabled MPs), and the facilitation of consultation workshops which led to the declaration of the new Disability Law of 2018. Their activism was also crucial to the establishment of the NCDA. While the country ratified the UNCRPD three years earlier, the 2011 revolution made a stronger contribution to these achievements. Disabled Egyptians’ ability to demonstrate and unite with

others demanding their rights may have forced policy makers to respond to the strikers' demands more readily than to ratified conventions.

5.2 Disabled MP's Journey to Parliament

This subsection argues that the election of disabled MPs to the Egyptian parliament for the first time is a result of a combination of regime change following the Revolution and the increased confidence and capacity of the disabled people's movement. It critically selects a sample of their experiences and activism before becoming MPs to see the degree to which this support has contributed to their becoming parliamentary members. To familiarise the reader with the parliamentary process as a whole, a snapshot of the new electoral system within the parliament will be provided; this includes the quota system and selection criteria. While doing this, the section analyses critically other countries' experience of the quota system to see whether any lessons learned can support the Egyptian case.

During 2015, four years after the Egyptian Revolution, there were two parliaments, each supporting different regimes. The ousting of the Muslim Brotherhood in 2013 resulted in the dissolving of both the House of Representatives and the Shura council (Smith, 2016). Following the second presidential election in 2015, a new parliament was elected to start working in January 2016 (Völkel, 2017).

Völkel (2017) argued that both parliaments were side-lined from the country's political developments, especially the second (current) one. Consequently, although the electoral system empowered parliament by introducing a quota to ensure representatives from all community sectors – including disabled, youth and women – the parliament members' power was weak (IFES, 2015). Völkel (2017) adds that, particularly since el-Sisi became president, parliament has been shunted to one side. While they were active in issuing various new policies following the Egyptian Constitution, some political decisions were taken without their voices being consulted. This lack of power hinders their advocacy to position the groups that they represent as priorities of the political

agenda. Another factor that contributes to Parliament's weakness is the MPs' lack of knowledge and expertise about minority groups' demands. This is due to some MPs, such as the disabled, being selected because of their impairments instead of their qualifications.

On a brief note, the parliamentary electoral system included quotas as stipulated by the 2014 Egyptian Constitution. The House of Representatives must be comprised of no fewer than 450 members elected by direct secret public ballot. The number of directly elected seats in the House of Representatives will be 568, according to law. The President has the authority to appoint additional members, up to five percent (28) of the total number of elected seats following the elections (Williamson and Brown, 2014).

This electoral system is composed of a unique combination of two separate electoral components, 30% consisting of individual candidates competing for seats, and 70% consisting of electoral lists. Both political party members and independents can run under either system. Some disabled MPs confirmed that this was designed to create a balance between different political parties, while Smith (2016) stated that the Muslim Brotherhood viewed this as a way to minimise their equal representation.

Out of the 568 seats, 448 are elected through individual candidates competing in elections through single and larger, multimember districts. This component of the electoral system in Egypt is known as the "individual system" (Williamson and Brown, 2014). Other countries call this a "two-round system" for single member districts, and "block vote" for multimember districts (Faris, 2017). The other 120 seats are elected through electoral lists competing in four multimember districts known in Egypt as the "absolute closed list system," and elsewhere as "party block vote." According to their different sizes, two of these districts have 15 seats each, and two have 45 seats.

As per Article 244 of the Constitution, quotas for minority groups are an enforced component of the closed list system. In districts with 15 seats, each list is required to have a minimum of seven women, three Christians, two

individuals who are either farmers or workers, two youths (those aged 25-35 years old during the candidate registration phase), one disabled person, and one Egyptian living abroad. This protects disabled people by guaranteeing them a seat in Parliament compared to the individual electoral system. The lists competing in districts with 45 seats must include at least three times the numbers mentioned above. This mandated list composition guarantees that all quotas will be met (IFES, 2015; Dawoud, 2014).

According to Belle-Isle (2014), the debates and mobilizations for quotas within policies and the parliament began in 1970 although demands increased following the Revolution of 2011. As with disabled people (see below), women found the quota system to be a protective mechanism, reserving their seats within the parliament especially when some had failed to do so through individual nomination as candidates. Whether this was due to community stigma or a lack of qualified women is a subject for further research. Positively, however, the interviews with disabled MPs found that 6 out of 8 elected disabled MPs are women.

The designated quotas for disabled seats in the electoral system is considered a paradigm shift for Egyptian disability politics. It helps elevate disabled people's voices to the national policy agenda. One of the MPs was optimistic about this:

The law guaranteed that each of the four political parties had to include lists of eight disabled candidates. This is considered a radical change in the disability movement in Egypt. (1).

While this is positive in theory, some of the interviewed disabled women MPs stated that the political parties counteracted the achievements of the process by diluting quotas (through double counting individuals), which then reduced the overall minority component of MPs. One of these women was very angry about this action stating: '*To minimise the women quota, for example, several characteristics were taken into account in one candidate.*' (1) This means that one MP could represent disabled people, Christians, and young women at the same time. The application of this undermined one of the key achievements

of the 2014 Constitution, which confirmed the mainstreaming of minority groups in both the national parliament and local council as stipulated by both articles 244 and 180 (Egyptian Constitution, 2014).

Examining the international literature found similar cases where countries relied on preserving a quota for minority groups as a means both to encompass diversity and to guarantee their rights to be considered within national policies. Disabled people's activism, for example, was responsible for preserving their seats within the parliament of Uganda. According to Muriaas and Wang (2012, p.310), the National Resistance Movement, the incumbent political party, in collaboration with "leading executive forces as well as local and national group activists, has mobilised efforts to retain and expand the reserved seat policy". The result is that seats have been assigned to the disabled, youth and women. Despite this allocation, women are not recognised as a separate group but are rather given a percentage of the quota reserved for youth and the disabled. "In parliament the two groups have five seats each, one of which has to be held by a woman" (Muriaas and Wang, 2012, p.312). This categorisation has been transferred to the local council levels.

While there are similarities here with the Egyptian case, the percentage of women within the Egyptian cohort was higher (six out of eight). Examining the nomination process in both countries found some differences. In Uganda, the representatives of the disabled and youth are elected from the National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda and the National Youth Council at all levels of governance (Murrias and Wang, 2012). This shows a level of organisation within their disabled peoples' movement assisting the selection process to be more representative and feasible. Looking at the Egyptian case found that DPOs do not accept the NCDA as a representative authority (see 5.3). This, along with the fragility of their movement, presented in Chapter 4, made it harder for DPOs to agree on people to represent them in the parliament – instead, they are nominated by political parties.

South Africa is another example where disabled people have used the momentum of the 1992 revolution to advocate for a quota within parliament as

they were discriminated against during the apartheid period. According to Howell et al. (2006) their disabled identity was enough of a reason for them to be discriminated against, regardless of their colour. This advocacy encouraged political parties to incorporate them within their nomination lists. Disabled advocates also succeeded in mainstreaming their rights within the post-apartheid constitution of 1994 which elevated their demands to be addressed within national policies. As a response, political parties ensured that their candidate lists had a quota of disabled people as a matter of equality.

In brief, disabled Egyptian MPs, whether elected individually or through a party list, have either mild or severe mobility impairments. The absence of all other impairments, including blind, learning, or hearing, is due to the party's preference to work with 'simpler' impairments (El-Sadany, 2014; IFES, 2015; Constitute Project, no date). The disabled MPs added that this is also due to the community's extra stigma associated with other types of impairments and the sense that these people could not be equally qualified representatives as 'other' MPs. The President's designation of one visually impaired member added more diversity to the parliament.

With regards to gender balance, the majority of the nine disabled MPs (as of 2018) are women (seven in total), which is seen as a turning point addressing gender equality. Some MPs report, however, that parties preferred to choose disabled women over men to meet both the disabled and women quotas at once. However, overall, the way that the disabled MPs were chosen, their 'knowledge of impairments' and their real impact to their disabled populations is discussed in 5.3 below. Positively, the Egyptian parliament would not have had nine disabled MPs to represent their populations without the issuing of the 2014 Egyptian Constitution which led to this quota being framed as part of the election law (Faris, 2017). One of the elected members was proud of this, stating:

It's important to note that while the parliament had very few disabled members before as individuals, having the disability quota now guarantees this representation and size. (5)

The Egyptian Constitution seems to have learned from other countries that used the quota system to increase the representation of minority groups who had failed to make their voices heard without it. The case of South Africa is one example. Their revolutionary demands managed to increase representation of women from 8% in 1990 to 14.3% in 2003 (Tripp, 2003).

Disabled MPs felt the burden of having to make extra efforts to respond to the demands of disabled people who participated in the Egyptian Revolution, asking for equality and social justice. They stated that, despite the declaration of the Egyptian Constitution, most governmental institutions still neglect the rights of disabled people (Constitute Project, 2018). For example, one interviewed disabled MP fought to convince the Secretariat of the Higher Education Supreme Council to increase the acceptance of disabled students in Higher Education institutions as long as they had the necessary qualifications. He stated:

I disagreed, and expressed that this is not aligned with the Constitution. I assured him that if the student has fulfilled all requirements for entry, it is his choice and decision. He answered me back saying that you must thank God that we allowed disabled people to enter all faculties in the first place! (1)

The argument ended with a compromise where all disabled students have the right to enter various Egyptian faculties after a committee has verified their qualifications (Sawahel, 2018). This is a considerable achievement, as previously faculties only accepted people with visual and mobility impairments. Visually impaired people had the right only to enter the Faculties of Arts, Law, Alsun (languages), Social Work, and Dar al-Ulum (Arabic and religious studies) (M. Shalabi, 2017). As a former disabled student, I am aware that these rules are changed from year to year depending on the discretion of faculty deans (USAID, 2017).

Since the Egyptian Revolution, community groups including disabled people have been protesting continuously, pressuring MPs to quickly fulfil their demands, the majority of which are individual (Ahram Online, 2013; Ismail, 2011; Kortam, 2012). This weakened their position, as disabled MPs and

other decision makers felt that they were distracting their focus. One MP expressed that:

I was working at my governorate's general bureau while all disabled people were protesting and asking individually for grocery kiosks or motorbikes to get them to their jobs, etc. So they were mainly taking advantage of the situation for their individual demands. (3)

This negative attitude directed some MPs away from their job focusing on sorting out disabled people's individual demands which is not their role. This mismatch created a dissonance between both groups.

Disabled MPs were also asked by disabled citizens to get them a job, finding individual vacancies for each person. As one MP angrily argued: '*The citizen would like us to press a button and their demands would be fulfilled*'. (4)

According to Aziz (2011) and Puddephatt (2012), despite the government's efforts to apply a fair and open system to ensure the equal distribution of services, this opposes some citizens' beliefs that using their personal connections will be much quicker than following the system. This may be either due to corruption, the lack of clarity of rules, or the embedded culture of nepotism (Aziz, 2011; Puddephatt, 2012). Arguably the social justice spirit brought by the Egyptian Revolution, along with the principle of equality, enshrined within the Constitution, can replace this nepotistic culture with more equal opportunity (Aziz, 2011; Puddephatt, 2012).

Although the revolutionary marches and demonstrations were behind their own electoral success, MPs viewed the industrial actions that immediately followed the Revolution as ineffective, arguing that it is better for disabled people to use more formal communication channels. One MP stated, '*there are still demonstrations in front of the parliament for disabled people because they are not satisfied with current laws and they don't feel any change*'. (1) MPs stated that they accept invitations to meet or attend any listening sessions to support their communities. They preferred these legitimate channels, considering the progress of stabilizing the country's security, in addition to the start of many social housing and infrastructure projects.

However, as discussed in 1.3.2 above, there was instability of the country's economic and political situation consequent to the Revolution. To resolve this, the parliament balanced between restructuring the legislative framework alongside responding to urgent demands. As discussed in the previous chapter, interviewed DPOs expressed their frustration at parliamentary performance. They saw their disability demands as not highly considered by their nominated disabled MPs.

The President's designation of a disabled person as one of his 28 nominees is a statement of intent and practical action towards acknowledging disabled people's rights. The chosen member (one of my interviewees) was committed to his position, perceiving it as an honour. He stated: '*My cell phone is always available to receive complaints, discuss any issues or clarify misunderstandings.*' **(2)** It is a spirit that has been found with other disabled MPs, who positioned themselves as available to receive disabled people's complaints. He clarified that, during his work at the NCD, he led workshops to prepare proposals during the Constitution drafting process. Both his legal expertise and contribution to achieve parliament accessibility are reasons behind his designation.

To familiarise the reader with disabled MPs' journey to the parliament, the stories of three were selected. Although all party lists included disabled candidates, all the successful MPs were nominated on Hob Masr Party's lists. They came from different backgrounds such as being a lawyer, a mayor, and a Chair of a DPO.

The legal history and practice of the first disabled MP may have supported his nomination. He stated:

I was surprised seeing my name on the nomination list. I am a lawyer for the last 21 years and at the same time I am working as the Head of Fatwa and Legislation department at my governorate general bureau. **(3)**

The second nominee had both parliamentary familiarity in addition to being a senior local government position of his own. He expressed his experience by saying:

I don't know who nominated me but I have a Parliamentary history as my father was a member of Showar Council and also a Member of Parliament. I am El Shaghamba village Omda (Mayor) in Belbase district and as a family we have a long history in both politics and giving services to people who need them. (5)

Despite the stigma associated with his impairment, his position as mayor and election as a disabled MP are the result of his political history, his conciliation experience, and his ability to negotiate difficult situations relating to education and employment.

The third was nominated due to her disability activism in her governorate where she was called 'the disabled mother'. Her activism continued after her election, as she became a member of the Parliament's Arabic Affairs committee, the planning and budget committee, and the family and disability committee.

Touching upon the election process, the three disabled MPs have reported more physical and attitudinal barriers compared to their non-disabled nominees. Examples include inaccessible villages and transportation, which tend to be key barriers inhibiting disabled candidates with mobility impairments campaigning for themselves. These barriers distracted one interviewed MP from visiting his many constituency committees.

During the last two parliamentary elections following the Revolution, IFES, NCD, and other disability organisations examined the accessibility of voting stations to learn about the barriers faced by disabled voters (IFES, 2016). They found that the majority of them are not accessible to accommodate their impairments (IFES, 2016). Some of these stations were located on the ground floor, which made it easier for people with mobility impairments to vote. However, other impairments were not so well accommodated – for example, due to the unavailability of braille materials (IFES, 2016).

Another barrier shared by disabled MPs is the cultural and attitudinal reluctance to nominate disabled people in parliament and other leading political positions (Rohwerder, 2018). This justifies the 2014 Constitution's designation of the quota system to protect their seats (see 5.2). Community stigma and negative perceptions around the capabilities of disabled people inhibit the successful nominations and access to any leading or supporting positions for their communities:

We have to be clear with ourselves that community culture still views disabled persons as not capable of helping their communities... like the non-disabled... with the result that they will not elect them. (4)

Disabled MPs' hard work, however, started to change this attitude. For example, one disabled MP used DPO union contacts to promote her campaign and played an integral role as a focal point between the Hob Misr Headquarters in Cairo and the branch in Asyut Governorate.

Analyzing disabled MPs' journey to the parliament found that some of them did not nominate themselves, but rather, their work in development and political history, as well as their strong connections with local communities, formed a solid basis for their nomination. It is a positive sign that my disabled MPs were enthusiastic, accepting their nominations to improve the lives of disabled people. However, their interpretations varied. One, for example, expressed his enthusiasm to provide in-kind and in-cash services, operating within a traditional welfare model (Briggs, 1961). The vast disability experiences of the two other interviewees motivated them to offer disabled people more opportunities to access education, employment and health.

To conclude, analyzing disabled MPs' journeys and motivations found that their previous activism, and political and legal history are among the reasons for their nominations. However, physical barriers prevented some of them from meeting with voters. All of them agreed that they were elected to support the disabled population; their interpretation of 'support', however, varied, governing their philosophy to either provide disabled people with direct

services or remove the multitude of barriers to equal access to community services. One finding is that disabled MPs would not have this unique large representation within the parliament without the designated quota enshrined within the 2014 Constitution. They found, however, that the industrial action following the Revolution distracted their focus from legislative to individual support. Although their impairments were limited to mobility and visual impairments, this is a positive indicator for the next parliament to include a greater variety of disabled representatives.

5.3. The Inclusivity of the Egyptian Parliament as a pathway to inclusive disability politics

This section argues that the parliamentary effort has managed to responsibly accommodate disabled MPs. This facilitates their mission, using their knowledge to advocate for their rights within the parliament. This section provides a snapshot of joint efforts to improve the parliament's physical accessibility (5.3.1), showing the influence of this on disabled MPs' interactions with the various parliamentary activities. The second subsection examines the level of their knowledge of the global disability discourses to understand whether they managed to use it while advocating for the inclusivity of their rights into Egyptian policies (5.3.2). The third subsection touches upon their achievements one year after the beginning of the 2016 parliament (5.3.3).

5.3.1 Egyptian Parliament accessibility

This subsection provides a snapshot of efforts to improve the Egyptian parliament's indoor and outdoor physical accessibility. Procedures have been taken to reasonably accommodate disabled MPs' different needs (see 5.2). This subsection uses the disabled MPs' first year of lived experience to understand the degree to which these accommodations contributed to their inclusion within the parliament.

Analysing the parliament accessibility project found it is unique in terms of the involvement of disabled people during both the design and supervision of the project implementation. Two of the NCDA disabled board members, who then

became MPs, were heavily involved during the preparation process which started six months before the official opening of the House (Shalabi, 2017). It was a difficult process, considering the age and outdated design of the parliament building. One of these MPs stated:

I was directly responsible for a huge project preparing the Parliament to receive its new disabled members. That was back in October 2015, long before the beginning of the parliament. (2)

The NCDA Secretary General at that time delegated him to lead a team to improve the Parliament building's accessibility (Quality Egypt.com, 2016). The project also targeted training the parliament's employees on the basic skills that are required when dealing with people with different impairments. The team leader was keen to monitor the project's impact on disabled MPs, viewing this as a unique opportunity for people with a wide variety of impairments to join parliament, e.g. the hearing impaired.

Examining disabled MPs' satisfaction about the parliament's level of accessibility found positive feedback from both visually and mobility-impaired MPs. They confirmed that there were no major obstacles in getting in or out of the sessions' rooms. There are entrances for the physically impaired and also certain arrangements in place for members with hearing impairments, although these have not been required yet due to their absence from the current parliament.

Analysing disabled MPs' views regarding the new electronic voting system found varied opinions. Some of them appreciate having three buttons to facilitate the voting process (to agree, disagree, or abstain) (Quality Egypt.com, 2016). One disabled MP viewed this as a positive move stating: *'Each member has three buttons to vote electronically which makes it easier for all people with disabilities, including the blind'. (4)* Other MPs found that not having braille on these buttons prohibits visually impaired people from voting independently, renders them reliant on assistance as an alternative, and this eradicates the privacy of voting.

Parliament's efforts towards accessibility included facilitation materials to meet the accommodation of people with visual impairments. One disabled MP reported that the parliament has a braille printer and four computers with original copies of Arabic and English screen reader software. There is also Optical Character Recognition Software working with the Arabic language, and as a result, the designated visually impaired MP received his documents in electronic format, which is a rare occurrence at governmental institutions.

To conclude, this subsection showed the influence of the improved parliament accessibility on disabled MPs' performance. The NCDA's joint efforts with parliament resulted in having ramps and accessible entrances, in addition to the provision of materials with appropriate formats. One unique quality of these accessibility developments is the disabled people's large involvement in its design and implementation. A positive finding is disabled peoples' accessibility is facilitated by their mainstreaming within the parliament committees and general sessions. The next subsection addresses the second factor leading towards the inclusion of disabled people's rights into the parliament's discussed policies.

5.3.2 Disabled MPs' knowledge and tactics to achieve inclusive disability politics

This subsection examines disabled MPs' technical and political knowledge to understand how it influenced their interaction with their colleagues. Their opportunity to mainstream their rights into various national policies at the time of their amendments made this knowledge necessary.

A disparity became apparent between disabled MPs who have a history of working in the field of disability and those who were newly elected. Asking them about technical disability knowledge of UNCRPD and models, for example, found three out of five lacked the necessary expertise, which suggests poor intervention during policy discussions. This finding may be because most of the elected disabled MPs are medal winning athletes. According to Hagrass (2016), this disparity of knowledge led to clashes between them which weakened their overall position in front of other members.

Consequently, they are not able to unite their voices to solidly support their arguments.

In addition, their disagreements over issues may lead to conflict, which encourages them to work individually. I heard similar statements that, despite their efforts to coalesce with their disabled colleagues, they had little success. They are working alone or 'single-handed'. One of them expressed this disappointment, stating: *'I am not satisfied at all with the prevailing apathy. It is better to state one's pitfalls.'* **(1)**

The NCDA seems aware of these challenges as the Council's SG stated that *'We conducted a meeting with disabled MPs, aiming to improve their capacity and knowledge regarding the UNCRPD and other related topics'*. **(5)** The SG demonstrated, however, that the MPs' tight time and the NCDA lack of funding stopped the continuation of this process. The Council's reluctance to complete this task has deprived disabled MPs from improving their technical knowledge in order to influence their involvement in parliamentary committees' discussions. It remains a controversial issue as to whether the parliament can pursue this role jointly with international organisations.

Another challenge is the envy between disabled MPs. Some expressed the unequal opportunity assigned to them when it comes to high level representation at international conferences. One of them expressed his anger saying: *'One of my colleagues is chosen repeatedly to be the delegate for Egypt at the UNCRPD State Parties Conference, and is also nominated to represent the country in other international affairs.'* **(2)** This selection, however, may be to do with language and technical capacities required for this representation.

There is much debate among disabled activists about whether disabled MPs were chosen only due to their impairment or their expertise (NCDA, no date). Disabled MPs themselves found that the former led to their weak intervention in parliamentary committees. They may fail to back up their points or wisely

advocate for their issues unless they have the appropriate capabilities and breadth of knowledge. Two of the disabled MPs stated that others' inappropriate knowledge was behind their abstaining from joining the specific disability committees. One of them expressed this critically, saying:

I therefore object to such an attitude; I believe such MPs will not even be able to defend the rights of disabled people on the level of media or sports because they don't have enough knowledge on disability. (1)

As a disabled insider researcher, I argue that the country requires further qualified disabled candidates with a thorough knowledge about disability rights and advocacy issues. I am aware that some disabled activists and DPO representatives have been contacted by the political parties as they were struggling to find capable disabled candidates to be nominated for the parliament.

To conclude, the disparity of knowledge between disabled MPs is a key reason behind their lack of unity. In some positions, it leads to conflict and a preference to work individually. Another finding is that some disabled MPs were chosen due to their impairments instead of qualifications required to join the parliament. This is because of the shortage of disabled cadres within the Egyptian community.

5.3.3 Parliamentary achievements and future plans for disabled people

This subsection evaluates the disabled MPs' performance during the first year of the parliament to understand whether their work has responded to the revolutionary demands. While presenting disabled MPs' achievements, this subsection is keen to understand how these satisfy the Egyptian DPOs.

During the first three months of the parliament, disabled MPs were busy amending the parliamentary internal bylaws existing since 1971 (Volkel, 2017). The new submitted edition considered reasonable adjustments for various types of impairment, which was not previously the case. For example, physically disabled MPs were exempted from having to go to a rostrum to vote,

and were able to vote from their seats. The same procedures were applied for people with visual impairments.

The new bylaws also considered the accessibility of parliamentary materials which was appreciated by disabled MPs, with one of them stating: '*One of the bylaws' articles stipulated that all the parliament materials such as reports should always be provided in a way that is suitable for disabled people.*' **(2)** This suggests that the parliament has translated the input of disabled MPs within its bylaws. In this, it responds to article 29 of the UNCRPD which stipulated disabled people's political rights (UN Enable, no date).

As per article 146 of the Egyptian Constitution, MPs should revise 341 laws within 15 days. (The Constitution of the Arab Republic Egypt, 2014). These are the laws that President El-Sisi issued since he took office in June 2014 until the establishment of the parliament in 2016. To facilitate this task, the head of the parliament divided these laws between the parliamentary committees to ensure a more thorough coverage. Both the limited time and the small number of disabled MPs, compared to the number of committees, are reasons behind disabled MPs' failure to mainstream their rights within each of the discussed laws.

While most of the aforementioned laws were approved by the MPs, the Civil Service law faced many debates to be approved, as civil servants were opposed to it. Disabled MPs expressed anger as the law draft included people who became impaired in war or during the Revolution within the 5% quota which was seen as a protection scheme securing a large number of jobs for disabled people (American Chamber of Commerce, 2014). A disabled MP stated:

We all left the parliament session one day in protest regarding subject 13 of this law. As this subject now includes war and revolution-injured people [...] it no longer provides the full 5% quota for disabled people. **(4)**

This suggests that long-term disabled people have a fear that other groups joining their 5% quota restricts their job opportunities.

As a result of the disabled MPs' protest, they managed to amend the two disability articles concerned with vacations and hours of work to extend vacation days and to decrease daily work hours for disabled people. One disabled MP stated:

I suggested that if (within a family) there is a mother/father, grandmother/grandfather, or brother/sister who is disabled, then he/she has the right to enjoy an hour privilege. (2)

The establishment of a parliamentary sub-committee responsible for disability issues, under the Social Solidarity, Family and People with Disability Committee, is another important achievement. The latter was responsible for all matters related to childhood and motherhood, pensions and insurance. Disability affairs originally came under the Committee for Religious and Social Affairs and Endowments. Disabled MPs relied on the social justice part from the Egyptian Revolution's slogan to advocate for this change. This separation may also have shifted disability from the traditional welfare model (Briggs, 1961) towards a rights based approach, thereby enabling the prioritization of the disability agenda.

The UNCRPD and SDGs' usage of the term 'people with disability' was beneficial to the Egyptian disability politics (UNCRPD, 2008; Sustainable Development UN, 2015). The 2014 Constitution followed these global discourses by using the term "people with disability" in its articles. Subsequently, this term has also been used within the new Disability Law of 2018 (see 5.1). As discussed in 1.2.3, the term 'special needs' was historically used in Egyptian legislation to express disabled people, viewing them as less capable individuals and consequently requiring special provision (Barnes, 1991; Hagrass, 2005).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the SDGs have promoted the theme of equality in participation. This is found to be utilised within the parliamentary committee structure. Despite disabled MPs having the right to join any of the 26 committees, their small number, however, made it impossible to participate in all committee debates. While every MP has the right to participate in one main committee and one optional committee (though without voting rights in the

latter) (Egyptian Government, 2015), it is only within their full capacity to attend 18 of these.

Disabled MPs successfully campaigned for parliament to discuss the disability law draft. This was also a revolutionary aspiration for disabled people in general. As part of the process, NGOs and government organisations have submitted many disability law drafts to the parliament's Disability Committee (Ismail, 2018). In parallel with this, the parliament also conducted consultation sessions with the disabled public, to enrich the preparation of the law draft with their insights. These interventions included disabled people's rights in health care, social care, inclusive education, and employment. The committee has relied on both the UNCRPD articles, along with the inclusive disability rights attached to the Egyptian Constitution while preparing this draft. One of the committee members proudly summarised their efforts, stating:

We have the disability law draft which is considered an important merit and it has to be issued in the way which will best serve and achieve the aspirations of disabled people themselves to feel that we as MPs did our job and issued a law that reflects the Constitutional articles. (2)

The development of the disability law draft was conducted in parallel with the declaration of the UNCRPD in 2006 (UN Enable, no date). Both the Convention language and models, along with cross cutting disability rights among the amended Egyptian Child Law of 2008, are seen as influences (People's Assembly, 2008; UNHCR, 2009).

Although previous parliaments relegated the issuing of a new disability law to a low priority (Roshdy, 2012), disabled MPs used their power to re-introduce the law to the parliamentary agenda, which led to its declaration at the beginning of 2018 (Egypt Independent, 2018) (see 5.1). They have also reported their appreciation for their non-disabled colleagues who vote for their suggestions to mainstream disability matters into other discussed laws. One disabled MP expressed this by saying:

Non-disabled members are very enthusiastic about our rights. No-one will object to any rights of disabled people. When we asked for the Solidarity,

Family and Persons with Disability Committee, no member disagreed with the idea. We stopped getting their signatures because we had enough. (4)

Other achievements have been made by disabled MPs using their authority as parliament members. They have used their direct access to ministers to speed up policy implementation. One interviewed MP managed to get disabled people a discount on the Cairo metro ticket price:

I had a meeting with the transportation minister... so he instantly called the head of the subway system and asked him to decrease the ticket price for disabled people starting from the following day... This was one of my personal dreams to be achieved. (2)

This power may achieve quicker responses to disabled people's demands as long as there is a mechanism by which disabled MPs can consult with them prior to such actions.

Analysing disabled MPs' achievements found some at the national and governorate levels. One of them was able to communicate with the governor to establish a branch for the NCDA in his governorate. Others were in contact with ministries to remove barriers in front of disabled people such as in education and employment.

Although disabled MPs reported working very hard to satisfy disabled Egyptians, the latter do not seem to be happy with their performance. This frustrates disabled MPs, with one of them stating '*There are still demonstrations in front of the parliament for disabled people... they don't feel any change.*' (1) The lack of communication to present MPs' efforts to the public may be behind this frustration. This led to some DPOs suspecting the credibility of the MPs they had voted for. This established a dissonance between both parties, as disabled MPs defended their position, showing their political and technical capabilities to pursue this role:

Considering that I am Omda – 'mayor' – moderating some customary sessions not only in my village but also with my neighbours, while communicating at the same time with my parliamentary community, I have plenty of political and social experiences. I think this is more than enough. (5)

It seems that the parliament members are facing a challenge to promote their efforts and achievements. They reported that the parliament does not have a marketing plan to support this goal. As a result, some of them had to run their own social media, relying on their own expenses. One of the disabled MPs, for example, said:

I personally have a Facebook page with over 3000 followers. Anything I do is published and shared on this page, and there is a high traffic on it through the comments and sharing of different posts. (2)

Others who do have the financial and technological resources may receive negative public perception due to a lack of public awareness of their efforts.

Disabled MPs were asked about their future plans until the end of their term. Most of their answers touched upon providing disabled people with equal access to education, employment, and transport etc. One disabled MP expressed his enthusiasm to overcome disabled people's employment barriers, stating:

Do you know that leading positions are restricted for disabled people although this isn't clearly stipulated in the Constitution or elsewhere, but practically no minister can promote a disabled person to a leading position such as a manager/director. (2)

According to USAID (2017), many disabled Egyptians failed to access a higher position, as they were discriminated against because of their impairments, and their qualifications are consequently not taken into account.

Disabled MPs were asked about recommendations to mainstream disability within national policies and development programs. Their answers revolved around the importance of inviting disabled Egyptians to participate in the preparation of future plans or policy amendments. The disabled MPs will benefit greatly if they have a powerful disabled people's movement behind them when advocating for disability rights. Moreover, listening to disabled people's real problems and turning them into policies will save the government authorities much time and effort when designing their future programs. These recommendations are in accordance with one of the disabled MPs'

statements: *'We will need the ministerial decrees to dictate policy and plans from the bottom up.'* (5)

Disabled MPs stressed the importance of upholding a positive image either internally with their non-disabled colleagues or with other community stakeholders, media, and constituencies. They have exploited this positive image while raising the community's awareness with regards to disabled people's rights. One of them stated that:

... you need to make disabled people feel that they are a part of the society by avoiding discrimination, marginalization or dealing with them out of a charitable approach, but rather as normal people with a certain type of impairment which makes them need some accessibility measures. (2)

Historically, disabled Egyptians face many barriers to compete within their community, due to stereotyping and stigma preventing them from being equally included.

To conclude, examining a sample of the disabled MPs' achievements for the year following their start of office found that they have managed to mainstream their affairs within amended legislation despite their small number. Other achievements included using their power to hasten policy implementation along with instituting new discounted public services to reasonably accommodate disabled people. Locally, disabled MPs managed to facilitate easier and more accessible procedures for disabled people to access pensions, healthcare, and housing. Despite these achievements, DPOs reported their dissatisfaction with disabled MPs' performance. This is due to the absence of a unified system for MPs to familiarise the public with their achievements and asking for their consultations. During its interaction with the NCDA, the next subsection covers its relation with disabled MPs and DPOs to see how the positive connection between these can have a positive influence on disability politics in Egypt.

5.4 The relationship between the NCDA, DPOs, and disabled MPs

Since this chapter examines the disability mainstreaming within post-revolutionary Egyptian politics between 2011 and 2018, this section focuses on the NCDA (the high authority for disability affairs in Egypt), declared in June 2012. The aim is to understand the degree to which the Council's performance can support different governmental institutions to recognise disability mainstreaming and urge them to reflect this in their policies. The first section of this chapter presented examples of these policies which benefited from the UNCRPD, Egyptian Revolution and the Egyptian constitutions. While Chapter 6 continues this policy examination, focusing on the ESDS, this section touches upon the Strategy to illustrate the NCDA's collaborative efforts during its design and implementation.

5.4.1 The Interaction between the NCDA and Egyptian DPOs

This subsection examines the degree to which the Council has consulted with Egyptian DPOs while working to mainstream disability in the amended policies following the Egyptian Revolution. It presents a brief background to the Council's establishment and structure, to see whether its capacity enables it to respond to DPOs' expectations. Chapter 4 explained that the DPOs' view the Council as the leader who ought to support their capacities and unity, reflecting on the solidity of the country's disabled people's movement. DPOs' representatives stated that the disabled population also looks to this Council as an advocate which supports their receipt of services, pensions, and accommodations. This subsection relies on a conducted interview with one of the Council's SGs and draws on my own experience as a former board member of this Council to support the argument.

In June 2012, the Prime Minister issued a ministerial decree to establish the first Egyptian NCDA (NCDA, 2018). Its mandate was to consult on and amend policies aiming to mainstream disabled people, coordinating between different ministries to support the implementation of these policies. Analysing the global and national events presented in this research suggests a chronology of events which contributed to the establishment of this Council. The country's

ratification to the UNCRPD in 2008 increased the ability of NGOs and DPOs to notice the marginalization, neglect, and inequality suffered by disabled people. Following this ratification, some international organisations, such as HI, devoted projects to establish and enhance the capacity of new DPOs, demonstrating the commitment made by UN organisations globally to support the Convention's implementation (see 4.1). This drew the attention of the disabled people's movement nationally to the importance of the social disability model and rights-based approach. As discussed in 1.2.2, in 2010, and for the first time, disabled people demonstrated in front of the Egyptian parliament, raising individual and collective demands. One year later, and during the Egyptian Revolution, they demonstrated with other Egyptians elevating their demands. One priority was to establish a national council in accordance with Article 33 of the Convention.

They promoted this aim during the meeting with the military forces (the first regime after the Revolution). Hagrass (2012) summarised their demands as:

Quality health insurance, suitable rehabilitation and training, proper implementation of the law governing their employment, solid welfare system, representation in parliament, and the formation of a high council for disabled people. (Hagrass, 2012. p.232)

Another reason for the Council's establishment was to respond to disabled people's demands. To support this, many non-disabled activists used their high-level connections to force the government to take action. This was accompanied by some disabled strikers standing in front of the Prime Minister's office calling for the declaration of their council. The ministerial decree of this council included a board of trustees, consisting of government representatives from ministries and councils whose work was directly or indirectly related to disabled people. Examples are the Ministries of Social Solidarity, Education and Health. The council board also included representatives of hearing, visual, and physical impairment DPOs. As discussed in Chapter 4, these members were not elected by the disabled population but rather were chosen by the Prime Minister's office which collected a number of CVs from experts and activists who were also asked to nominate others. This suggests that they are examples of, but not

representative of, impairment groups. The third group on this board was chosen due to their expertise in support of the Council's vision. It was the first time the country recognised disabled people as equal participants who can decide for, and be responsible for, their own affairs. Previous strategies and disability laws were mostly structured by non-disabled voices who considered themselves disability experts (Hagrass, 2012).

The interaction between the disability council and Egyptian DPOs has, to an extent, faced a mistrust, which was shown during the interviews with both sides. The disability council's Secretary General described the DPOs' situation as scattered individuals needing to learn how to advocate for their rights instead of asking for individual demands. DPOs stated, however, that it is the responsibility of the Council to guide them through this process. The SG added that they have to work realistically in groups and create a grassroots alliance rather than operating Facebook group pages:

There may be an alliance or Facebook group with very limited membership which makes it ineffective. So we have many voices and activists shouting or asking for individual demands. (II)

The above suggests that the Council will not support disabled groups unless they are officially organised. This dissonance may create a distracted relationship between the Council and DPOs which hinders the Council leadership. One example is that some Egyptian DPOs attacked the Council for not assisting and building their capacities, an issue that angered the NCDA SG who stated:

We have to say that some of these groups dealt disrespectfully with the Council. We conducted meetings with them and I told them this: that some of you are very good, respectable and active enough, but others not so. (II)

This tense relationship could have a negative effect when it comes to DPOs being prioritised in the Council's working agenda or, indeed, getting more involved interactively with it.

In 2013, and while I was a board member, the NCDA framed disabled committees at a governorate level. Although the selection process has been

conducted through interviewing different disabled nominees, which resulted in choosing five to six people who represent different mobility and visual impairments, other disabled activists were dissatisfied with the selection criteria. As a result, these committees faced many difficulties collaborating with other DPOs. The Secretary General stated that he decided to restructure them to ensure they adhered to legal requirements:

We depended upon the governorates' disability committees that were formulated two or three years ago in 15 governorates to start building a strong platform... What we will do is to formally investigate everyone and get back to them – especially since their situation right now is not legal enough. (II)

The way in which the disability councils have been structured may influence their ability to support their country's disabled people's movement. This structure includes the extent to which disabled people are represented amongst both board members and different departments. Another factor is the degree to which the Council is independent of the government. Establishing a governmental disability council, for example, may hinder their ability to support powerful and strong grassroots disabled people's movements (NCDA, no date). The Egyptian case is as an example. Issuing the NCDA under the government's auspices may affect the power of the Egyptian DPOs. Further research could be conducted to learn from similar international examples of councils who provided support to solidify their disabled people's movements through aligning them together (see 1.1.2).

In general, Egyptian DPOs were not satisfied with the Council's performance. They felt that the Council does not have a clear vision and future plans but rather conducted a group of scattered activities. They also had a challenge to communicate their demands to the Council, believing that the former will not be able to provide them with the necessary capacity building schemes. It is argued that the lack of the proactive spirit from the Council is behind their neglecting of DPOs' initiatives, an issue that increased the latter's dissatisfaction with not being at the heart of the Council's priorities. One of them expressed this, saying:

We do not have good connections with this disability council and they are not inviting us to participate or get involved with their activities. We have many observations about their way of working with DPOs. (D)

Analysing disabled MPs' interactions with the NCDA found that they have experienced various levels of interaction. Their connection started officially with the Council when they were invited by the SG to join a capacity building program which was designed to unify and elevate their knowledge regarding disability technical issues; however, the program is not completed yet (see 5.3.2). Some were also keen to interact with the Council, proposing initiatives to facilitate disabled people receiving discounts, services, or even adding some benefits. They, however, expressed that the Council was not up to their expectations, and decided to step back. On the other hand, one disabled MP, who was also a former Council board member, expressed her experience of good communication and collaborative working. She represented the Council on many international conferences and round table discussions.

Examining the NCDA activities indicated that they design and implement disability projects in cooperation with other ministries as pilots. They submitted two project proposals, for example (inclusive education and early detection and intervention) with both the Ministry of Education and Health; these have been approved and have been allocated 2 million EGP (NCDA, 2018). Finally and positively, although the NCDA does not have a clearly written role to support the implementation of the ESDS, it plays a coordination role to motivate governmental bodies to mainstream disabled people's issues within its yearly plans.

To conclude, this subsection presented a move from a position in which the state was reluctant to involve disabled people, who had limited capacity for engagement pre-Revolution, towards the significant post-revolutionary establishment of the NCDA, along with disabled people's increased ability to unite together in the form of DPOs. The presented relationship between both showed that DPOs are dissatisfied with the Council performance and capacity, expecting the NCDA to play a better leadership role in supporting the Egyptian disabled people's movement. Disabled MPs also expected the NCDA to

provide them with support to improve their technical capacities towards disability-related issues or to enhance professional cooperation.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter argued that Egyptian disability politics has developed consequent to the Egyptian Revolution and was influenced by the UNCRPD. The frequent regime changes were an opportunity to support the development of disability rights into various Egyptian policies. The chapter viewed the NCDA, along with disabled MPs joining the parliament for the first time, as significant reasons behind this. The two policy examples demonstrated how they developed with the support of both the UNCRPD and the Egyptian Revolution. During the chapter's examination of disabled MPs' efforts in the Egyptian parliament, it was found that, despite their small number, they have managed to mainstream disability in some of the amended laws. Their inconsistent engagement with the development of legislation was a result of some lacking disability and legal knowledge, and also their inability to work in unity.

The chapter analysed disabled MPs' experience of physical and technological accessibility inside the parliament, finding that the cooperation between the Egyptian parliament and the NCDA was useful in facilitating their engagement in its activities. The project balanced between the development of the parliament's physical and technological accessibility as well as training employees in how to support their disabled peers. It is the first time in its history that the Egyptian parliament has considered reasonable, physical adjustments to accommodate different disabled MPs' needs.

A related finding is that the political parties struggled to find qualified disabled cadres who could advocate for disabled people in parliament. As a result, most of the chosen candidates appear to have been selected because of their impairments rather than their technical expertise. Even with this, the quota system, enshrined within parliamentary law, protected their seats, which would not have been the case had they been nominated individually.

Throughout the chapter, a sample of disabled MPs' stories was narrated to show the process by which they engaged with parliamentary activities. While this illustrates the different barriers faced upon reaching this position, it poses the question whether they are enacting their own power or are merely vessels of their party's power. Their achievements, although limited in time, are a significant step forward and hopefully a precursor to fulfilling the revolutionary demands. Their contribution in issuing the Disability Law of 2018 as well as merging disabled people's rights into the ESDS are two significant policy examples. During the final section of this chapter's examination of the NCDA's establishment and relationship with both disabled MPs and DPOs, it was found that both were dissatisfied with the Council's support for the implementation of disabled people's mainstreamed rights. The Council's limited support for the existence of a strong disabled people's movement contributed to their fragile advocacy and weak power to influence the government. In addition, the unclear strategic planning for the Council's activities led to a scattering of their power as their efforts were too unfocused between policies and practices.

This chapter analysed the influence of both the UNCRPD and the Egyptian Revolution on the positive changes that occurred within disability politics. The next focuses on the ESDS formulation process and content to understand how the Egyptian signature to SDGs, with its '*leaving no one behind slogan*', was translated to the Strategy.

Chapter 6: ESDS as a response to SDGs: the position of Disability

Introduction

This chapter examines the formulation process, and content of, the SDGs/ESDS as a case study of disability mainstreaming in policy making in Egypt's post-revolutionary environment. It connects with the literature on disability and inclusive development, and the concepts of participation, inclusion, and sustainability discussed in the first two chapters. The chapter examines the influence of the UNCRPD, the Egyptian Revolution, and the SDGs on opening more spaces for disabled people to deliver their demands to the Egyptian Sustainable Development Strategy (ESDS – also known as the Egyptian 2030 Vision). This includes an understanding of whether the intersectionality brought by the UNCRPD, along with the Egyptian Constitution 2014, has developed the inclusivity of the ESDS and whether it has acknowledged the rights of disabled people who face oppression for other reasons such as gender and age.

The chapter considers two main dimensions – it begins by exploring both the ESDS and SDGs' formulation process (6.1) to understand the opportunity given for disabled people to participate in each, before moving to the content of the ESDS (6.2). This latter section provides a background to the ESDS dimensions, pillars, methodology, and Key Performance Indicators (KPIs), with a subsection to interact with the level of disability mainstreaming. During this analysis, SDGs are compared and contrasted with the ESDS, given the SDGs' influence on the Strategy. This demonstrates the degree to which the 11 references to disability within the SDGs enshrined more inclusive rights within the Strategy.

The chapter aims to understand whether the ESDS plays a mediating role between the ambitious, high-ceiling goals (see 2.2.1) and the challenges facing Egypt, namely the lack of coordination between ministries, along with poverty and corruption. This is achieved via an examination of the Monitoring and Evaluation (M and E) system attached to the Strategy.

Since the government's declaration of the ESDS in 2016, in response to both the Egyptian Revolution demands of 2011 and the signing of the SDGs in 2015, many debates have emerged about the feasibility of implementing this Strategy. In considering these debates, the chapter aims to respond to research sub-question 3 (see 3.2.2), demonstrating how the Revolution assisted the disabled activists to be engaged with the development of the SDGs and related national policies following on from the country's 2008 ratification of the UNCRPD.

The data generation phase included semi-structured interviews with some Egyptian policy makers representing ministries and councils who were involved in the formulation of this Strategy, e.g. the Ministry of Planning (MoP) and the National Council for Disability Affairs (NCDA). The chapter considers the Council in depth, discussing their level of engagement with the ESDS formulation and monitoring process (6.3). Presenting policy makers' opinions against those of DPO representatives regarding the degree of their participation on both policies can identify whether there are conflicting views about the definition of inclusion. At the international level, the interview with the IDA liaison officer for the 2030 Agenda broadens the analysis of disabled people's participation in both ESDS and SDGs.

6.1 ESDS Emergence and Formation

This section analyses both the SDGs' and the ESDS' formulation process, illustrating the government's motivation to devote time, expertise, and resources to its establishment. This demonstrates how the post-revolutionary era encouraged the participatory approach and how this was reflected during the Strategy formulation process.

6.1.1 Reasons behind the emergence of the ESDS

Following the 25th January 2011 Egyptian Revolution, experts working in the field of development started to align through civil society organisations aiming to change the prevailing plans to better position the country (Press and information team of the Delegation to EGYPT, 2017) – see 1.3.2. These

groups were supported by policy makers who had aimed for this change before the Revolution but had failed due to the lack of political will. These efforts also supported Egyptians who had sacrificed thousands of their citizens, resisting the Mubarak regime, because they had a dream to develop their country (Ali, 2012; Bakr, 2012; Abdou and Zaazou, 2013).

Creative solutions emerged in the form of short and medium-term plans and projects from ministers in 2013, responding to these hopes. The former Minister of Planning stated:

As I was a Minister before, I was following with other ministers the previous strategies 20 or 30 years ago. These efforts have been compiled by Dr Faiza Abo El Naga, a former Prime Minister, forming a ten years Strategy (2012 to 2022) in cooperation with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).
(I)

He explained other prime ministerial efforts to produce a long term Strategy, such as former Egyptian Prime Ministers, Dr Kamal El-Ganzourys and Dr Esmail Sabrys, working towards future Egyptian strategies e.g. the “2017 Vision” and “Egypt 2020”, in addition to the Cabinet’s “IDSC (Information and Decision Support Center) 2030” **(I)** (Press and information team of the Delegation to EGYPT, 2017; WHO, 2003; Sustainable Development Strategy, 2016).

Another motivator for the emergence of the ESDS is the June 2013 Egyptian Revolution, which was also seen as a coup d'état (this research focuses on the impact of the 2011 Revolution). These were mass protests, marking the one-year anniversary of Mohamed Morsi's inauguration as president. They were sparked by unmet revolutionary demands, including the absence of clear vision and direction for the country (Brown, 2013). The events ended with millions of protesters across Egypt taking to the streets, as a response to a call from the army to demand the immediate resignation of the President (Brown, 2013; Kingsley, 2013a; 9 Bedford Row International, 2015; Ghanem, 2014).

The rallies were also a response to the Tamarod, a grassroots movement that launched a petition in April that year calling for the Muslim Brotherhood

government to step down. It claimed to have collected more than 22 million signatures in support of this action. According to the Egyptian military's calculations (their numbers counted through helicopters scanning the demonstrations' perimeters across the country), this was "the biggest protest in Egypt's history", with 14 million protesters (Tiger, 2013; Fayed and Saleh, 2013; 9 Bedford Row International, 2015). Others argue, however, that the 25th January 2011 Revolution had the biggest mass participation in Egyptian history (Shahin, 2012; Schwartz, 2011). Using this crude quantitative method to legitimise one revolution over another disguises competing ideologies. For example, some people prefer not to call the events of June 2013 a revolution in order to delegitimise the action. As stated by the Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), the military has depended upon both the public affection of its citizens – using one of the famous revolutionary slogans: "the citizens and army are one hand" (Aly, 2011; Project on Middle East Political Science, 2011) – as well as the sympathy and public support given to the Tamarod movement for its legitimacy to oust the Muslim Brotherhood regime (Kingsley, 2013b; 9 Bedford Row International 2015; Ghanem, 2014).

The Sisi Regime considered the strategies from the Mubarak regime. Canvas (2015) argues that the Muslim Brotherhood regime also considered these strategies but that its short time in office and atmosphere of general dissatisfaction from citizens, coupled with corruption, was behind its failures. Since this time, it has been a source of debate as to how legitimate the new regime is. Brown (2013) and Beck (2013) suggest that it may have been a coup for the military to oust the Muslim Brotherhood regime in order to govern the country.

Since the 2011 Revolution, the spirit of the strikes influenced the majority to concentrate on immediate gains, rather than being patient and focused on the future (Elagati, 2011). Media sources demonstrate that some used the strike as a way to express demands that may not have been legitimate. The government's positive response encouraged other community groups to follow the same strategy. They refused to listen to any response except to get their demands recognised. The strikes were highly aggressive to the extent that

one poor and unemployed protester very nearly immolated himself (Elagati, 2011; BBC News; 2011b, Reuters, 2011). One policy maker commented on these strikes:

At this time, everyone was thinking about the present rather than the future. You could see many protests and strikes in the streets with demonstrators asking for their rights. (I)

While this is the case, some government policy makers and experts were looking ahead and dreaming of the Egyptian future. One minister was keen to contribute towards the country's future vision by considering the bigger picture. He stated: *'I created a "Dreamer Team" to think big and act big; to shift the country while the majority remained more realistic and thought that there was no hope.'* (I) He was proud of this team as it included various experts from different ministries who were able to 'Dream High', but with realistic approaches. His deputy also acknowledged that it is a high-ceiling strategy but, *'Let us aim high. Egypt has a lot of potential and resources.'* (V) Both stated that they considered inclusion, participation, and equality among other concepts during the SDGs' preparatory discussion at the UN while forming the ESDS (see 2.2.1). They confirmed, however, that Egypt could struggle to respond to the 17 goals given the challenges related to cooperation and coordination between government organisations (OECD and the World Bank, 2006) – see 7.1.

The Strategy declared its commitment to follow the concepts of the post-2015 inclusive development agenda and its slogan *"Leaving No-One Behind"*. It offers equal opportunities, with some affirmative actions to support minority groups including disabled people (UNDP, 2014; Save the Children, 2016). One policy maker expressed the difficulty of applying these concepts stating: *'We clearly consider them when we design development indicators and plans and during our work on geographical resources distribution, but then we crash with the reality of misallocating of resources.'* (V) This demonstrates how unfair distribution of resources, along with lack of decentralisation, can prevent equal access to services.

As discussed in 1.3, the Revolution's open environment supported the establishment of the Strategy, assisting it to maximise the use of countries' assets to meet the Egyptians' aspirations towards a dignified and decent life. It also encouraged policy makers, elevating both their hopes and those of Egyptian scholars, who saw the reunion as a golden opportunity to drive the country forward.

The Strategy objectives reflected the 2014 Constitution. Article 27, for example, relies on economic solutions to achieve prosperity, stating: "The economic system aims at achieving prosperity in the country through sustainable development and social justice to guarantee an increase in the real growth rate of the national economy" (Constitute Project, no date). The article indicates that decreasing unemployment as well as raising standards of living will help to eliminate poverty. The government has reflected this in the Strategy by considering welfare and prosperity as the main economic objectives. It focuses on the economy as a solution to increase equality and social justice whilst also eradicating the social challenges that face many minority groups.

The MoP representatives stated that the ESDS was the first Strategy to consider the long-term strategic planning methodology and also the first to make use of the participatory approach to capture the voices of government stakeholders alongside civil society organisations. However, other interviewed policy makers, along with DPOs' representatives, were dissatisfied at their level of participation when translating the Strategy into short and medium-term plans (see 5.4 and 7.1.4).

The emergence of this Strategy in the post-Revolution environment inspired policy makers to consider '*the local angle and all other political, social and economic demands brought by the revolutions of June 30 (2013) and January 25 (2011)*'. **(V)** This suggests that the ESDS has not only learned from the open environment brought by the Egyptian Revolution, but also from the emergence of the inclusive development agenda of the SDGs (see Chapter 2). This prompted some politicians to incorporate it within the Strategy, one of

them stating: *'Meanwhile, MDGs were turning to SDGs. Thus, we couldn't fall behind and we became urged to insert the sustainability concept into our planning and development'*. (V)

Directly after declaring the SDGs, some scholars evaluated them as ambitious and dense compared to the eight MDGs that could be more easily understood (see 2.2.1). Although the newly-emerged 300 targets and indicators established in January 2017 were created to support the implementation of SDGs, these were reported not to be implementable and vaguely defined (Norton and Stuart, 2014; GRI and the UN Global Compact, 2017).

The Egyptian signature to the SDGs is another driver behind the emergence of the ESDS (ESDS, 2016). As reported by the former planning minister, a strong connection has been built between signed SDGs and the ESDS content, which is compatible with the Revolution's aspirations (Sustainable Development UN, 2015). Those such as equality and social justice were embedded within the revolutionary spirit of the Arab Spring (Ramadan, 2011; Moaddel, 2012). Both the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions' slogans contained words to express social justice and equality, themes which uniquely prepared both of them to embrace SDGs (see 1.2.3).

Although they managed to alleviate poverty and to decrease the mortality rate through many diseases, MDGs failed to consider some marginalised groups (UN, 2015c) (see Chapter 2). According to Parnes et. al., (2009), disabled people are the "poorest of the poor". They are not prioritised among the 10% lifted out of poverty by poverty-alleviation programs run by international organisations (Korotayev and Zinkina, 2011). Such exclusionary behaviour provides an argument for the establishment of SDGs, where more equality and inclusion is considered. These goals were unique by including disability as part of any collected data related to poverty and across other indicators (see Chapter 2). According to the 2030 IDA Liaison Officer, disabled people were involved as an equal group by translating their demands to the established goals.

Following the signatures to the SDGs, countries have been required to formulate national strategies in response (UN, 2015c). The uniqueness of the ESDS is that it also fulfils some revolutionary national demands and aspirations. It enforces themes such as participation, co-operation between government bodies, and more consideration to marginalised community groups (Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, 2016). (See 6.2 for Strategy content.) Responding to the 2030 agenda forced the government to establish the longest Strategy (15 years) they had yet introduced; the previous official governmental plans covered no more than five years (Middle East Economic Survey, 1977; El-Shami, 2012; Egypt Economic Development Conference, 2015).

In summary, the UNCRPD, the demands of the Egyptian Revolution, the 2014 Egyptian Constitution, and the SDGs' preparatory discussions contributed to support the ESDS. While the SDGs present a direct motivator for the declaration of the Strategy, the revolutionary demands and activism necessitated the establishment of a long-term strategy where hopes were elevated to move the country forward. Regionally, the fact is that the revolutions in Egypt, Tunisia, etc. have uniquely influenced perceptions of SDGs. The latter's emerging concepts such as inclusion and participation, which were also found to be the core of the Revolution's slogans, are a contribution to the establishment of many diversified and inclusive strategies. This supported them towards encompassing the voices of different groups.

6.1.2 An examination of the ESDS formulation process

This subsection presents the formulation process of both policies. Analysing disabled people's level of participation in the formulation process of each indicates the degree to which these documents have responded to their demands at both levels.

At the beginning of 2014, and six months after the ousting of the Muslim Brotherhood regime, Egypt signed the SDGs, which acted as a significant shift to a more long-term plan calling for more cooperative and partnership work between different Egyptian agencies. Although these approaches were

discussed previously at the government level, it is the first Strategy to necessitate the use of them. At that time, the 'Dreamers Group' was established by the MoP – as stated by the former planning minister, it is a group that consists mainly of people aged between 18 and 35 who see themselves as development experts. It merged all previous planning efforts, along with the workshops that were conducted with other ministries, creating a base from which to design Egypt's long-term future (see 6.1.1). According to the Ministry Law 70/1973, they are responsible for preparing the country's plans and strategies in the long, medium, and short-term. This includes offering all required logistical and technical resources for supporting other ministries to design their annual plans (Egyptian Government, 2015).

According to the Ministry representative, they struggled to utilise the concepts of inclusion and participation within the new Strategy as these were not considered by the former ministers. The same was found to be the case when it comes to having a monitoring and evaluation system (see 6.3). As a result, other ministries have not felt obliged to apply them.

As stated by the planning minister, having the Strategy formulation process in the post-revolutionary era informed the Strategy with the revolutionary demands. Its fortunate contemporaneous preparation alongside the SDGs (January 2014) helped the Strategy to utilise the concepts attached to them. This atmosphere positions it differently from any other policies that were prepared in the history of the Planning Ministry.

The practical process started by sending a letter to each Ministry to prepare their Egyptian SDGs as well as their 2030 vision, including their future aims. One of the invited Ministry representatives commented on this process saying:

We participated with the Ministry of International Cooperation to set the Egyptian SDGs [...] We prepared our part – the Egyptian Vision 2030 – and we gave it to the International Cooperation Ministry. (III)

In this regard, each Ministry has also sent a list of their achievements, including their future objectives to the MoP. The Ministry of Local Development is one example. They assisted the Strategy formulation process,

by compiling different governorates' plans of actions which were then translated into strategic objectives. They formulated all governorates' plans nationwide, which were then sent to the Ministry of Planning (MoP). The MoP representatives affirmed that they had been effective in their role, stating: '*These strategic plans include different cities and villages' needs and the best locations to implement these projects which will cover the future needs for this year's goal*'. **(IV)** As part of their mandate, the MoP conducted some training workshops for the governorates' planning managers on how to prepare their plans according to the new ESDS goals and visions. While this is a positive move, the question remains: is training one planning manager in each governorate enough, or should other stakeholders from different departments receive the same level of training?

Another concern is the degree to which training can be disseminated from more experienced, older individuals to younger people who are lower down the hierarchy. While the Ministries of Planning and Local Development representatives confirmed that workshops had been conducted by the former, some stakeholders, including DPOs, reported not receiving any invitation or orientation about the plan, even after its declaration. One of them stated: '*We did not receive an invitation to get involved in the Strategy discussions*' **(K)**. Moreover, there are not accurate statistics about the number or type of groups who attended these consultations.

The next step was to form 10 committees under the auspices of the MoP to write concept notes for the Strategy's 10 pillars. While preparing the Strategy, the committee members looked at other countries' strategies in terms of formulation and implementation, to grasp any lessons that could be learned. The below table is a briefing of the committee working process.

Jan – Dec 2014	Feb – Nov 2015
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analysis of the current situation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transforming objectives into policies/programs/KPIs.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of previous strategies. • Identifying the Strategy's main directions. • Developing the pillars' objectives and sub-objectives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifying quantitative targets in 2020 & 2030. • Reviewing the Strategy with all concerned parties. • Developing a communication plan for promoting the ESDS on national and regional levels. • Discussing the Strategy at Cabinet level.
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Table 2: Committee Working Process

The above table shows that the Ministry took the first year to understand the challenges facing the previously-implemented strategies and how the new ESDS would be able to cover these gaps. They used the second year to open the floor for different Egyptian ministries and councils to get involved through workshops integrating their plans and views to a policy framework. The MoP provided the space for different stakeholders to participate, clustering to enrich one of the Strategy's three main dimensions (Economic, Social, and Environmental). The planning minister confirmed that it was the first time the Ministry had invited a wider audience including the marginalised groups through their councils. The deputy minister was very proud of this, stating that each of these committees included “*representatives from NCW, NCP, NCCM, NCDA and other stakeholders such as CSOs, the private sector, international organisations and of course, MPs [...] as well as CAPMAS*” (5) (CAPMAS, 2018) – see 6.1.3.

In 2016, and after two years of work, Egypt declared its ESDS which required all ministries to issue ministerial decrees, translating the Strategy into short and medium-term action plans (one to three years). According to the Egyptian governmental system, they will not allocate financial resources to a governmental institution unless they submit a yearly plan starting from 1st July until the end of June (The Official Egyptian Directory of State Budget Classification, 2016). Therefore, the designed long and medium term prepared plans will not meet this expectation unless they are divided into

yearly plans. This requirement impacts upon some of the long-term projects or infrastructures which have to be revisited each year, with the further possibility of their suspension depending upon the prevailing political climate. What makes it more difficult is that the Egyptian regime has a history of frequent changes to its policy makers, the latter starting new plans rather than following previous efforts (Goldstone, 2011; Saif 2011).

This subsection analysed the procedures followed by the government, which included the coordination between different ministries to formulate the ESDS. It is found that this process following the post-revolutionary era assisted the Strategy in responding to the revolutionary demands. Having the preparation phase parallel to the creation of the SDGs also assisted the Strategy to mainstream some of the marginalised groups' rights. While preparing the Strategy, there was concern amongst Egyptian policy makers at implementing themes not previously embedded in national strategies, such as participation and inclusion. This is because previous Egyptian strategies did not rely on such themes, in addition to the documented challenge of application within the history of Egyptian policy-making.

6.1.3 The process of involving groups in the ESDS and SDGs – similarities and differences

Following the sampled presentation of the Strategy formulation process along with SDGs (see Chapter 2), this subsection examines the methods used to inform both frameworks with a wider variety of thoughts targeting inclusivity. According to UNSDN (2018), SDGs, for example, have used a wide range of mechanisms to involve various community groups' representatives to participate with their formulation. One interviewed UN representative commented:

These groups include gender, youth, older people, the disabled, indigenous people and all are invited to contribute statements and positions from their perspectives. (1A)

According to the 2017 World Bank report, this has influenced strategies in other neighbouring countries, who have added more affirmative actions as well as prioritizing these marginalised groups' rights to access basic services with

the same level of quality and distribution (Mohieldin, 2017; Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia [ESCWA], 2014).

Similarly, the Planning Minister and his deputy confirmed that ESDS has used a participatory strategic planning approach (see 6.1 above), where more than 150 specialised workshops in different fields such as energy and economy were held, including NGOs, private sector, government, and unions to participate in enriching the Strategy with their inputs.

This shows that both relied on the participatory approach to involve a wider range of target groups; however the absence of a clear hierarchy and representation mechanism for some Egyptian minority groups, from grassroots level upwards, may have weakened the participation process, impacting upon the degree of representation.

Disabled people's involvement within the Strategy is one example. The MoP was proud to have provided the space for different stakeholders to participate, clustering to enrich one of the Strategy's three main dimensions (Economic, Social and Environmental). The Planning Minister confirmed that this is the first time the Ministry has opened its invitation to a wider audience including the marginalised groups through their councils (see 6.1.2). This shows that the MoP has relied on national councils to mainstream all groups' rights as part of the Strategy formulation process (The Egyptian Ministry of International Cooperation and UN SDGs, 2016). NCDCA is one example. Although the Council consulted with their disabled board members, disabled outsiders were dissatisfied, perceiving the Council as unrepresentative. The DPOs were also very angry, as most of them were not invited to participate in this process, with one of them stating:

Unfortunately the NCDCA board members added their inputs to the ESDS without taking our opinion or input to this Strategy. They finished it in only two days, according to the ex-Secretary General Dr Heba. (I)

This suggests that there are no criteria to guarantee that all DPOs' voices are translated to the Strategy. The Ministry only relies on the Council to conduct brainstorming sessions with disabled people before submitting their input to

the Ministry. While my interviewees blamed the Council for not having a clear methodology for collecting different disabled people's voices and reflecting them in the input, the NCDA SG reported, however, that the Ministry has given the Council a very tight timescale, potentially hindering the latter from consulting with many disability organisations. The Council SG expressed his views on these issues, saying:

This edition of our input has been created between the board members. As you know, these board members include disabled people's and NGO representatives, as well as experts. Also, the time framework given to us was very limited. (II)

Another barrier was that, although a few Egyptian DPOs were invited to join government negotiations, they were not enthusiastic enough to participate. One of them received an invitation from MOSS to join one of the ESDS formulation workshops in Asyut, but they did not attend.

Although these barriers exist, the MoP representative seemed satisfied with the participation of marginalised groups, which she saw as "unprecedented". She stated: '*NCDA welcomed this step and actually added programs and KPIs and we took them all with no amendments.*' (V) The Council board members divided themselves into committees, each to interact with one Strategy dimension.

The majority of interviewed DPOs were not satisfied with the Ministry's decision, not seeing the NCDA as a representative authority (see 5.4). What angered them further was that they were not invited to participate on the Strategy consultation phase. While a few of them were consulted, it is unclear whether they were chosen on the basis of representing a geographical area, the size of DPO, or their level of expertise. One of them expressed that, saying: '*Unfortunately the NCDA board members added their inputs to the ESDS without taking our opinion or input to this Strategy.*' (I) Also, some might argue that having disabled people on the Council board is useful to express disabled people's voices, but the fact that they are not elected by the disabled population means that their voices may not be adequately represented.

Analysing both the Council and Ministry responses shows that their understanding of the theme of participation does not necessarily result in equal coverage of disabled people's voices at the grassroots level. They may be satisfied with a small sample of DPOs to represent disabled people within the ESDS formulation discussion.

The financial and administrative resources available to each of these councils controls their mechanisms to consider the breadth of their target groups. This variety gave some vulnerable groups more chance to be represented while other councils' poor resources deprived their population from having the same right. For example, NCW has 27 branches, representing the whole nation with greater budgets and administrative staff on each, which empowers them to gather more voices from their targets (National Council for Women, 2017). The case is different with the NCDA, who do not have as many branches as well as poor resources. As a result, they can only listen to a small number of DPOs.

Policy makers and DPOs' representatives hold differing perspectives on participation (see Chapter 2). The Planning Ministry, for example, aimed to promote the Strategy to be '*from Egyptians to Egyptians*' rather than imposed as a governmental plan **(I)**. They claimed that it opened a wider arena for participation to all private sector companies and civil communities. However, the historical mistrust between the government and community stakeholders has dissuaded them from attending the MoP workshops and consultation events, even though they were invited.

*I can't assume that we applied the participatory approach 100%. Meanwhile, we were not selective in our call for participation. We did invite everybody, but not all of them were willing to participate because of their doubt in the possibility of achievement. **(V)***

The Deputy Planning Minister was vehement about this lack of positivity, viewing it as a barrier from having a full community engagement with the Strategy drafts. DPOs argued, however, that the inaccessibility and affordability of the participatory mechanisms followed by the Ministry was the reason behind their inability to join these discussions. For example, many

based in villages and districts are deprived of sufficient access to online means of communication due to their lack of internet services or because they cannot afford those fees. Their limited capacity, along with their relative insularity due to their focus on the local level only, are other reasons.

Examining participation within SDGs suggests that the civil society has been given increasing opportunities within their formulation. This is entirely dependent, however, on the country's political goodwill. The UN representative commented: *'There is tension right now between some countries accepting civil participation and others not. Keep in mind that the UN is voluntary and is dependent upon the goodwill of its member states to implement any of these Resolutions.'* **(1A)**

Similarly, the level of the Egyptian government's enthusiasm and the variety of methods used is one driver to motivate the Egyptian civil society participation within the ESDS. Workshop invitations being the primary means of encouraging participation shows a possible lack of willingness to listen to NGOs' opinions. There are, however, many other mechanisms by which the governments can invite more minority groups' voices. The IDA representative stated that one of the UN roles is to develop the relationship between the civil society and governments through training and other means of support. Lack of democracy within a government may result in conflict that will impact upon potential development. Recent incidents in Egypt support this argument (Amin, 2016).

This subsection touched upon examples of the degree to which ESDS and SDGs have considered the voices of minority groups in the formulation process. While the MoP was reported to be very proud of what they believed was an unprecedented invitation to the Egyptian community, many groups, including DPOs, nonetheless felt excluded. The Ministry's reliance only on these national councils alongside a small number of NGOs made their participatory process unrepresentative. Another related finding is that these national councils' financial and administrative resources could impede their ability to compile their targeted groups' voices and thus deliver them into the

Strategy. It should be noted, however, that the absence of an organised and structured disabled people's movement presents difficulties when it comes to inviting a representative sample reflecting the DPO's majority opinions.

6.2 The ESDS

This section builds on the discussion of the ESDS emergence and formation, addressed in 6.1 above, by analysing the Strategy structure (6.2.1) to assess the degree of disabled people's rights mainstreaming (6.2.4). In this, it interacts with the three main themes pertinent to this research – participation, inclusion, and sustainability – to understand how they influenced the Strategy's content.

6.2.1 ESDS Critical Analysis

This subsection briefly introduces the Strategy vision, dimensions and pillars, showing how its design affected different ministries' implementation of the strategy. It then provides a critical examination of the influence of the Strategy structure on the feasibility of its implementation. Viewing different stakeholders' understanding of the Strategy content shows their contrasting opinions about their potential realization. The ESDS declared its vision to be:

By 2030, the new Egypt will achieve a competitive...and knowledge-based economy, characterised by justice, social integration, and participation, with a balanced and diversified ecosystem, benefitting from its strategic location and human capital, to achieve sustainable development for better life to all Egyptians (Ministry of Planning, 2016).

This vision can be viewed as ambitious as it aims to improve the country's economic status through the application of social justice and the participation of the entire population. The government has relied on both the country's large population as well its geographical position between Europe, Asia and Africa to pursue this goal. However, one question is the degree to which the country is ready to respond to the concepts embedded within the Strategy, as also found within the SDGs, such as inclusion, sustainability and participation.

The Strategy framework is divided into three basic dimensions of development – economic, social and environmental. The economic dimension includes the

pillars of economic development, energy, innovation, scientific research, transparency and efficiency of government institutions. The social dimension covers the pillars of social justice, education, training, health and culture. The environmental dimension includes the pillars of the environment and urban development as well as the axis of foreign policy, national security, and domestic politics.

Each of the pillars includes strategic objectives, sub-goals, and KPIs. The Strategy has quantitative targets (planned to achieve the objectives and expected challenges), the programs and projects required, the priorities of their implementation, and their timelines. This clarity, along with the attached action plans, supported different ministries to implement the strategy. However, two challenges mentioned by people interviewed were in relation to promoting awareness of the Strategy's content at the local level and the availability of logistical, technical, and financial resources required to put this into action.

The Strategy introduction emphasises the importance of “domestic and international political and security systems” (Sustainable Development Strategy, 2016, p.5) particularly in response to “expanding terrorism in the region” (Sustainable Development Strategy, 2016, p.6). The Ministry of Local Development representative was dissatisfied with the reallocation of financial resources from development programs implemented before the Revolution to strengthen the internal security forces after the Revolution. However, it is understandable that the government should empower their interior security following any revolutionary actions.



Picture taken from the ESDS, 2030 (Ministry of Planning, 2016)

As illustrated above, the ESDS focused on five main areas to begin with: size of the economy, markets' competitiveness, quality of life, human development, and anti-corruption.

Analysing the Strategy's five main areas, it can be observed that, although some of these areas are concretely defined, such as improving the size of the economy with a reliance on Gross Domestic Product, others are less specific in their stipulations, such as the quality of life area. Although policy makers seemed proud of the design of the Strategy framework, including its

dimensions, objectives and indicators, others, such as Social Watch (2016), view it as lacking a detailed roadmap in relation to eradication of poverty and unemployment and improving the status of the informal sector. This may hinder the Strategy from achieving its vision. They also evaluate the Strategy as lacking “clarity in implementation mechanisms” along with an “[in]consistency among the goals” (Social Watch, 2016). This research analysis demonstrates that, in some positions, it requires more coherence between goals and pillars to benefit each other, as there are conflicting definitions.

Although the ESDS pillars were designed to facilitate the Strategy’s goals, these terms have been used interchangeably, potentially confusing stakeholders in the implementation phase. The economic pillar is one example, as the Strategy introduction defines it as a goal. In addition, the Strategy merged some indicators together, while separating others that research generally considers as one unit. For example, it merged education and training into one pillar, with consequent potential for confusion in the implementation of each. It also separated knowledge, innovation and scientific research into distinct categories, while arguably they are connected. According to Social Watch (2016) the Strategy has relied only on the private sector to support the development goals, while giving less attention to the role of human resources on supporting the implementation of these dimensions.

Positively, the Strategy introduction confirmed that its content will work to mainstream community groups with a focus on the marginalised. It has considered the concept of inclusion broadly. For example, by referring to the necessity of including minority groups when developing the country’s new legislative framework to achieve social justice. This terminology confirmed inclusion as a driver whilst institutionalizing the partnership between the state and civil society.

The Strategy KPIs stated that, by 2030, Egypt should be in the top 20 countries in a number of fields. This position was found to change from one KPI to another, demonstrating realistic target-setting based on the country’s current

position and resources. For example, it aims for Egypt to be among the top 40 countries in the field of innovation, and among the top 20 countries for the number of patents and gender equality. The ESDS' concluding chapter refers to major investment through a number of projects, such as, "...developing infrastructure, establish[ing] investment projects that raise economic growth, and creat[ing] thousands of jobs, especially for youth and females" (Egypt Economic Development Conference, 2015, p.5). The chapter does not clarify, however, the means by which these projects respond to ESDS' 12 KPIs.

To conclude, the strategy vision has managed to balance between the revolutionary aspirations and the principles attached to the SDGs. It embedded recent concepts such as participation, inclusion and sustainability which had not previously been mentioned in the history of Egyptian strategies. This vision was viewed as ambitious considering the difficulty of coordination and cooperation between government organisations. The ESDS has a clear, hierarchical structure beginning with dimensions and objectives moving towards action plans and KPIs to guide and monitor the Strategy's implementation. One finding is that the Strategy has assigned resources to strengthen domestic forces following the Revolution. This has been received with dissatisfaction from some policy makers who anticipated that more funds would be directed to development projects. Another finding is that the Strategy was unique in giving extensive focus to social justice which was behind the inclusion of marginalised groups' rights. Based on the conflict between terms such as goals and KPIs, it is recommended that the Strategy glossary defines and differentiates between the meanings of these terms. This arguably avoids the potential confusion existing between stakeholders involved in implementing the Strategy.

6.2.2 The Sustainability of the ESDS

Sustainability is a concept that has witnessed increasing use in global policies. Attaching this to the SDGs enshrined it as a necessity to implement the post-2015 agenda. The concept is found to have many references across SDGs. SDG 11, for example, has built a profound relation between this and the inclusion concept. Other goals indirectly referred to sustainability to ensure guaranteed support to different community groups. This spirit has been

transferred to the ESDS, relying on the theme of sustainability which aims to ensure that the country's infrastructure and human resources are preserved to serve the largest number of the population. While the thesis' second chapter has touched upon this concept in terms of evolution and debated definitions, this subsection briefs the reader on how both ESDS and SDGs have benefited from each other while interacting with this concept.

Arguably, the Egyptian Revolution encouraged cooperation between governments and civil communities which is a key success in countries when backing up their resources pursuing greater sustainability (Asian Development Bank, 2004). Historically, the civil society in Egypt was disconnected from the government policy-making process. In addition, implementing projects funded by different partners presented a challenge. Internally, NGOs were also challenged by the need sustain resources gained from their involvement with other partners. Reasons for this include the staff's limited skills in maintaining and regenerating resources. This challenge ultimately resulted in the closure of many NGOs who depended on these external funds (Fahmy, 2014) – see Chapter 4. DPOs stated that they require training to incorporate sustainability mechanisms within their projects.

The lack of coordination between government and civil society prior to conducting baseline studies or service mapping for large pilot projects can lead to the duplication of efforts and wasting of resources. Examples of this were found in both international organisations and Egyptian ministries who repeated some projects with the same beneficiaries, due to their lack of awareness of other organisations' activities (Nour, 2011).

It has also been stated by one interviewed policy maker that '*the sustainability and skill ability problem is a big issue in Egypt as we have many pilot projects with good results, but when it comes to full implementation, there is no sustainability*'. **(3)** The lack of periodical monitoring to these pilot projects will limit lessons learned while applying them on a wider scale. Moreover, a gap exists between academic researchers and the policy making process which could hinder these policies from being responsive to the demands; the

American University in Cairo started some efforts to bridge this gap (Partnership in Development Research, 2005). The same policy maker believed that the IDSC can systemically pursue this role. This research governmental authority was given more power to interact with the on-going project, assisting them to conduct baseline studies when necessary (IDSC, 2018).

A further challenge to sustainability is the frequent changes to the government's composition resulting in new ministerial decrees and changes of plans. The fact that civil servants are not involved in understanding governmental plans and objectives also disturbs the continuity of any long term strategies. Concepts such as reasonable accommodation, accessibility and inclusive employment, which are discussed at the policy level, for example in MOSS, are not disseminated to the employees working at the labour offices. This is one reason why vacancies are offered to disabled people, based on their geographical location but not considering their impairment and/or qualifications. While these offers fulfil the 5% employment quota enshrined within Egyptian labour law, they are ultimately more of a 'box ticking' exercise than a genuine attempt to employ disabled people. One outcome of this is a lack of productivity which can lead employers to perceive that this is due to individuals' impairments rather than the applicability of the vacancy to their impairments and qualifications. An example of this in practice is my own experience as an English Literature graduate offered employed in a paint factory, mixing colours – problematic for someone who is visually impaired.

A further challenge to sustainability is the lack of institutionalisation as a concept to inform both government and civil society. Many organisations were found to be predominantly managed by one person instead of sharing responsibilities across a board working from a structured plan (Nour, 2011). The MoP recently aimed to provide technical training about the benefits of institutionalisation and sustainability in order to address this. The Minister stated: *'In general, there will be technical support with regard to sustainable development, as it is a lifestyle and not just a Strategy concept.'* (5)

To conclude, frequent changes of government composition and the lack of cooperation and coordination between government and civil society are among the challenges to implement the concept of sustainability within the ESDS. The MoP's awareness of some of these issues and their willingness to orientate civil servants to preserve the community's available resources are potential remedies to these challenges. They can also transfer the good sustainability practices employed by some civil society organisations, such as CBR, to others who currently have limited ability to sustain their resources following project closure. Orientating the latter with some mechanisms to preserve and expand their resources is a further recommendation to solidify their internal capacity and existence.

6.2.3 Disability Input within the ESDS

This subsection moves from a general analysis towards specifically analysing the disability input within the Strategy. It examines how the concepts of participation and inclusion were utilised to assist disabled people's rights to be mainstreamed within the Strategy. Due to the length of both the social justice and the education and training pillars, which contained the majority of references to disability, these have been divided into separate subsections.

The below analysis also considers the influence of using terms such as: 'special needs', 'disability issues', 'people with disability', etc. on the target group. This follows a summary of disability organisations' efforts to emerge a new disability strategy comparable with the UNCRPD.

The ESDS is considered to be the first Strategy to enshrine inclusive disability rights as part of its dimensions and pillars. Arguably, the inclusive nature of SDGs along with their slogan (*'leaving no-one behind'*) was one reason for this intervention. In addition, the intersectionality brought by the UNCRPD, where specific articles were devoted to the rights of disabled children, youth, and women, supported this inclusivity. As analysed in Chapter 1, disability policies in Egypt were either contained within specific laws concerned with disabled people or had been allocated separate chapters in other legislation (see 1.2.1). One example is the Egyptian rehabilitation law 39 for 1975, which focused on fixing the person's impairment using the individual approach (Abdel Sadek,

2008). The other example is Egypt's 1996 national strategy which covered disability rehabilitation, early detection, intervention, and other aspects that focused more on the individual side but not the removal of the community barriers (NCCM, 2014). This strategy arguably encapsulated the traditional model of disability. It employed terms such as 'people with disability' and 'special needs'. Labelling disabled people as 'special needs', also referred to in the rehabilitation law, has them identified as requiring care (Metzelthin et. al., 2013).

The establishment of the Child Law 12, 1996, amended in 2008, is seen as a nascent sign of inclusion being recognised within legislation. The law allocated a specific chapter (Chapter 6) to discuss disabled children's rights; it uses the UNCRC and other human rights declarations (The National Council for Human Rights, 2015) to confirm that disabled children are entitled to receive equal educational health and sports rights, etc.

In 2008, the year of the Egyptian ratification of the UNCRPD, the NCCM decided to establish a new Disability Strategy in cooperation with the disability civil society and experts, but with no result. One year after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, the NCDA also started to prepare a new Disability Strategy to shape the disability future in the next ten to twenty years, aiming to align it with the UNCRPD. However, as I was a council board member at that time I viewed this as a slow process. The voluntary nature of their work may have demotivated them from working consistently.

Although the ESDS was formulated following the submission of the Constitution of Egypt 2014, its disability component remained minimal. It is encapsulated only in a few pillars, rather than being spread out across the Strategy chapters (although the NCDA has advised the Ministry to deal with it as such). The interviewed SG stated: '*We sent it to the government asking them to add it as a cross-cutting issue rather than being a separate component or chapter inside the ESDS.*' **(II)** The SDGs' inclusive nature could have been another motivator to enrich the Strategy with disability rights (see Chapter 2).

Following the declaration of the ESDS, each Ministry published implementation plans to meet the Strategy objectives. However, some policy makers reported less attention was given to disability rights while preparing these plans. This is due to some pillars failing to recognise the demands of the disabled population. One example is that the Strategy's transportation pillars do not include the accessibility of public transportation which could be evidence of a lack of awareness of transportation rights for disabled people. A second example is the Strategy's lack of consideration to the national codes and regulations that offer more accessibility to disabled Egyptians. The Local Development Ministry representative acknowledged the fact that he knew very little about the existing Egyptian building code, issued by the Ministry of Population. This code application was absent when the Ministry started to redesign some villages and cities. He stated:

We conducted a protocol with the Engineering Institution to set detailed plans for both villages and cities that have their own strategic plans just to locate services in their appropriate places. (4)

The concepts brought by both SDGs and ESDS, such as inclusion and participation, were meant to reawaken the community, opening discussions to break numerous cultural stereotypes. There was a feeling of satisfaction among policy makers about dealing with disabled people as service receivers; however they were not cognisant of the need to consult with them during the planning process. The conflicting use of terminologies across the Strategy may have negatively influenced the perception of disabled people as equal partners, through eliminating their chance to fully participate in its actions (Barnes, 2012).

To give a sense of the disability inclusion with the ESDS, the next few paragraphs provide a holistic view by analysing the disability content within: the Strategy introduction, the social justice pillar, and the education and training pillar, as these are the only chapters to mention disabled people's rights.

a) Strategy Introduction

The Strategy introduction references disabled people using the term 'special needs' (see above) and declares that special consideration will be given to this group. While the introduction briefly described how it will tackle other groups', such as women's, rights, this was not the case when it came to disabled people, where minimal information was provided.

b) The Social Justice Pillar

This pillar contains the majority of the disability components. Other pillars, however, such as the economy and environment, missed the consideration of disabled people's rights. This pillar's vision is "to build an equitable and harmonious society characterised by equal economic, social and political rights and opportunities, with the highest degree of social inclusion" (Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, 2016).

Analysing this vision shows that it relied on SDG 10 which aimed to reduce inequality at both national and international level. The vision used the equality theme to provide protection for the poor, supporting the most vulnerable and marginalised.

Takaful and Karama are two examples which were implemented by MOSS to support poor and vulnerable families to access health and educational services. Examples of their beneficiaries are: people that do not have the ability to work and produce (65 years and above) or they have a total or partial disability (see Chapter 7 for details).

Other programs focused on amending legislation to support social justice and inclusion and institutionalising the partnership between the three main community partners (government, private sector and civil society movements). The programs also aimed to improve the social protection and subsidies systems to support marginalised groups in the community such as disabled people, street children and older men. The analysis of this pillar, along with the interviews, confirmed that it tried to "...cover the rights of all groups facing social exclusion" (III). Even when the term 'marginalised groups' is not explicitly mentioned in each of its programs, enshrining the theme of equality

as part of the vision asserts that programs will seek to mainstream all community groups as part of their services. This positivity, however, could be opposed by other strategy pillars which did not reference disability. This diminishes the opportunity for disabled people's rights to be considered in other dimensions, so decreasing the Strategy's level of disability inclusivity.

This pillar has benefited from the social justice chapter written in the Egyptian human development report published in 2016 (UNDP, 2016). Some of the disability experts who participated in writing this chapter have summarised the main challenges facing disabled Egyptians into themes: barriers to education and Higher Education, employment, and transportation. The report highlighted that disabled people face different barriers to access public transportation and public services. The authors also brought part of disabled people's debates and activism to elevate their challenges into the 2014 Egyptian Constitution.

The social justice pillar has also benefited from the 2014 Egyptian Constitution, which covered for the first time various rights of socially excluded and marginalised groups in 9 of its articles, defined as: rights of women, disabled, youth, etc. (see 5.1). According to this pillar, policy makers and committee members involved in its design were knowledgeable of the human rights, principles and key definitions that ensure that all community groups' demands are included within the framework of this Strategy (Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, 2016). The experts learnt from different countries' experiences, tailoring these to the Egyptian context.

Having the human development reports 2010 and 2016 (UNDP, 2010 UNDP, 2016) and the Egyptian Constitution 2014, assisted the Strategy committee to define the concept of social justice. The pillar defined it as aiming to develop an inclusive community which provides equality of opportunity for all diversified groups. The pillar differentiates between equality and social justice concepts. While the Strategy has seen the equality concept as ensuring that equal support is given to all citizens, the social justice approach enshrines an affirmative action to some groups who need extra services to reach the same

level of equality as others. Other legal frameworks such as the UNCRPD had alternatively defined this as “affirmative action”.

The conceptual framework of the human development report has identified five main gaps that prevent many Egyptians from living in social justice. These are: rich versus poor, gender equality, geography, disability, and generational. These were increased to seven gaps in this pillar by incorporating the organisational dimension, which is concerned with freedoms, political rights and political empowerment. The second of the additional gaps is the cultural dimension, which refers to the values prevailing in society and their impact on the understanding of social justice.

As commented upon by a disabled MP involved in the writing of this pillar, it was found to be weak in protecting specific groups, facing multiple oppression, such as disabled women. Moreover, the pillar relies on the idea of care provision when referring to marginalised groups including disabled people, with this author stating: *“I could confirm that the social justice pillar in the Strategy is not comprehensive enough to cover the Rights of disabled people in terms of policy” (III)*. The policy makers’ awareness of this challenge can motivate them to open a new consultation for this pillar so disabled people and experts can deliver their feedback which will enrich the strategy content. This is possible considering the Strategy’s dynamic structure.

While the pillar specified each of the key players’ roles (state, private sector and civil society), it stressed the importance of full cooperation between them. This can lead to inclusion. To familiarise the reader with each of their roles, the state’s is to be responsible for sufficient and equal basic services required for the community. To support the state’s role, the pillar establishes policies such as anti-discrimination and protection alongside networks to provide decent support to all Egyptians including nation governorates, districts, cities and villages.

The civil society’s role is split into two dimensions: the first is to give charity support to reduce the poverty of areas deprived of basic services. This aims

to cover the main challenges that are facing these communities and decrease the negative impact of these challenges. The second role is to build capacity, and mobilise and empower community movements. Moreover, their role is to coordinate with the state to work on the community justice priorities set by the government. This latter can support Egyptian DPOs aligning towards a solid disabled people's movement (see Chapter 4). The second dimension can also resolve the anger of the majority of the Egyptian civil society and human rights advocates who feel controlled by the government as they have to follow many procedural steps before initiating any activities. They also feel that their freedom is even more restrained than it had been before the Revolution (Mubarak regime). According to European Union External Action (2017b), "the new NGO law in Egypt is bound to put additional burden on NGOs' activities and restrict the space of debate and discussion in the country". One of the other concerns is that the new NGO law (82) recently submitted in June 2017 has complicated the administrative procedures to follow before officially establishing any new NGO (Aboulenein, 2017), in addition to obliging international organisations to pay yearly fees in order to work legitimately in Egypt.

Some DPOs' representatives stated that they are affected by the new law as their partnerships with international organisations are suspended. One stated: *"We are cooperating with the AODP and with HI. ... only, as most international organisations are no longer working in Egypt."* (L) Moreover, their daily activities started to slow down due to the government permissions that are required prior to any activity.

The pillar mobilised the whole community towards fairer access to education, health and employment, seeing this as a solution to receive equal basic services, rather than relying on cash and care provision. The pillar suggests allocating extra budget to support the health and educational demands. One policy maker supports this argument to increase the budgets of specific targets e.g. building school staff capacity will improve the inclusivity of education. Disabled children can benefit from this as, according to the Ministry of Education's Strategic Plan for Pre-University Education 2014–2030, disabled

people are facing both social exclusion and deprivation when trying to access education and only 2% of disabled children can access public schools (Ministry of Education, Egypt, no date).

This social exclusion affects other services in rural areas and Egyptian slums. The absolute poverty, lack of fair distribution and affordability of services, as well as limited accessibility for the disabled population, can side-line disabled people from living inclusively. These, along with other challenges facing the Egyptian community, can present barriers to implement the ambitious goals of this pillar. This was also found in many developing countries where government strategies were eager to respond to SDGs and/or pressing demands which widened the gap within the reality of national situations (Rondinelli, 1981). Decentralisation and more reliance on civil society is one solution to eradicate this.

Following the state and civil society role, the third partner introduced by the pillar is the private sector. The Strategy limited its role in providing the necessary support to employ Egyptians at its companies to increase individual incomes. This role could be expanded to include other responsibilities, not only to improve the country's economic status but to contribute towards improving the inclusivity and adaptation of community services. The UK is one example, as since the 1990s, the government has been mainly dependent on the private sector to provide rail services, rather than being nationalised, thereby saving many resources.

To conclude, this pillar's vision gave an excessive attention to the rights of marginalised groups offering a number of programs, including Takaful and Karama. In addition, DPOs and policy makers were keen for this pillar to provide more support for disabled people. This research views it as a progressive step towards acknowledging the equity of service provision. The social pillar was also keen to build a partnership between states, civil society and private sectors, in order to achieve equity and harmony. It provides more, however, to the first two partners while limiting the private sector role to financial provision and employment support. Nonetheless, examples from

several countries were found where the private sector has played an integral role building pilot projects and supporting the government to out-source transportation and some education services.

c) Education pillar.

Analysing the pillars demonstrates a synergy between their vision and SDGs related to education. The education programs within the national agenda aim to prepare young people for the labour market. This is achieved through: “A high quality education and training system available to all, without discrimination within an efficient, just, sustainable and flexible institutional framework” (Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform, no date). It balances between building the student and staff capacity along with the increased use of technology to respond to this vision. The pillar confirms that the high quality of education cannot be achieved without accessibility, affordability and mainstreaming of everyone to receive an equal right to education (IDA, 2018; Plan International, 2018). The pillar details them as follows: boys, girls, rural, urban, ‘special needs’, and bright and talented people. The NCDA SG stated that the pillar matches SDG 4 and its targets which necessitate the importance of equal access in early childhood development, primary education, secondary and Higher Education, along with technical and vocational education (UNESCO, 2019).

The Strategy pillars, however, provide more focus on mainstreaming disabled children’s rights in school education than in Higher and vocational education, although the pillar confirms the efficiency and quality of the latter in cities and rural areas. This contributed to the barriers facing disabled students in Higher Education, including accessing their academic support and admission procedures (USAID, 2017). Positively, the Strategy pillar considers the previous efforts between the Ministry of Education and disability civil society to declare the first Ministerial decree in 2009, along with a chapter in the Egyptian child law 2008 giving rights to disabled children to mainstream education (People’s Assembly, 2008). Both this pillar and SDG 4 give access to everyone, including disabled children, to an inclusive, qualified and equal education on every level, although the Strategy uses the term ‘special needs’ to refer to them, which is a regressive step.

To implement this, the pillar has added an indicator to consider disabled children's mainstreaming as part of quality education standards. This matches the Ministry of Education's efforts to examine school building accessibility, equipment and trained staff, to ensure there are a sufficient percentage of public schools ready to welcome disabled children.

This pillar decided to offer an inclusive and supportive environment to children with simple disabilities before considering mainstreaming people with both multiple and severe impairments. Meanwhile, the pillar was also keen to develop the special education schools to provide the necessary support for children with severe impairments.

Among the 29 challenges facing the development of the educational system in Egypt, only two were found relating to provisions of inclusive education. The first addresses the fact that ministerial decrees can be overturned easily by new ministers. This issue may affect the sustainability and continuity of measures to mainstream disabled students. Having this right, recently documented in the Egyptian Disability Law declared in 2018, can erase this challenge. The second challenge is the limited capacity of school staff as well as the lack of accessibility which hinders mainstreaming disabled children in public schools. As a response to this challenge and others, the pillar has established a program to guide stakeholders through the mainstreaming process. It aims to offer all disabled children equal opportunity to have inclusive education by the year 2020. The suggested mechanism to achieve this includes several elements. The first is to develop the necessary information and communication technology. The second is to set aside a specific budget, separated from the one for education, to guarantee the sustainability of the inclusion process. The third is building new local, regional, and international partnerships to ensure the development of the inclusive education process. The fourth and final element is to add more bonuses for the trained staff working in these specialised schools, to compensate for the extra efforts exerted with disabled children. While these are positive moves,

they can be also be viewed as ambitious, considering the time and resources required to respond to the inclusive education challenges in Egypt.

To conclude, this pillar has benefited from the Egyptian Constitution along with the SDGs, as well as learning from civil society and experts' efforts over time to offer more inclusive rights for disabled children. The indicators and programs proposed mechanisms to overcome a multitude of barriers that face the inclusive education process. Although DPOs and some interviewed policy makers were keen to have more rights for disabled people in general, it is the first Strategy to include indicators, mechanisms, and programs for disabled children to access education side by side with their non-disabled peers. The application of this, however, is ambitious in the context of the poor capacity of the school staff, the lack of accessibility, and poor technology. Finally, achieving inclusive education benefits from the built partnership between government, civil society and private sectors introduced by the social justice pillars.

6.3 SDGs and ESDS monitoring systems

This section touches upon the monitoring systems enshrined to support both ESDS and SDGs. Analysing these helps to evaluate the degree to which different target groups were able to participate during the design and implementation process. It also considers whether both frameworks were able to sustain community resources in the pursuit of the implementation phase.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, SDGs were aware of the importance of developing periodical, participatory monitoring, at differing levels, to ensure efficiency in implementation. This matches Article 33:3 of the UNCRPD's suggested mechanisms which necessitates a representative from organisations to be involved in the monitoring process. The high level political forum established by the UN, for example, is the official follow-up mechanism to observe different countries' implementation while they process their own M and E. These forums, however, miss the voices of small organisations that do not have the financial or logistical resources to participate. While it is positive that the UN

has recently established a number of platforms for organisations to develop their thoughts, feedback and consultation about SDGs, organisations not having access to the internet, with consequent lack of awareness of these developments, deprives the community from hearing their grassroots experience. In general, these suggested approaches and mechanisms are also voluntary which weakens their position to govern the situation according to the SDG's progress of monitoring.

DPOs claim the absence of a concrete and sensitive M and E system was behind the documented gap between national policies and the improvement of their services. This is arguably one reason for the gap between the enshrined inclusive rights within post-revolutionary policies and an improved standard in disabled people's services. It is a challenge that was also reported at a global level where countries failed to translate their ambitious policies into concrete plans of action.

Looking at the formulation process of both frameworks shows that the community's lack of awareness was behind their inability to engage with designs and monitor their actions. Although the Egyptian government reported using numerous channels of communication to promote the Strategy, such as Ministries' websites and Facebook pages, interviewees stated that they were unaware of the ESDS content. Policy makers also expressed that both ESDS and SDGs require further promotion at lower levels as service providers know very little about them (UNDP, 2015; UN, 2016c).

Reasons for Egyptians' lack of awareness of the ESDS content included their inability to access the full text. The government only uploaded a summarised version of the Strategy through their website. Another factor is that they used the internet as the only means by which the Strategy was communicated to the public. As many areas lack internet connections, this deprived large numbers of citizens from being aware of their country's 15 year vision. Moreover, the absence of an easy-read version made it harder for those with literacy or learning issues to have a full understanding of the Strategy content.

According to CIA (no date), Egyptian Streets (2014), and CAPMAS (2018), the population illiteracy ratio ranges from 25% to 75%.

Egyptian policy makers' statements demonstrate that some believed the Revolution increased the periodical evaluation of the on-going development projects. The planning minister for example was proud of the Strategy M and E system as it enables the public for the first time to monitor its implementation. He stated: *'The M&E system, including the key performance indicators, aimed for the whole community to monitor in a very clear and transparent way the position we have reached.'* **(I)**

This conflicts with the Ministry of Local Development representative's opinion who argued that the Revolution had a negative influence on monitoring many development projects as instead there was a reallocation of funds to serve security purposes. He stated: *'But we do not have a monitoring system in terms of measuring the project's impact on the lay citizen, we were having this type of monitoring before the Revolution but it stopped after it.'* **(IV)** (See Chapter 7)

Moving to the SDGs found that, at the beginning of 2017, the UN issued around 300 targets and indicators to monitor their implementation. This contributed to Egyptian policy makers vitalising an effective M and E system with a dedicated staff to follow up the Strategy progress. They issued Ministerial decrees to establish different M and E departments in each Ministry to fully interact with the Strategy activity. The MoP representative who was leading the Strategy implementation process stated: *'We issued a ministerial decree for [the deputy minister's] tasks to be a mandate and we are convinced that monitoring and evaluation is essential for the success of any designed plan.'* **(I)**

One challenge to this establishment is, however, the limited capacity of Ministry employees as well as shortage of technical staff. The other is the restricted freedom given to NGOs to periodically monitor and comment on the

Strategy implementation (Sustainable Development Strategy, 2016; Amin, 2016).

Following the Ministerial Decrees, the Egyptian government has taken a number of steps to closely monitor the implementation of the ESDS. The first was that the Planning Ministry was invited to participate in an M and E dashboard, to be technically trained, run by UNDESA with other international organisations (UNDESA, no date b). The second was that the CAPMAS (2018) has established a sustainable development unit gathering the required data. This was accompanied by other ministries' efforts to use their services as means to generate disaggregated data complying with the SDGs. This was positive as historically the country suffered from a lack of data in relation to the number and geographical distribution of many community groups, an issue that led to the misallocation of resources (Afify, 2011).

The third step is the establishment of a ministerial committee headed by the Prime Minister to discuss the follow up reports received from the subcommittees' ministries and present a final report to parliament. The extent to which the government will use these reports as mechanisms to further develop the implementation of the ESDS through gathering public feedback unclear.

A further step is that the MoP decided to have the year 2020 as a breaking point for the ESDS to monitor their success during the first five years of the implementation process. This was useful to assess the coordination and cooperation between government ministries, given the difficulties presented by partnership working overtime (Gill, 2017).

The Egyptian government asking for international support to develop their capacity as regards the implementation of the SDGs is the final example in this subsection. This is a positive move, acknowledged as such by the UN High Level Political Forum (HLPF). It is a forum that relied on Goal 17 to discuss and support countries' efforts regarding their needs to implement SDGs, building both assessments and partnership mechanisms. Egypt, along

with 21 others, asked the forum for a voluntary review to measure their level of progress with regards to the signed SDGs (The Egyptian Ministry of International Cooperation and UN Sustainable Development Goals, 2016). As a result, and according to the IDA representative, Egypt is in receipt of an optional monitoring mechanism including various types of support from many international organisations (Egypt National Review Report, 2016). The UN's technical support for the disaggregation of data was considered by one policy maker, for example, to be essential in accurately classifying the disabled population in order to better map their services to benefit from ESDS.

In general, the enthusiasm of some policy makers after the Revolution was behind their insistence to produce transparent and accountable M and E systems. This included specific indicators so ministers could be questioned about progress through each phase. They were also more transparent about the country's development challenges. An example is the 2016 Egyptian review report as well as the Human Development Report of the same year (UNDP, 2016). Both interacted with challenges that hinder education such as unemployment, inequality, poverty, social exclusion and corruption.

To conclude, the post-revolutionary era, as well as the preparatory stages of SDGs' M and E system, assisted Egyptian policy makers to inform the ESDS monitoring. The subsection has explored both frameworks' monitoring systems and found a disparity in the number of targets, mechanisms, and ability for the public to participate in monitoring each of their actions. SDGs, for example, were aware of the implementation challenges that faced MDGs, thereby issuing 300 targets and indicators, some of which are complementary to fit with the country's specific context. The Egyptian case found a similarity with many other countries as the lack of internet connection in many rural areas, illiteracy, and unavailability of government reports, are barriers that hinder the public's participation. In addition, the government's lack of communication with NGOs, along with utilizing the marketing plan to meet the demands of its targeted community, diluted the efficacy of the M and E system. Positively, however, the voluntary review that Egypt asked for, along with the

production of several human rights reports, is a brave step towards more transparency to support the implementation of the ESDS.

6.4 Conclusion

The mass participation of millions of Egyptians within the Revolution, along with the Egyptian 2014 constitution, has impelled the Strategy to include terms like participation, inclusion, and sustainability, as well as considering the rights of marginalised groups. This was different pre-Revolution as these concepts were rarely found to be embedded within national policies and development projects. Moreover, the timing of the United Nation's announcement to prepare for the SDGs at the same time as Egypt was preparing the ESDS during 2014, legalised the usage of these concepts, encouraging policy makers to mainstream them within the design of their future projects. Analysing the Strategy found that it is largely able to utilise the SDGs within the Egyptian context. The misallocation of resources and the poor capacity of civil servants are among the barriers that can hinder successful application, however.

The Strategy formulation process has taken two years to ensure that both the revolutionary demands along with the SDGs have been incorporated into the Strategy content. This, however, somehow misses the consideration of the participatory approach, as beneficiaries' voices were not listened to. In addition, the programs aiming to achieve the Strategy's goals miss in some sections a detailed work plan or timeline for the implementation of their basic elements. A solution is to recommunicate the Strategy to the Egyptian community, as grasping their opinions and suggestions for improvement could mitigate this challenge. Moreover, periodical feedback as to the community's satisfaction with the yearly implementation plan could be used to update the next year's plans with lessons learned.

In general, the formulation process of ESDS and SDGs provided space for disabled people to express their demands, but with a degree of variation. While the UNCRPD is the motivator for both, the Egyptian Revolution and

SDGs opened horizons for disabled Egyptians to be more engaged with the Strategy. This engagement was affected by policy makers' definition of participation which influenced the way of selecting voices. DPOs were found to be dissatisfied with this process, viewing the chosen sample as not representative.

While Chapter 2 has found that disability has been mentioned in more than a third of the SDGs, this chapter reported minimal mention of disability within the ESDS, as it is referenced in three positions only: Strategy introduction, social justice, and education pillars. As the NCDA is the higher governmental authority responsible for the rights of disabled Egyptians, this chapter continued the analysis in Chapter 5 by examining the method by which the Council submitted its input to the Strategy, which contributed to this minimal mention as reported by DPOs. Due to the limited time given to them from the government, the Council depended on its disabled and non-disabled expert board members to provide this content, while not taking heed of disabled activists' and DPOs' voices. The Strategy's dynamic structure, however, can respond to this limitation by opening a space for activists and DPOs' voices to add more disability content. The other finding is that, although the Strategy aimed to respond to many paramount issues such as unemployment, poverty, health and education, disabled people's demands were missed. When it comes to the language used to express disabled people, the use of conflicting terms such as 'special needs', 'people with disabilities' and 'disabled people' influenced the style of service provision.

In general, the chapter has introduced some national and local challenges that hinder the Strategy implementation. This includes lack of administrative, technical, and expert capabilities among the government staff which slows and/or weakens the efficiency of the process. A recommendation is to conduct a needs assessment to understand the required training to enhance the government employees' performance in support of the Strategy. A periodical review to this assessment will ensure tailoring employees capabilities to meet the ESDS' different responsibilities.

A related challenge is the paucity of cooperation and coordination, leading to a lack of partnership working, found between government, private and civil society sectors when implementing the Strategy. For example, the application of the participatory approach and utilisation of various community resources will not take place without high levels of both coordination and cooperation.

The chapter has devoted a section to interact with the M and E systems of ESDS and SDGs (see 6.3). It is found that the 300 targets and indicators enshrined within the SDGs supported the framing of the ESDS M and E system in 2017. The public has found some difficulty participating in the Strategy monitoring process due to illiteracy, poor internet connections and the government's weak promotion of its content (CIA, no date; CAPMAS 2018a; Equal Rights Trust, 2018; Egyptian Streets 2014). The weak power of the disabled people's movement to advocate for and support the implementation of these strategies (see Chapter 1) is a further challenge. The result is that government stakeholders do not enter into enough consultation with DPOs' voices. They are, therefore, missing opportunities. Egypt, however, has taken a brave step to ask for a country review from the UN to assist with the strategy implementation. Their aim is to reach a localised and sensitive M and E system to avoid inequality of benefits from the SDGs. The ESDS dynamism will assist policy makers to periodically review and update its text according to developments (Sakamoto 2013; OECD and the World Bank, 2006). This was recommended during my interviews as a key to accelerate both frameworks' implementation. During the global discussions about the SDGs, the Egyptian government has built a range of connections with other governments and funding agencies. The same networks were established at the national level while formulating the ESDS. One recommendation is to establish national platforms including international experts to better enhance the participatory approach while designing strategies, plans and other policy frameworks.

The next chapter moves from policy to practice, presenting the early implementation phase of both the ESDS and SDGs (2006). The aim is to understand how the ambitious goals of both, along with the Egyptians'

aspirations, find their way into reality. This presentation includes a thorough analysis of four observed development projects/initiatives undertaken by both the Egyptian government and DPOs as part of the ESDS implementation process.

Chapter 7: Barriers to ESDS and SDG implementation: where are the key challenges in practice?

Introduction

The previous chapters argued that the UNCRPD, the Egyptian Revolution, and the SDGs have led to some positive developments in Egyptian disability politics. The establishment of the NCDA, along with the mainstreaming of disability in national policies, including the 2014 Egyptian Constitution, are examples. This chapter analyses a sample of the projects implemented up to 2016, aligning with both the ESDS and the SDGs, as a response to the revolutionary demands. It outlines ministries' implementation of ESDS and SDGs in relation to disability (7.1), before moving to the approaches taken by civil society to mainstream disabled people at the level of local services (7.2). In doing so, the chapter aims to respond to research sub-questions 3 and 4: "What evidence is there that this engagement has promoted a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights and needs in Egyptian development policy, and its practical implementation?", and "How have the above events influenced the Egyptian government to realise a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights and provision?" Analysing disability inclusivity in these projects reveals the extent to which these were instigated by DPOs' voices and activism, assisting the government to mainstream disability rights as part of national policy implementation. The examination also touches upon broader barriers that hinder the implementation of the SDGs internationally. This was decided upon due to the similar barriers found in the Egyptian context which may also delay the implementation of the ESDS.

Projects were chosen from government, international organisations, and DPOs, and analysed via focus groups, semi-structured interviews, and documented online reports identifying achievements and barriers. This analysis has relied upon a number of criteria pertaining to different approaches and/or models. The first of which is the 'twin track' approach; this aims to understand whether government and international organisations dedicated funds in the post-revolutionary era either to mainstream disability on their projects or establish disability specific projects. The second criterion is to assess the degree to which DPOs were given the chance to participate in both

the design and the implementation of these projects. This theme of participation supported disabled activists in dictating their demands to both the UNCRPD and the SDGs (see 1.1.3). Assistive technology was the third and final criteria chosen due to the UNCRPD, ESDS, and SDGs recommending it as a tool to facilitate disabled people's communication and their mainstreaming in public services such as inclusive education (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform, 2016). It is also important to note that some of the resources cited were not published until 2017, although they refer to projects implemented in 2016.

7.1 Government implementation of ESDS and SDGs

This section starts with a consideration of the broader barriers that impede the implementation of SDGs, making connections with Egyptian government efforts to implement the ESDS. It has chosen four governmental examples initiated by the National Council for Disability Affairs (NCDA), the Ministry of Social Solidarity (MOSS), the Ministry of Local Development (MLD), and the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology (MCIT). The NCDA and MOSS were chosen because of their direct involvement with disability affairs, both in policy and service provision. The MLD was chosen because of its mandatory involvement in translating national strategies into local level plans. This is particularly important given that disabled people face increased levels of poverty and deprivation in addition to social exclusion in local communities (Korotayev and Zinkina, 2011; Datt et al., 1998). The MCIT was chosen due to the importance of technology as a means to enable disabled people's engagement along with the Ministry's multi-sectoral efforts to facilitate disabled people's access to education, employment etc. Notably, this Ministry's work aligns with the broader revolutionary demands; however it is somewhat less defined in its response to the ESDS and SDGs, in comparison to the three aforementioned examples.

7.1.1 Efforts to overcome historic challenges

This subsection presents barriers impeding the opportunities provided by both the UNCRPD and SDGs to mainstream disabled people's demands in policies and development programs. Chapter 2 demonstrated that a substantial proportion of the SDGs, along with their targets, mainstreamed disabled people's rights. These acted as drivers to support NGOs to crosscut disability rights in their projects using CBID and ILD, in addition to other approaches, as goals to expand community resources and to compensate for the government's poor resources (Parnes et. al., 2009) (see 7.2).

The implementation of these goals has been influenced by the historic barriers that faced the majority of disabled people (WHO, 2019). The first is poverty, which has a correlation with the level of social exclusion of disabled people also in public service (Korotayev and Zinkina, 2011; Datt et al., 1998). The second barrier is the weak application of physical accessibility measures, which also impacted upon people's ability to have equal access to public services (USAID, 2017; Hagenaars and De Vos, 1988). According to Munene (2017), the absence of universal design, for example, is particularly evident in some African countries where the inaccessibility of the physical environment decreases disabled people's life activities. This contrasts with wealthier nations in which greater resources are designated to support the application of accessibility measures.

A third barrier is related to gender. In the Global South, women tend to face increased levels of deprivation and oppression, and often do not have equal access to education or participation in the labour market, in comparison to their male counterparts (Sheldon, 2013; Houston, 2007). To respond to these barriers, states either created specific disability strategies or mainstreamed disabled people's rights into the country's national development strategy (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR], 2016). A third approach was to incorporate both the aforementioned models.

The UNCRPD positively influenced the language and the ways in which disability rights were considered, either specifically or generally, within

mainstream strategies. This prompted a shift in the way in which disability models were used during the formation of these strategies, both before and after the Convention. The Egyptian special needs strategy of 1996 (Metzelthin et. al., 2013) was established ten years before the Convention. This used the language of special needs and focused only upon rehabilitation services, primarily aimed at the individual level of need, rather than that of the community.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of inclusion enshrined in the UNCRPD supported disabled people's participation in the mainstreaming of their rights into national and regional policies. The UK Department for International Development (2000) advocated for the 'twin track approach' which entailed the allocation of funding to support inclusive education and micro-finance initiatives in programs that targeted the whole population (Lang et al., 2011). Successful implementation of these was largely dependent upon the degree to which DPOs were given the opportunity to meaningfully participate in the process by each country's government (see 1.1.3). This ensured that different disabled groups' demands were acknowledged within these strategies as well as being part of the solution to their demands (Lee et al., 2017). An example of the application of the concept of inclusion is the mobilisation of disabled women in Egypt, as well as many other locations, to fight the barriers they faced. Their efforts functioned to support governmental entities in their work to acknowledge and mainstream not only disabled women's rights, but also disabled people's rights more generally. Heba Hagrass, a disabled Egyptian activist, is one prominent example (Hagrass, 2016) (see 1.1.3).

As discussed in 2.1, the SDGs built upon the model of inclusive development as alluded to in the UNCRPD, requiring countries to formulate inclusive long term strategies which cohered with the 2030 agenda. Goal 17 enshrined a number of partnership mechanisms to strengthen their implementation. This was beneficial to the ESDS when incorporating principles of cooperation and coordination to improve efficiency (see 2.2.1). Challenges of implementation resulted from a lack of cooperation between different ministries, as described in Chapter 6. One contributory reason, as stated by one Ministry

representative was: '*no general workshop has been conducted between all ministries about the Egyptian 2030 to agree about shared responsibilities between different stakeholders*'. **(4)** This lack of orientation influenced each ministry to work in an isolated environment, rather than implementing their activities in the framework of other ministries' achievements.

An examination of the implementation process of the ESDS found that it aligned with the UN structure to implement SDGs. Policy makers stated that each ministry had an assigned committee responsible for planning activities to achieve their sector goals in relation to the Strategy on a national level. For the UN, '*There was a strong focus on a national level to implement the SDGs*'. **(1A)** Using the national level as the only locus of implementation could, however, undermine the participatory model used in both frameworks. The fewer people involved in planning at a local or grassroots level, the more top-down it becomes.

The revolutionary demands and the 2014 Egyptian Constitution paved the way for the government and international organisations' implementation of the ESDS and SDGs in 2016. This is evidenced in the projects detailed below in this chapter. The MoP seemed proud of their early intervention, stating:

We already started the implementation of this plan this year (2016) as we have many initiatives starting to take hold. If you looked at the energy pillar, for example, you will find many initiatives have already started. You will find the same progress in the health pillar. (I)

The Ministry of Local Development (see 7.1.4) had also increased their budget for improvements to the infrastructure of poor districts aligned with the strategic objectives of the ESDS. Their representative stated:

We have new objectives and activities starting from developing the most vulnerable villages and improving the economic, social and constructional situation of these. We allocated financial resources to achieve this aim and asked them to implement activities related to the five pillars written in the local development plan. (IV)

To summarise, gender inequality, poverty, and lack of a universal design are historical contributing challenges excluding and segregating disabled people from national policies globally. The concept of inclusion attached to the

UNCRPD, however, supported these marginalised groups to elevate their populations' demands, driving national strategies to be more inclusive of their rights. The revolutionary demands and the country's signing of the SDGs were additional motivators for a number of projects and initiatives in the first year of the implementation of the ESDS. These were accompanied by some ministries allocating new resources and dedicated departments.

7.1.2. The role of the National Council on Disability Affairs (NCDA)

This subsection examines the NCDA's policy and practical efforts to support the Egyptian government to realise a more inclusive approach to disabled people's rights (sub-question 4). Due to its mandate and high authority on disability affairs, the government relies upon this Council for expert consultation on matters relating to disability policy and practice (see 5.4.1). The subsection charts a sample of the council's implemented projects since its establishment in 2012 up to 2016.

The extensive rights for disabled people enshrined within the Egyptian Constitution empowered the NCDA to increase its implemented projects in cooperation with government and civil society (see 5.4). Their provision of technical support to disabled MPs was beneficial to mainstreaming disability in the amended policies in the post-revolutionary era. They also conducted pilot projects to support the application of these policies among different ministries. The Egyptian signature to the SDGs along with its declaration to the ESDS promoted the concept of inclusive development across government organisations which regulated for further cooperation between NCDA, ministries, and international organisations. The following examples are an illustration:

The first example is about political participation, a right promoted by Article 29 of the UNCRPD and enshrined within the Egyptian Constitution (UN Enable, no date). The NCDA found in the latter an opportunity to promote disabled people's equal rights to vote. It cooperated with the higher election committee who permitted them to monitor the accessibility of the referendum process. Positively, the Council primarily relied on disabled people with different

impairments to monitor any challenges that faced disabled electors (International Foundation for Electoral Systems [IFES], 2015). This involvement demonstrated the Council's application of the participatory approach during this project's implementation. Following the parliamentary election, the NCDA conducted another project to develop the parliament's physical accessibility, including the provision of training packages to raise parliamentary employees' awareness regarding the appropriate accommodation of the newly elected disabled MPs. It is positive that disabled employees formed the technical component of this project. Both the MPs interviewed and the Council's SG were proud of this step, seeing it as unprecedented (see 5.3.1).

At the policy level, NCDA activities aimed to support disabled MPs during their term of office. As stated by one of the disabled MPs:

We have benefited from the NCFDA and other experts' technical input while preparing national strategies for health and population, education, motherhood, childhood, social solidarity, sustainable development, and culture. (1)

Other NGOs and experts were keen to provide MPs with such support cooperatively.

Another example is the NCDA's conduct of a cooperative project with CAPMAS to develop the accuracy of disability statistics as a response to the disaggregated data within the SDGs (see Chapter 2). The Council relied on the UN Washington Group's set of questions (Washington Group on Disability Statistics, 2016) (see 2.2.1) and Article 31 of the UNCRPD to promote the integration of disability data as part of the country's national statistics. The Article instructs that correct disaggregated data is a condition for the setting of national policies (UNDP, 2019; UNDESA, no date). Accurately reflecting the number of disabled people in Egyptian national statistics supported the mainstreaming of disability in development programs, enabling government to respond to their demands. The Council trained CAPMAS enumerators on mechanisms to generate and classify impairment data which assisted the

accuracy of the statistics. This supported Egypt for the first time to include disabled people's data as part of their data set (CAPMAS, 2018).

The theme of networking within the ESDS empowered the Council to conduct a cooperative project with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities to enhance the accessibility of venues including arrival, accommodation, transportation, and visiting museums and ancient tombstones. The SG seemed proud of this, stating, for example:

We have good networking with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities to create a model for a pilot project to have accessible tourism for disabled people who visit Egypt. (2)

This inclusive approach assisted the Ministry to mainstream disabled people. Although this is positive, the NCDA activities were found to be scattered and not structured under their disability strategy.

Assessing these projects against the selected criteria found that the Council relied heavily on their board members (some of whom were disabled) for the design and planning of these projects. This may be due to the tight time given to the council to finish the designing of these projects. The lack in application of the participatory approach is one reason behind DPOs feeling suppressed within the Council's activities. The NCDA's application of the twin track approach was clear either through mainstreaming disability rights across national policies or programs, such as the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, or through supporting specific disability projects.

To conclude, analysing a sample of projects implemented by the NCDA found that they are influenced and empowered by disabled people's revolutionary demands, the 2014 Egyptian Constitution, the ESDS, and the SDGs. The UNCRPD spirit was also found to influence these projects' objectives. These drivers may also have encouraged other ministries to cooperate and consult with the NCDA as much as the latter have cooperated with them. Themes that were attached to these discourses, such as networking and inclusion, supported the Council to mainstream disabled people's rights in national programs. The Council's role at the policy level was evident through the

provision of support to MPs. The latter reported that they had benefitted from this input while crosscutting disability among the amended policies and strategies. This was followed by the Council designing pilot projects, cooperating with other organisations to improve disabled people's access to political and leisure activities. These were, however, found to be scattered and not unified under the Council's overarching strategy to support the implementation of the ESDS.

7.1.3 Ministry of Social Solidarity

Side-by-side with Egypt's declaration of the ESDS, ministries have initiated programs which embodied the spirit of the 2014 Egyptian Constitution, some of which were based on existing initiatives, reformulated in light of the ESDS. Two projects, Takaful and Karama, instituted from March 2015 by the Ministry of Social Solidarity (MOSS) are examples (Observatory of Public Sector Innovation, no date). Both aim to alleviate poverty through providing a safety net as well as providing support to marginalised groups by "...implementing a new conditional and non-conditional cash transfer program" (Observatory of Public Sector Innovation, no date). They have been selected to respond to sub-question 3 as a post-revolutionary example of government development programs' shift in responding to disabled people's demands. The 1975 rehabilitation law (Ministry of Insurance and Social Affairs, 1987) made MOSS responsible for most rehabilitative and financial support. Therefore, it is the most influential Ministry when it comes to the provision of aids, pensions and other services for disabled people.

Analysing both programs suggests that the Ministry have considered the concept of inclusive development to protect, nurture and develop all categories of Egyptian society. One piece of evidence is their response to the ESDS' social inclusion dimension while planning and developing the program activities. Takaful is committed to support children under 18 to have better opportunities to access health and education: "this entails commitments to families regarding child health and nutrition (0-6 years), school enrolment...and maternal care" (Observatory of Public Sector Innovation, no

date). Families with children in the age group 0-18 years are required to meet certain conditions to receive the support. These include the following:

- For children under 6 years: Follow-up primary health care programs for children and mothers in government health centers and units. A co-operation with the Ministry of Health has been carried out to ensure the availability of services for them.
- Children must be enrolled with a minimum attendance of 80% of school days. The Ministry of Education has followed up on the regular attendance of the children of the beneficiary families.

These conditions attempt to ensure that individuals in need receive efficient support while also benefitting from quality of education.

The program's objectives show that attention has been given to the eradication of poverty through the development of education and health care. Although specific support is given to pregnant mothers and their children, disabled people are not explicitly mentioned, which suggests their inability to participate in the program design. The result is that they are not considered while applying the social inclusion dimension which excludes them from the program's provision of services. Moreover, the three ministries' different monitoring systems do not feed into each other or collect data at equivalent points, meaning that results are either difficult to share or not shared at all. The result is that Takaful beneficiaries may be deprived from accessing the same level of quality education and health support. One policy maker stated that, while some ministries have already started mainstreaming disability into their implemented projects (Ministry of Health), others were still in the preparation phase. The lack of guidelines on how to mainstream disability amongst ministries' projects may result in a disparate approach. There is positive potential, however, that the dynamic ESDS could assist ministries to develop it ensuring more equality of services for disabled people.

Karama is devoted to supporting "vulnerable" people, "specifically orphans, the elderly (65+ years of age) and persons with disabilities (50% and above

impairment)" (Observatory of Public Sector Innovation, no date). This program mostly provides financial support in the form of pensions to these groups. This could be seen as a response to the disabled strikers who demanded more financial support from the government. The poor economic situation of the family is calculated according to a statistical equation that takes into consideration the level of income of family members, the number of disabled people, the property or holdings acquired, and their housing situation. These criteria, however, do not appear to satisfy DPOs, who view Karama's monthly pension as inadequate for the minimum living standard. One reason behind this dissatisfaction is the absence of disabled people's participation in putting these criteria. The idea of cash compensation is seen by Barnes and Mercer (2005) among others as problematic, viewing disabled people as un-able bodies and not equally able to work. As stated by some DPO representatives, the program's provision of such compensation reflects disabled people's history of receiving pensions according to the rehabilitation law: *'Disabled people used to receive pensions and even if it's law they fought for it more than they fought for work positions.'* **(G)**

Some of the employment vacancies offered were intended to address the 5% quota but not the expectation that individuals would perform the work equally (Hagrass, 2009). In some situations and as stated by the MOSS representative, individuals were encouraged to take their salaries but not turn up for work: *'The employment community have an impression that it is better to give a disabled individual a salary while he is staying at home'*. **(3)** Egyptian NGOs, however, see the financial support as essential for disabled people to manage their daily life activities, considering their high level of poverty, along with the inaccessibility of the physical environment (Resala.org, no date; Mittermaier, 2014; Sparre, 2012). The representative supported this, saying: *'disabled people face different barriers to access public transportation and public services'*. **(3)**

The program has relied on the UNCRPD and International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) which was evident through its use of terms such as independence along with developing the criteria which defines

disabled people (World Health Organisation, 2018). This was clearer than that presented in the rehabilitation law 39 for 1975 as those with 50% (or above) impairment (Ministry of Insurance and Social Affairs, 1987). The Karama program was aware that this lack of clear criteria makes the decision as to who qualifies as disabled somewhat arbitrary. Arguably, it is open to abuse in the treatment of disabled people, as it excludes many who are deemed as being under 50% impaired and yet might globally be defined as disabled. MOSS cooperated with the Ministry of Health to train more than 250 doctors in 27 governorates with a manual of functionality. This was used to assess individuals' capacity comprehensively, prior to issuing their disability registration certificate. The functionality of this assessment process is dependent on the Ministry having sufficient qualified staff to conduct field visits to pursue case-by-case assessments.

Following the Egyptian signature to the SDGs, Takaful and Karama doubled the number of beneficiaries who receive security support, reaching a total of three million beneficiaries instead of 1.5 million since the program's establishment (Ministry of Social Solidarity, no date). Thus, the program responds to SDG 1 by stopping the reproduction of poverty and its effects as well as investing in future generations. The programs provide in-cash and in-kind support, for example by giving subsidised food items and monthly pensions to the most vulnerable groups of Egyptian society in response to the economic inflation situation that Egypt faced following the Revolution (see 1.3.2). They suffer from higher levels of poverty due to their requirement for extra financial support to access the same level of services within their community. This mirrors the global situation for disabled people, especially in LMICs where daily living and equipment allowances are less available (UNDESA, no date a). They rely on their families or other individual support, as an alternative.

One positive observation is that both programs responded to SDGs through developing disaggregated databases for disabled families including number, geographical distribution and types of impairment (UNICEF, 2017). This increased disabled people's access to pensions and early detection and

prevention programs with support of their local communities and DPOs. One of the latter stated, *'we have managed to assist around 79 people with different impairments to receive their pensions. Moreover, we have empowered 69 families to receive Takaful Pension and Dignity'*. **(P)** This was previously challenged as reported by DPOs' representatives, either due to disabled people's unawareness of their social benefits or physical accessibility that may hinder the beneficiary to access support:

Most disabled people do not know much about their pensions and other financial support that they can receive from the government so our role is to raise their awareness and follow up. **(O)**

Another observation is that the Ministry developed an electronic system for both disabled and elderly people to access their pensions, ensuring an easy and accessible service for these groups. The challenge, however, is that the high level of illiteracy among elderly Egyptians, along with the absence of internet connections in rural areas and slums, hindered this (CIA no date; CAPMAS, 2018a; Equal Rights Trust, 2018; Egyptian Streets, 2014). Moreover, the sophistication of these technological systems was found to create difficulties when training elderly civil servants.

Analysing Karama services finds that it is incorporated alongside a variety of programs provided by MOSS to support disabled people. Their rehabilitation offices, in cooperation with their central unit, provide assistive tools, mostly wheelchairs and hearing aids. These tools, however, are found to be poorly made and not robust enough to cope with the inaccessibility of the physical environment according to Egyptian DPOs. This contributes to the tools' short lifespan, and consequently frequent changes to these devices need to be made. In addition, these offices do not provide other assistive technologies, which suggests that they are not seen as of equal importance to wheelchairs and hearing aids. A related challenge, which is previously reported by the disabled people's focus group conducted in Saqqara district in Giza, was that the absence of an adequate database may give some the opportunity to abuse the system through receiving dual financial support: *'we know some of our colleagues who receive financial support, and assistive aids, doubled from*

more than one place'. (IV) It is hoped that MOSS's willingness to generate disaggregated data will provide the suitable benefits to the appropriate beneficiaries.

Looking at a sample of evaluations to examine both programs' impact in security, social protection and inclusion for vulnerable groups found it mostly positive. Evaluations conducted by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) in 2018 found that the Takaful and Karama program was expected to support 1.5 million households by the end of 2017, with an average payment of EGP 558 for Takaful beneficiaries (£28 Sterling) and about EGP 441 (£22 Sterling) for Karama beneficiaries. The lower figure for the latter was compensated for by other sources of support.

The research found, however, that the number of households had exceeded original plans to reach approximately 2.2 million households, split into 1.9 million for Takaful and 317,990 for Karama. This expansion was accounted for by a wider geographical coverage, which included a total of 8.6 million individual beneficiaries.

This success was confirmed by the World Bank in 2018 which acknowledged the Government's efforts led by MOSS to allocate funding sources into the social security system with a focus on vulnerable groups. The World Bank (2018) documents the split in beneficiaries between disabled persons (82%), the elderly (17%) and individuals who were both disabled and elderly (1%).

The World Bank (2018) published several personal accounts of the ways in which the Takaful and Karama program had improved the lives of their beneficiaries. One of these was a beneficiary called Mervat whose family was determined to make sure her children were educated at all levels, despite severe economic hardships. She stated, "Since I received the "Takaful' transfer, I paid pending tuition fees for my children and still have EGP 300 which I spend on my family as needed." (World Bank, 2018)

The IFPRI also evaluated the projects' impacts on individual households by conducting 6,541 interviews. One finding is that the majority (90%) of these households were satisfied with the positive effects of cash transfers. One criticism to this concept, however, is that they can be seen as "magic bullets for development", meaning that complementary policies such as job creation and income protection have been ignored. The grants generated led to competition and envy within communities and even between family members (Zaki, 2017).

In general, the IFPRI (2018) observed that the program reduced the probability of poverty amongst households (below USD 1.90 per day) by about 11 percent. This contributed, for example, to an improvement in diet, particularly in the consumption of fruit and vegetables by the young. There was also additional funding available for children's education, such as transport and equipment at both primary and secondary levels. There is some evidence, however, that the effects on education were geographically limited due to a focus on localised quality instead (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2018).

In 2019, UNICEF reported that MOSS's leadership and partnership efforts have managed to increase the number of program beneficiaries to 3.5 million Egyptian households by the end of 2018, thereby saving large numbers "not just from poverty but from death" (UNICEF, 2019, p.4). The fact that the program has donated 89% of cash payments to mothers who would "more probably direct them to their children's welfare" (UNICEF, 2019, p.6) demonstrates a pro-women and pro-children stance. Further evidence is the empowerment of women through involving them in economic activities. Together, these supported younger females to stay on at school, decreasing their dropout rate which is at its highest in poor and rural families.

This evaluation demonstrates the impact of these programs in benefitting the national social protection system. This system uses gathered data through the Takaful and Karama programs as a means to identify the vulnerable population. These statistics assisted the government to "provid[e] free health

insurance to priority groups including children, pregnant women, the elderly and disabled, and extreme poor families” (UNICEF, 2019, p.8). The Egyptian government, in cooperation with human rights organisations, view these programs as a “vehicle to shift from inefficient untargeted subsidies to targeted social assistance mechanisms, contributing to the government’s social and economic reform programme.”

Considering these programs against the criteria of analysis (participation and technology), finds that beneficiaries not being involved in the program design has contributed to Takaful’s inability to support them which dissatisfies them. Equally, while technology has been used as a factor to facilitate elderly people’s access to the Karama program’s pensions, poor internet connections and illiteracy hinder this accessibility.

To conclude, the Takaful and Karama programs implemented by MOSS were seen as a response to revolutionary demands as well as to the ESDS and SDGs. One finding related to the Takaful program is the closer coordination between MOSS and the Ministries of Health and Education, with an aim to avoid duplication of services and to ensure the best use of available resources. The program’s monitoring mechanism along with the process of implementation is not unified, however, which resulted in their activities not being run in a coordinated fashion. Several findings in the Karama program, however, are evidence of the inclusion of disabled people. The first is the development of disaggregated data. The second is the development of the criteria to classify disabled people according to their functionality and background, not only their impairments. The program was also novel in using terms such as independence, non-discrimination and equality which transpose elements of the UNCRPD and SDGs. Another feature is the program’s ability to balance between this and financial provision in the form of pensions to unemployed disabled people or to their families where they are under 18. While they require this financial support to cope with the inaccessible environment and lack of accommodating infrastructure, this cash-care can make them dependent and reliant on this income source.

The program also continued MOSS's previous efforts through offering assistive tools such as wheelchairs to disabled people. It has been found that their poor quality, along with the inaccessibility of roads, are reasons behind the short life span of such tools and the consequent dissatisfaction of disabled beneficiaries. Despite criticism, program evaluations reported a rapid success in exceeding the number of beneficiaries originally planned which has reinforced the national social protection system. The next subsection introduces the Ministry of Local Development as it plays a significant role when it comes to implementing programs and projects at the governorate level.

7.1.4 The Ministry of Local Development

The choice of this Ministry was based on its mandate to act as a coordinating body '*between 27 governorates and 36 ministries*'. (III) Understanding its engagement with the ESDS tells us about their approach to crystalizing national objectives into local action plans (Arab Republic of Egypt Ministry of Local Development Local Administration Reform Unit, 2014) and whether they are using a participatory approach to communicate with citizens at the grassroots level. Scanning their activities also responds to research sub-question 3, understanding whether their implemented plans practically responded to the inclusive approach given by national and global discourse to satisfy disabled people's demands.

The Ministry was established in 1999 with a mandate to initiate sustainable development projects to "raise the citizens' standard of living; socially, economically and educationally...to allow for decentralization of each governorate" (MLD, 2017). This matches what was stated by the Ministry representative:

According to the presidential delegations... our role is to coordinate between the central ministries and associated governorates. Also to implement some local projects to develop different local authorities and governorates as well as improving the capacity of employees. (III)

In summary, the Ministry's vision is crystallised in three main objectives: Empowerment of Local Authorities, Development of Human Resources, and Community Development (MLD, 2017).

The consideration of the sustainability theme as part of the Ministry mandate almost two decades before the country's signature to the SDGs is a positive sign when it comes to the goals application. The Ministry seems to have relied on it as a mechanism to decentralise each governorate, expanding their resources. This along with the Ministry's responsibility to abide by the local administration law for 1979 (43/1979) also empowers communities at the grassroots level through the design of local development plans with budget allocations providing them with necessary basic services.

The paucity of cooperation and coordination between MLD and other ministries, as discussed in 6.2.2, may hinder the implementation of the ESDS. One of the policy makers interviewed expressed that, historically, most ministries worked in an isolated environment with no coordinated system in place to ensure the sustainability of the Strategy. He also viewed these themes as a new culture within the Egyptian environment which may take time to be digested: *'This is really a very big challenge – a new culture to the Egyptian community generally and to the Government very specifically'*. (I) Positive indicators however have been found with some ministries who conducted cooperative initiatives with their colleagues, such as Shorouk (Korayem, 2002).

In this program, each village has an elected committee representing all community groups which is responsible to generate and elevate the various villages' demands to the national level. Having the community's full involvement in reporting their demands is an application to the theme of participation which may lead to the inclusivity of local disability plans if considered. These committees also acted as a coordination body between ministries prior to promoting implementation at district level (World Bank, 2007). Their representative illustrated this:

If the Educational Buildings Authority plans to construct a new school, they have to coordinate with the village committee in relation to any implemented projects. The same were found in relation to paved roads. (IV)

This coordination occurred between different governmental levels ensuring that resources were not misused and projects did not conflict with each other. As Nour (2011) explains, the local motivation for development depends in most cases on local community participation. This matches one policy maker's opinion who believed marginalised and oppressed people sometimes made extra efforts to express their demands:

People living there are the most aware of their needs and because they invested various contributions, they were even keener than us to coordinate with all entities to get the most benefits from this investment. (IV)

Despite its positive results, the Shorouk initiative, along with many other MLD projects, was halted after the 2011 revolution. The MLD representative stated that the financial resources were reallocated to security and infrastructure projects as well as fixing facilities damaged by the Revolution (4).

My researcher insider experience demonstrates that, immediately following the Revolution, most of the government's financial resources have been used to respond to some citizens' temporary demands. This may waste resources that could otherwise be deployed on basic services such as health and education systems. One MLD representative saw this action as contributing to delaying various development projects which were started before the Revolution:

Since the Revolution [and] until the beginning of this year 2016, all our efforts were directed towards calming citizens' anger and frustration. Just this year we started to think of a long term developmental plan but we have not reached the same development level that we achieved before the Revolution. (IV)

Other policy makers, along with Elagati, opposed the view, seeing the spark of various post-revolutionary active strikes as being behind embedding more rights into the amended national policies (Elagati 2014) (see 1.1.1). One disabled MP who supports the latter stated:

The unprecedented activism of members of the disabilities rights movement in Egypt over the past five years, and their brave demands for their rights, has resulted in greater legal protections – and empowerment for millions of persons with disabilities in Egypt. (I)

Although the ESDS declaration assisted the government to galvanise their resources towards more visionary activities, the civil servants and decision makers' lack of awareness of the Strategy is one factor that affected the speed of the strategy implementation. The Ministry of Local Development representative, for example, expressed little knowledge about the Strategy details. This example suggests that the lower level employees knew even less information. The same representative also supported this idea expressing his dissatisfaction that the ESDS was not communicated with the local communities: *'If you asked any citizen about ESDS you will find that he knows nothing about it'. (9)* He blamed the MoP for not making enough efforts to communicate the Strategy to different Egyptian local communities or consulting with them through face-to-face workshops or different media channels. Consequently, the citizens were unaware of how to support the implementation while not feeling part of the process.

This perceived lack of ownership has deepened among DPOs. They expressed their anger, as the few disabled activists who were invited to attend the ESDS discussions workshops were not elected to officially represent the disabled population. It is positive, however, that the MLD expressed their intention to share the Strategy with the local Egyptian community, believing in their role to expand the community resources. This also leads to an increased sense of ownership which will support the government through the ESDS journey.

To conclude, according to the local administrative law the MLD has a mediating role with local communities to crystallise the national Strategy dimensions and pillars into smaller strategic objectives that are ready to be implemented in concrete fashion. Although the Ministry representative confirmed that the voices of local communities had been gathered during the ESDS preparation process (see 6.1.2), DPOs expressed a lack of awareness of the ESDS content which contributed to their inability to engage with its early

implementation. This dissonance between both groups is due to the lack of a participatory approach which deprives the plans design at the governorate level to benefit from the stakeholders' input. Although this subsection does present MLD examples of ESDS implementation due to their unavailability according to the interview representative, the presented history of MLD activities showed their readiness to respond to the sustainability, cooperation and coordination attached to both the ESDS and SDGs. The next subsection moves to touch upon the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology (MCIT) activities to support disabled people's inclusion, and in relation to the ESDS.

7.1.5 The Ministry of Communications and Information Technology

This choice of ministry was prompted by their dedicated focus upon active innovation with software developers in order to customise software solutions tailored to the needs of disabled Egyptians, influenced by the ratification of the UNCRPD and even increased following SDGs. Both articles 9 and 20 of the convention, as well as SDGs 7, 9 and 17, enshrined assistive technology as a factor to "build a resilient infra-structure" and the adaptation of the environment to suit all citizens (UNCRPD, no date; UN, 2016a), thereby fostering a "more inclusive global information society" (UN, 2016b). Using the technology to improve disabled people's access to public service which was part of their revolutionary demands is another change that was wrought towards inclusion. With this in mind, MCIT would be another evidence to answer the research questions.

The program vision aims to integrate disabled people through education, training, empowerment and employment, using assistive tools. It also translates and utilises software and mobile applications in Arabic to suit the Egyptian context. In 2012, the Ministry has launched a national initiative to mainstream disabled people in their communities through ICT. While it is not explicitly mentioned in their sources, this national initiative seems influenced by the UNCRPD. Their application of the twin track approach was also evident through providing the required training for disabled people to develop their technological

abilities, as well as enhancing the adaptation of the ICT sector to provide more accessible educational, health and employment services. In these multi-sectoral activities, the Ministry has cooperated with government and international organisations through a number of initiatives; one example was the ILO initiative, “Jobs and Skills for PwDs with Focus on ICT-Based Solutions”, under the slogan: “your skills are your key to work” (MCIT, 2019). The project involved a needs-assessment in 12 governorates, concerning people with physical and visual impairments, the development of IT training materials, workshops for 55 trainers, and training for 600 disabled people.

They coordinated workshops between companies, recruits, and NGOs to raise awareness of disabled people’s capabilities and skills, developing training packages, e.g. entrepreneurship, computer skills, call centers, graphic design and PC maintenance. The Ministry’s online sources view these activities as concrete steps to facilitate disabled people’s inclusion in various fields while there was no evidence of disability programs clustering these activities.

The Ministry’s membership and yearly participation of The Global Initiative for Inclusive ICT summit introduced them to the updated technology available to disabled people, which has, therefore, been enhanced and transferred to suit the Egyptian context (MCIT, 2019a). The Ministry provides annual presentations of their technological innovations supporting accessibility. One example is the 2018 conference under the auspices of the President, which had a large attendance of disabled people and stakeholders. DPOs expressed their dissatisfaction with these types of conferences as they do not necessarily lead to concrete results. The conference was received with dissatisfaction from DPOs, however, viewing them as full of promises that may not be translated into real actions. This suggested that the Ministry’s participatory approaches to the compiling of these voices and the degree to which they consider the DPOs at the grassroots level may require further improvements.

To conclude, the presented MCIT sample of activities demonstrates its interaction with both ESDS and SDGs. Their declaration seems influenced by the Ministry giving more support to mainstream disabled people within their

plans. This sample has been also contrasted with DPO representatives' views to sense the beneficiaries' level of satisfaction. They, unfortunately, viewed these efforts as scattered and, in some cases, as tokenism which may be due to the fact that they are not fully involved with the Ministry process. Another finding is that the country's ratification to the UNCRPD and SDGs may have motivated the Ministry to embed the theme of inclusion through cooperative projects to achieve greater accessibility.

In summary, the first part of this chapter explored four governmental organisations' (NCDA, MOSS, MLD, and MCIT) projects responding to the implementation of both ESDS and SDGs. Although this research decided to examine projects in 2016 (the first year of their implementations) some of the presented projects such as Shorouk in 1990 and the National Initiative to mainstream disabled people through technology started years before the declaration of both policies. Their incorporation of themes such as sustainability and co-ordination suggested a positive indicator of the feasibility to implement these policies. In addition, the ESDS was a driver to establish a number of governmental projects such as Takaful and Karama conducted by MOSS, along with international organisations' (UNDP and ILO) initiatives to draw the community's attention towards the importance of inclusion. The strategy themes such as networking and co-operation were drivers for the NCDA to conduct a number of MOUs with different stakeholders to mainstream disability into their plans. This is one example to indicate how the declaration of the ESDS contributed to disability mainstreaming in development actions.

Examining these four organisations' levels of disability mainstreaming within their plans found that NCDA, MOSS and MCIT were more proactive than MLD. This is related to disability being part of their mandates whilst it is not explicitly part of the latter. Although the UNCRPD has legalised disabled people's various rights, Chapter 6 showed that some of the strategy programs and indicators omitted disabled people's rights. This is one reason behind MLD failing to include disabled people within their action plans.

7.2 Approaches used by civil society to support implementation of ESDS and SDGs (CBR; LDAP)

The previous section reviewed a sample of governmental programs and initiatives to implement ESDS and SDGs using document analysis, on-line sources, and a combination of interviews and focus groups. This section continued this examination through analysing DPOs' and international organisations' joint efforts to support this implementation, which was undergirded both by the UNCRPD and SDGs. It will learn how their tactics to benefit from the opened opportunity following the Egyptian revolution supports disabled people's inclusion within the ESDS implemented activities. This responds to sub-question 2: "How did these opportunities for participation affect their tactics, perceived identities and political positions when engaging with disability and development policies in the post-revolutionary period, including with the UNCRPD and SDGs?"

CBR was chosen as a model of Inclusive Local Development (see 2.1.3) due to the fact that the Egyptian law for local development positioned the latter as the key 'arm' of development in Egypt (Afri-Can, 2017; WHO, 2016; IDDC, 2016). This model assists a large number of initiatives to reach a wider audience through civil society and private sector, rather than relying upon the government as the sole means to deliver the national strategic plan for services. Crucially, CBR is found to be a widespread and successful approach used by a large number of civil community organisations in Egypt. It is also a recognised concept both by the WHO and other international organisations (WHO, 2019; WHO, no date). As defined in Chapter 2, the concept endeavours to expand upon community resources to mainstream inclusive provision for marginalised groups. Although it emerged in the 1970's, it remains relevant to the attainment of the objectives of both the UNCRPD and SDGs, assisting their application at the local level. Article 26 of the UNCRPD contains an implicit mention of CBR which thereby necessitates disabled people's ability to equally access services in their own communities. The concept of inclusive development, which was consequently more widely circulated with the advent of the SDGs, situated Community Based Inclusive

Development (CBID) as a primary goal that could be reached through the application of CBR strategies and other approaches.

7.2.1. Examples of international organisations' support of the implementation phase

The chosen sample provides a sense of efforts across a variety of fields such as education, employment, sports, and housing, in response to the strategy and SDGs. The UNCRPD era has seen an increased number of projects to support the concept of inclusion. Having the concept of inclusive development attached to the SDGs widened the scope of this work which resulted in new assessment studies and initiatives. One example is the national assessment conducted by USAID (2017) to examine barriers facing disabled students at Higher Education institutions. As stated by the report, they have relied on these global discourses, along with the 2014 Egyptian Constitution, as part of their assessment criteria not only to draw on barriers faced but also to list a number of recommendations to take it further. It was the first time Egypt had identified social, academic and attitudinal barriers hindering disabled students' equal educational opportunities. Another positive observation is their reliance on disabled experts to generate and analyse data which formed the majority of this project. This is seen as an acknowledgement from USAID to the importance of involving disabled researchers considering their lived experience and closer awareness of the multitude of barriers faced within Higher Education. Based on the recommendations of this report, USAID (2017) plan to fund another project responding to them.

The second example is the International Labor Organisation (ILO) in Egypt, which established a national network, informed by the global frame, to support disabled people's inclusive employment. This network includes DPOs, business people, national, private and multinational companies, and representatives from the Ministry of Labour and employment consultancies. The aim was to increase the mainstreaming of disability into Egypt's employment policies with an opportunity for individuals to choose their job in an equal manner to non-disabled colleagues. In some situations, disabled Egyptians were forced to follow certain directions based on their geographical

area and impairment but not qualification (Hagrass, 2009). The ILO network resolved this through relying on a number of practices and successful models. They communicated with public and private sectors to show them the equal productivities of disabled people (ILO, 2017). This example was inspired by Article 27 of the UNCRPD which necessitates disabled people's freedom of choice in employment and opportunity to access the labour market (UN Enable, no date). Examining some ILO online sources, documents their success in employing disabled people in over 37 companies (ILO, 2017).

This inclusive approach can match the SDGs, specifically number 8, which aims to offer decent employment for all, thereby growing the country's economy (UNSDN, 2018).

A third example, found in Aswan, illustrates the influence of SDGs on international organisations' expansion of activity into sports and leisure, and how this national event responded to the international framework of the SDGs (UN, 2016d). A joint event was run between the UN in Egypt and the Egyptian Federation of Sports and Culture. The event included seven Egyptian sports federations represented by 500 players taking part in 10 sports. Again, however, disabled people were not invited to join despite the existence of disabled sports organisations such as the Egyptian Paralympic Committee, Egyptian Sports Federation for Disabled, Egyptian Blind Sport Federation, and Special Olympics Egypt. The seven teams represented each of the seven SDGs chosen to correspond to the development of Aswan. These are "social justice, good health, quality education, equality, innovation, decent work, and peace and justice" (UN, 2016d).

To conclude, the three examples presented are indicators that the UNCRPD and the SDGs have motivated international organisations to conduct either individual or joint projects with government, to respond to ESDS and SDGs. While the first two examples were explicit about mainstreaming the rights of disabled people, considering the concept of inclusive development, the third made no mention of disability, despite the extensive reference to disability mentioned by SDGs. The absence of service mapping to point out areas in

which disabled people are excluded from services in some rural areas makes it harder for these international organisations' initiatives to have a significant effect on the eradication of their social exclusion and deprivation. This is why the role of local approaches such as CBR and LDAPs (which will be discussed in the next subsection) is essential to support their basic services such as educational, employment, sports, and other rights.

7.2.2. Local Disability Action Plans and Community Based Rehabilitation

This subsection focuses on inclusive local development (translated into the Egyptian context as LDAPs) and CBR due to the utility of expanding the community resources to support disabled people's inclusion. CBR and LDAPs' goals were in compliance with both the UN standard rules and the UNCRPD to have an:

equalization of opportunities for Persons with Disabilities in influencing the promotion, formulation and evaluation of the policies, plans, programs and actions at the national, regional and international levels to further equalise opportunities for persons with disabilities (UN Enable, no date).

This subsection relies on the backgrounds and definitions of these two concepts, analysing some organisations' efforts to deploy them as solutions to mainstream disabled people into community grassroots services (see 2.1.3). The choice of Inclusive Local Development in this context responds to the main research question as it has proven success in supporting the application of national conditions and international agreements on disability rights. The Egyptian law for administrative development (43/1979) also supported the application of ILD viewing it as a "key arm of development" (Humanity and Inclusion, CAMID and the Employers' Federation of Ceylon, 2019, p.6; European Committee of the Regions, no date). DPOs and NGOs used both CBR and Local Disability Action Plans as approaches to respond to ILD through devoted initiatives and projects, aiming to mainstream disabled people in local services and compensating for the government's poor resources.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the success of Inclusive Local Development is based on a partnership between active citizens, DPOs, politicians and officials

(UN, 2019). It requires that disability is seen as a human rights issue. Recently, both Global South as well as Global North countries have increasingly used this mechanism to support disabled people's participation in all facets of society (see 2.1.3). One example is a Swedish project 'Agenda 22', which was created in 1996 as a model for implementing ILDs in local municipalities (Zero Project, no date; Handicap International, 2006).

DPOs or disabled local committees in Egypt, Macedonia, and other LMIC have translated this concept in the form of LDAPs (Rioux et al., 2015) in order to mainstream disabled people and their families' access to their communities' local services (Khaled, 2016). CEOSS is an example of this (See 7.2.3). To ensure the sustainability of this localised model of Inclusive Local Development, CEOSS built a triangulated approach between the funding organisation, the local committee and the CDA – the Community Development Association – which acts as an intermediary between local citizens and a higher level of government (CEOSS, 2015; Anna Lindh Foundation, no date).

One year following the ratification of the UNCRPD (2009), Sahwa offered a number of financial initiatives to Egyptian DPOs in order to initiate coalition building among them as well as to improve access for disabled people within the context of public services in addition to community sites such as train stations and youth centres. As part of the project's capacity building they implemented around 48 initiatives in four governorates (Minya, Asyut, Sohag, and Aswan) (Sahwa, 2007). According to DPOs interviewed, these were useful to compensate some ministries lack of prioritisation of disabled people's rights. The MLD representative supported this argument stating: '*Unfortunately, we didn't follow up with this topic.*' **(IV)** Although there were extensive disability demands brought by the revolution, the MLD has only focused on providing disabled people with pensions and employment vacancies.

Examples of DPOs implementing LDAPs include: building accessible ramps e.g. in Minya where a ramp was built in a village school; providing accessible sporting equipment to youth centers; and establishing assistive technology

centers, as found in New Vision DPO in Minya. With the support of some NGOs such as CEOSS, DPOs managed to adapt the submitted LDAPs as part of the annual local development plans in compliance with the Egyptian local administration Law (CEOSS, 2015). One DPO was proud of their efforts, stating: *'I think that you could find an enthusiastic governor as well as active DPOs who could mutually develop a good initiative and put it into the implementation phase.'* **(IV)** This suggests that LDAPs' success is strongly informed by their active participation in the process, in conjunction with support from local authorities.

Moving to Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR), and considering my experience as an insider researcher, found a multiplicity of projects and initiatives run by NGOs and DPOs, some of which were supported by government organizations. There is limited academic and grey literature documenting these efforts. The first example is "Frame", a project run in cooperation with HI and TDH in both Upper Egypt governorates of Asyut and Qena. This CBR model managed to combine medical and social models of disability. Their method of work included designing case-by-case rehabilitation programs according to their conducted field visits. During their work in more than 50 villages, they provided mobility aids and large surgeries, along with physical games to develop disabled children's capacity to walk (Sadek, 2012). The project documented their best practices in published Arabic manuals that utilised the CBR matrix to suit these two governorates. The manual necessitates the importance of partnership between DPOs and other stakeholders implementing CBR projects. In this, they have provided DPOs with mechanisms to develop their capacities, especially their ability to sustain their resources beyond the timeframe of the funded project (see 4.2.1).

A second example is the CBR Network (see 2.1.3) which was established as a response to the attention given by several organisations to this concept. This was established in 2009 with the support of Plan International and with a membership of international organisations such as Save the Children, HI, and other Egyptian NGOs and DPOs including the Upper Egypt and CEOSS

associations. The aim was to either support the ongoing projects or establish new ones relying on the CBR matrix (Sadek, 2012).

The Network's achievements, as well as funding CBR projects, include signing many cooperative protocols with ministries and councils. Administrative and financial management has been run on a rotation basis where each organisation took responsibility for a two year period. These responsibilities included the funding of training workshops, and arranging periodical meetings and exchange visits. Funding is a major challenge facing this network. Their interviewed representative stated: '*One challenge that faced this network is that it is donor-oriented*'. (7) This affected their consistency of support to their members as their motivation is reduced when the network runs out of funds. In addition, these financial limitations mean that some individuals cannot travel to the network's annual meetings.

Following the country's signature to SDGs, the network considered CBID as a goal where some organisations preferred to crosscut disability into their programs rather than solely run a disability specific project. The interviewed CBR network representative expressed his regret, stating: '*although inclusive development had managed to mainstream disability in several projects, international organisations, such as Plan International, have closed all disability projects moving towards mainstreaming the topic holistically in their work*'. (7)

Despite this regret, and as presented in 2.1.3, the application of CBR (CBID) is a step forward to support the discussion of inclusive development, opening further opportunities to DPOs to express their affairs.

To conclude, this subsection explored examples of DPOs and NGOs utilising the concept of ILD through LDAPs and CBR. Both approaches were found to be successful for LMIC such as Macedonia, Egypt and Romania, where government resources are limited to support disabled people's service provision or budgetary allocations. Although with a large number of LDAPs implemented by Egyptian DPOs, it is unfortunate that most LDAPs are not

mainstreamed as part of the Ministry of Local Development yearly local action plan. The subsection brought the Egyptian CBR network as a consortium behind the implementation of projects of this approach showing how their strategies were developed to CBID following the declaration of SDGs.

7.2.3 CEOSS as a case study of Egyptian civil society driving towards inclusive development

Given research sub-question 2's focus on "opportunities for participation affect[ing]...tactics, perceived identities, and political positions when engaging with disability and development policies in the post-revolutionary period", this subsection considers CEOSS's disability unit projects as a model of disability mainstreaming. The program's developed approach can be seen as a response to the disability revolutionary demands and social model of disability along with the UNCRPD and SDGs. The other advantage of this is the utilisation of both CBR and ILD to support CEOSS in targeting local communities. This subsection analyses the program stages of development since the 1960s up to the implementation of the SDGs. Interviewing their representatives showed how their projects developed from reflecting an individual model towards a social and rights based approach years before the declaration of the UNCRPD: *'we benefited from CEOSS's move towards the human rights concept, to direct our disability program towards a rights based approach and the social model of disability'*. (7)

CEOSS was established during the 1950s and started working in the field of disability during the 1960s. From the 1960s through to 1975, they offered "detection services...and medical intervention either by drug therapy, physiotherapy, surgical or prosthetic devices" (CEOSS, 2015). Between 1976 and 1992, CEOSS worked through an institution-based rehabilitation approach, opening three day-care rehabilitation centres. This institutional based rehabilitation, however, and as stated by their representative: *'supported disabled people's segregation/social exclusion'*. (7) Another challenge was the extensive cost required to run these centres and the fact that there were too few of them in comparison with the increasing number of disabled people in these communities requiring support. Between 1993 and

2004, CEOSS decided to adapt their institutional approach to mainstream the rehabilitation of disabled people amongst their community services. They were influenced in this by the concept of CBR.

In 2005, CEOSS moved to a greater consideration of the human rights approach, which supported their attention to the rights of marginalised groups through provision of a number of community mechanisms. This supported their disability program to adapt the rights based approach and social disability model. The program objectives enabled disabled people's participation (a theme that was important to elevate disabled people's voices – see 1.1.3) along with advocating for their rights in the community. According to CEOSS (2015):

...underlying this approach to work are the principles of participation of persons with disabilities and transferring...them from just recipients of services to the bearers of rights.

This demonstrates the influence of the UNCRPD. The program adopted elected committees, formed by disabled people and the families of people with learning difficulties. These committees allowed them to officially participate in the decision-making process, including providing feedback about services received. In this, CEOSS has demonstrated that disabled people should be in control of their rights and should have freedom of choice (see 1.1.2).

Another role for disabled people in these local committees is to form an LDAP to include the disabled population in community service at the local level. Examples of these were either to develop the capacities of local authorities or to provide physical accessibility to local services. According to CEOSS (2015), "the organisation succeeded in creating 65 elected committee[s] which play...a major role in advocacy for the rights of persons with disabilities within their local communities, 7 of which have been translated to be in a form of DPO". Although these committees made successful interventions, such as admitting disabled students in local public schools, the organisation's assessment for 2005 to 2010 found that LDAP is not the appropriate approach to mobilise their achievements and report their demands to the national level.

One lesson learned from CEOSS while dealing with these elected committees is their preference for these committees to decide by themselves to be transformed into an official DPO. Their representative stated: *'Our approach is not to turn groups into DPOs but rather to provide support to DPOs only if they required it'*. (7) This self-transformation was viewed by their representative as a successful method of ensuring sustainability, stating: *'Five DPOs have been transformed by their own efforts, and they still exist to this present day, one example being El Haya'*. (7) CEOSS developed this model following their failure to target establishing DPOs with full financial and administrative support, such as Intlaqa DPO in Minya. This targeting method was also followed by HI during their Sahwa project. Arguably, the financial opportunity offered may be the only reason behind disabled people being enthusiastic to become DPOs while not having the necessary skills to sustain their resources and continue working following the closure of their funding projects (see 4.2.1). Chapter 4 found financial instability one of the most limiting barriers for DPOs' continuity.

Another level of support given to DPOs was CEOSS aligning into a forum while leaving the structure, internal elections, and strategic planning to themselves. This is seen as a further opportunity to empower DPOs to raise collective demands to policy makers. The CEOSS interviewed representative seems proud of their support to this forum, being represented at the Arab Office of DPI which was established in December 2013: *'we are happy to support Egyptian DPOs to participate, learn and exchange experiences at the regional level'*. (7)

The disability program within CEOSS was also attentive to the declaration of the CBID toolkit from the WHO in 2013, along with SDGs. They compiled their efforts into a community action plan to support the application of CBR as a strategy and CBID as a goal. This perspective assisted them to widen their beneficiaries to cover:

...80 local communities in the governorates of Minya, Beni Suef, Cairo, and Qaliubiya and the number of regulars to it reached nearly 16,000 persons with disabilities and their families to obtain the rehabilitation services" (CEOSS, 2015).

They have established their own matrix with two main objectives: empowerment, with three main categories (participation, capacity building and inclusion) and advocacy with the categories of rehabilitation programs, training cadres and devices, and support services (see Figure 5).

To conclude, CEOSS's disability program is a case study demonstrating the influence of global disability discourses on changing NGOs' tactics towards disability inclusion. The program moved from the provision of medical and rehabilitation support towards empowering DPOs' self-organisation. Another finding is their consideration of both the rights based approach and social model, years before the declaration of the UNCRPD. The development of their disability program was concurrent with the international attention given to inclusive development, situating CBR as a strategy and CBID as a goal. Another finding is their preference for the self-transformation approach where they can support DPOs, while leaving the decision making process and budgetary alignments to themselves.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter examined a sample of government, international organisation, and DPOs' efforts in the period between the Egyptian Revolution and 2016, the first year of the ESDS and SDGs' implementation. They were chosen either because they run disability-specific projects or because they mainstreamed disability among their development projects. The sample included four governmental entities (NCDA, MOSS, MCIT, and MLD), and international organisations such as ILO and USAID in addition to CEOSS (Egyptian NGO). Three criteria were deployed for analysis as they connected with research sub-questions 3 and 4. Their application may lead to the disability mainstreaming within these projects. These are: participation, the twin track approach, and the use of technology.

The presented initiatives of the ESDS implementation showed the variation in ministries' readiness to interact with the Strategy's themes of cooperation,

coordination, and sustainability. One positive model found is the MLD Shorouk project, established in 1994, which managed to conduct many local initiatives relying on coordination with both ministries and civil society organisations. Having these themes attached to SDGs and accompanied with inclusivity contributed to the government implementing projects to support the rights of marginalised groups. Takaful and Karama, run by MOSS, was devoted to this aim with provision of in-cash and in-kind services to poor, disabled and elderly people.

There is a profound relationship between where the Strategy considers disability within pillars and the degree to which ministries implement projects supporting disabled people's rights. It is found that the MLD missed mainstreaming disabled people's demands in their local development plans due to the failure of the Strategy to require them to do so.

The chapter has responded to the discussion opened in Chapter 2 about ILD as a mechanism that could lead to inclusive development. Both LDAP and CBR are approaches extensively used in Egypt by civil society to develop disabled people's access to their basic local services. The first approach (LDAP) was the Egyptian expert translation of the concept of inclusive local development to ensure that disability is included during the implementation of the local administration law. HI and CEOSS supported DPOs to run initiatives to improve the accessibility of public services. The second approach, CBR, was in use by Egyptian NGOs since its announcement by WHO to expand some community resources to mainstream disabled people's rights into districts and villages' local plans. The presented case study of CEOSS (see 7.2.3) is a successful model which managed to balance between the uses of these two approaches through a comprehensive disability program.

The examination of implemented projects throughout the chapter found that the UNCRPD and SDGs, in addition to the Egyptian Constitution of 2014, were motivations for the crosscutting of disability amongst international organisations' funded projects in Egypt. ILO and USAID were found to be positive examples of these (see 7.2.1). DPOs and civil society initiatives were

also influenced by the language, the mechanisms, and the approach enshrined within the UNCRPD. The self-transformation along with empowerment approaches given to DPOs by CEOSS aligned with the Convention's Article 33 which stipulated the role of disabled people and their organisations in monitoring the implementation of their rights. Finally, this chapter devoted a subsection to examine NCDA implemented projects. It is found that the council's limited finances, along with the absence of a coherent strategy, was a barrier to ensuring that disability was mainstreamed equally within the ESDS programs.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the findings of this research, connecting the chronology of global and national events with the themes introduced. This is followed by recommendations to government and other stakeholders to adapt a more inclusive and participatory approach where DPOs are fully involved mainstreaming their rights within national policies and development programs. In this, a specific focus will be given to the Egyptian National Council for Disability Affairs (NCDA) assuming that playing its leadership role will influence the solidity of the disabled people's movement. The chapter uses the positive example of mainstreaming provided by the Egyptian Constitution of 2014 to recommend similar priorities to cross-cut disabled people's rights throughout the ESDS pillars and dimensions, benefitting from its dynamic structure. These recommendations are also informed by a comparison of the ESDS with the SDGs.

8.1 Lessons Learned from Egyptian Disability Politics

The thesis's main research question is: "How, and to what extent, has the Egyptian Revolution affected national conditions for the implementation of international agreements on disability rights (UNCRPD) and sustainable development (SDGs)?" It has been demonstrated that it did influence these conditions. The Revolution and its aftermath created a new political opportunity structure in which DPOs were able to play a more active role in Egyptian disability policy and politics. Activists became more empowered; recognition was achieved in law; opportunities were created in Parliament and also in the Council. That these changes occurred during the country's implementation of both the UNCRPD and SDGs supported disabled people's voices to be elevated and mainstreamed in their national development processes. Evidence includes the mainstreaming of disability rights into eight subjects of the country's 2014 Constitution and the reservation of eight disability seats in the Egyptian parliament in 2015. Other pieces of evidence include crosscutting disability among ESDS pillars in 2016 and the issuing of

the new Disability Law of 2018. The former has assisted the shaping of particular projects, albeit with challenges presented by their implementation. These national developments were parallel to the global efforts to mainstream disabled people's rights within SDGs, using the UNCRPD as a guiding framework as well as learning from omissions made by MDGs.

The empowering tendencies of the Revolution for DPOs was underpinned, as noted in Chapter 1, by a peaceful approach that offered new insights into social movements in Egypt. The empirical evidence from Chapter 4 illustrates the specific ways in which the Revolution empowered disability advocates to more forcefully articulate their call for 'sustainable' change, namely the development of their internal structure along with their ability to recognise the benefits of working in unity. This was also influenced by the UNCRPD.

The first two chapters demonstrated that the concepts of participation and inclusion, as applied by disabled people globally, along with the shared identities resulting from social movements, supported the mainstreaming of disabled people's rights into policies. Embedding these concepts within the global disability discourses (UNCRPD and SDGs) contributed to some governments' motivation to mainstream their affairs during the development of their country's national policy. Disabled Egyptians' participation with the revolutionary events in solidarity with others resulted in the community's realisation of their specific demands which then contributed to the inclusion of their rights into national policies. In the post-revolutionary era, DPOs learned from these concepts to align for the enforcing of their rights in the 2014 Constitution. This was achieved through their pre-revolution coalitions that were established following the UNCRPD.

The story of Egyptian disability politics, as constituted before the UNCRPD and up to the period immediately after the Revolution, showed how it indirectly influenced disabled Egyptians while marching through the Revolution events. They used the slogan "freedom, dignity, and social justice" – which also connected with the disabled people's movement's earlier philosophy of freedom, choice, and control – to call for their inclusive and equal rights as part

of the national policies. The UNCRPD, ratified three years prior to the Revolution, has contributed to the use of new terminologies and approaches while reshaping their revolutionary demands.

As discussed in 1.1.1., the unique solidarity, unity, and power coupled with the peaceful ('Selmya') approach, are new contributions to characteristics found in the theories of social movements. The Revolution, in itself, is an example of a 'new' social movement, as its slogan supports freedom, independence, and control (Waters, 2008). This was also the goal of Egyptian DPOs during their activism consequent to the Revolution.

Sustainability is a theme that this research found to be of equal importance to participation and inclusion. Although it was enshrined within Egyptian legislation and used by civil society to expand community resources such as CBR (see 7.1.4 and 7.2.2), the country's signature to the SDGs promoted it within the 2030 vision known as the ESDS (see chapter 6). One consequence is international organisations' and DPOs' realisation of sustainability's contribution to including disabled people within public services at the local level. As a result, this era witnessed greater application to LDAPs and CBR from DPOs, expanding the community resources to achieve this purpose (see 7.2.2).

Chapter 2 argued that the SDGs are the third factor paving the way for mainstreaming disabled people's rights into Egyptian policies with their content responding to the national demands declared by the Revolution. As discussed in 2.2.1, the eleven distinct references to disability within the SDGs were a result of extensive efforts from disabled people's movements during the MDGs' preparation in 1990. Although the MDGs lack explicit reference to disability, their efforts were galvanised following the declaration of the UNCRPD, which was used as a guiding framework to mainstream their rights. The parallel timing of the SDGs' formulation process and the extensive amendments to national policies in the post-revolutionary era were motivating factors behind the inclusion of their rights within policy and development programs. This participatory atmosphere reflected the government invitations

to ministry groups joining the ESDS formulation workshops. Finally, President Sisi announcing the year 2018 to be the “Year of Disabled People” – a year that witnessed the declaration of the new Egyptian disability law, a revolutionary aspiration that disabled people have waited to see realised.

Chapter 3 presented the methods of data generation and analysis. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were chosen to generate research data, while document analysis was used to analyse global and national policy discourses. Overall, this research had a qualitative nature with some statistical sources attached which was suitable to investigate how the 2011 Revolution, and consequent political events, influenced disabled people, disability politics, and the disabled people’s movement in Egypt (DPOs). These methods all supported an exploration of the global move from the MDGs towards the SDGs and how this motivated policy makers to better mainstream disability within Egyptian policies in the post-revolutionary period. The research then moved to relate the concepts into the Egyptian context. The following chapters provided contextual analysis of the disability politics in Egypt, relying on the concepts and theories provided in the first two chapters.

In consideration of the broader concepts introduced earlier, this research empirically analysed the capacity and challenges facing Egyptian DPOs in a period of international policy development and national revolution. This period of revolution and international development positively impacted on their tactics, increased numbers, and political positions to better engage with disability and development policies. This, however, was limited due to some of them believing that working individually produces achievable results. The weak internal capacities of some, in addition to a degree of mistrust between them and the disabled population, and confusion as to which disability models to follow, are reasons behind their inability to engage with government activities. Through narrating their establishment stories, Chapter 4 found that the UNCRPD was a motivating driver behind their increased number, while the Revolution assisted them to understand the importance of unity.

The changes in disability politics in the post-UNCRC and revolutionary era led to more opportunities for the mainstreaming of disability into national policies. Analysis of the two policy examples (2014 Egyptian Constitution and the 2018 Disability Law) in Chapter 5 demonstrated the benefits of learning from the UNCRC and the Egyptian Revolution when adopting extensive equal and inclusive rights for the first time. The diversity of both policies benefited from the uniqueness of intersectionality within the Convention to advocate for disabled people who may be classified among other minority groups such as women and children. Unlike other fields of development, the frequent regime changes were positive drivers to support the mainstreaming of disability rights into various Egyptian policies as all were attentive to disabled people's demands. The establishment of the NCDA during the Muslim Brotherhood regime, along with disabled MPs joining the Parliament for the first time in the current regime, is significant evidence of this.

The ESDS is a further demonstration of disability mainstreaming in policy making in the post-revolutionary environment. Analysing the Strategy against the themes explored earlier, found that the mass participation of millions of Egyptians within the Revolution, along with the Egyptian 2014 Constitution, and the preparation for SDGs, was behind terms such as participation, inclusion, and sustainability. The concept of inclusive development enshrined within SDGs encouraged development programs to include these themes in the design of their future projects. As discussed in Chapter 6, the ESDS is the first to give consideration to the concept of inclusive development through explicit mention of minority groups in its dimensions and pillars. It is unfortunate, however, that although the country ratified the UNCRC along with declaring the 2014 Egyptian Constitution, disabled people's rights were omitted across the ESDS. Its implementation also faced limitations due to the misallocation of resources and the poor capacity of civil servants.

This research examined whether a gap existed between Egyptian discourses and development projects. Analysing a sample of government, international organisation, and DPO projects that responded either to the revolutionary demands or aligned with the ESDS and SDGs, demonstrated the influence of

the UNCRPD and the Revolution on designing specific programs to support minority groups and the provision of services including disabled people. This showed that the development of policies positively influenced the development of practice. Examples are Takaful and Karama programs run by MOSS. The examination of these projects found they provided more financial care and assistive tools to disabled and elderly people. However, lack of cooperation and coordination between stakeholders, along with corruption and the lack of decentralisation, contributed to a delay in implementation. During Chapter 7's examination of CBR and LDAP as two approaches of Inclusive Local Development, it found that NGOs and DPOs were successful at using these approaches to expand the community's resources for the benefit of disabled people's social inclusion. Finally, CEOSS was another case study analysed as a model that successfully considered the application of ILD, including the establishment of disability local communities. Their support of DPOs' self-transformation is seen as a translation of the principles of the disabled people's movement discussed in 1.1.2. Their disability program, as discussed in 7.2.3, benefited from both the UNCRPD and SDGs through the establishment of a national disability forum, positioning DPOs at the forefront of their affairs.

The next subsection utilises the research findings to build recommendations to support the solidity of the disabled people's movement and to develop the mainstreaming of disability within national policies.

8.2 Recommendations for stakeholders to support DPOs in the post-revolutionary era

This subsection makes recommendations to develop DPOs' capacities and engagements to mainstream their rights into national policies. This relies on the evolution and efforts of the disabled people's movement presented in Chapter 1, along with the situational analysis of Egyptian DPOs as presented in Chapter 4. Recommendations include mechanisms to build their internal capacities, as well as strengthening the cooperation between the National Disability Council and other stakeholders to empower DPOs to advocate for disabled people's rights with funding opportunities to implement pilot projects.

The history of the disabled people's movement demonstrates the influence of their solidity on mainstreaming their rights into policies. Efforts to increase their visibility assisted their voices to be captured within numerous human rights conventions, which ultimately led to the declaration of the UNCRPD. It has then been used as a guiding framework to embed their rights into the SDGs. Chapter 4 argued that the three key influences (UNCRPD, Egyptian Revolution, and SDGs) enhanced the position and power of the Egyptian disabled people's movement, a situation which was similar in other countries which had joined the Arab uprising. This widened the research's findings and recommendations to develop the disabled people's movements in other countries.

The chapter introduced the complex relationship between global and national developments and how these affected the unity and solidity of Egyptian DPOs. The country's ratification of the UNCRPD was followed by a sudden increase in the number of DPOs. Government and international organisations then conducted projects to provide them with the necessary resources and skills to advocate for their rights at local and national levels. These capacities were seen as milestones, supporting DPOs' participation in the events of the Egyptian Revolution. They recognised the necessity to redevelop their visions or mobilise their networks but their limited financial, technical, administrative and networking capacities somehow hindered their engagement with government programs. This poor capacity also weakened their position to participate in elevating their demands into the policy consultation process.

The lack of adequate training provided to develop DPOs' capacities was due to the absence of needs assessments prior to the design of the training packages. This resulted in unequal delivery and also the repetition of training topics, given that they were often provided on an ad-hoc basis.

One recommendation to address this short coming is for the NCDA to conduct periodical needs assessments that are then shared with other governmental and civil society organisations to inform the planning of training. This will allow

for training packages to be customised to meet DPOs' needs and required improvements. A related recommendation is for this training to be followed by a specific period of mentoring whereby the training provider assesses the impact of the training on DPOs' daily activities. A related recommendation is to accompany the traditional method of training workshops with observation and 'hands on' activities such as field visits between DPOs within the same governorate or in different cities. Bringing experiments from outside movements to transfer lessons learned and challenges faced to other DPOs could also be beneficial.

Chapter 4 demonstrated that training providers prefer to deliver training on theoretical models and concepts such as the UNCRPD, UN standard rules, and SDGs, although this was useful to familiarise DPOs with disability global discourses. DPOs asked for practical training to develop their internal capacities and allow them to sustain their resources while implementing local projects. Although large financial resources had been gained from their engagements with various projects, DPOs' limited capacity to maintain their running costs led to the closure of the majority following the end of these projects. A recommendation to prevent closure and to empower them is to transfer practical experiences from other DPOs of used approaches such as CBR or ILD (see 7.2.2) which included structured mechanisms involving the community with their activities and consequently regenerating resources.

Although with DPOs' participation in collaborative initiatives through Sahwa projects, in addition to their unity during the events of the Egyptian Revolution, this research reported their inability to work in coalitions. This is one reason behind their failure to commit to their unions established at governorate level. One recommendation for the NCDA is to play its leadership role by guiding DPOs to coalesce into unions and or alliances. The Council could structure a national program, where DPOs can implement cooperative projects where financial and administrative resources are shared. The goal is to move away from the individual work perspective towards collective power.

This lack of unity and reluctance to share experiences was also due to DPOs' fear of losing funding. The cooperation between NCDAA and international organisations should be enhanced to offer funding opportunities for coalitions of DPOs, along with providing them with the capacity to write funding proposals, which may show them the benefits of working in groups. This cooperation should also facilitate the process of accepting proposals in Arabic. This would be useful due to the challenge faced by small DPOs, whose weak English language skills, along with their inability to submit funding proposals, are barriers, as discussed in 4.2.1. The recommendation also supports equalizing DPOs' opportunities of accessing funds rather than leaving larger DPOs to access more opportunities considering their better connections with international organisations.

The next recommendation responds to the challenge presented in 4.2.2 about the shortage of disabled activists and advocates which negatively influenced the development of the Egyptian disabled people's movement. Charismatic 'bright stars' repeatedly representing DPOs in conferences angered the latter, as they are not elected to speak on their behalf. Establishing a capacity-building component within DPOs' national program is one solution. The first stage is to identify disabled activists at the grassroots level who are eager to support their populations, but are unaware how. The second is the design of internships with international organisations and DPOs, where activists become engaged with their programs, including learning from their methods of advocacy. Such actions also support moving from the individualistic approach towards working in unity, establishing new DPOs. It is hoped that this eliminates the current aggression between Egyptian DPOs, inviting them to benefit from the concept of networking.

This research argued that the UNCRPD and the Revolution are two important influences for the community to acknowledge disabled people's rights. Although the number of DPOs was largely increased following the UNCRPD ratification in Egypt, many disabled groups struggled to transfer themselves into DPOs due to MOSS's complicated procedures. The other challenge is that NGO Law 82 (Aboulenein, 2017) does not classify DPOs in a specific category

from other NGOs. Consequently, the disaggregated data regarding DPOs' geographical distribution and impairments they serve is not available. This made it harder for government and international organisations to allocate appropriate financial or technical support to them. Amending this law to categorise and define DPOs specifically ensures greater recognition of the disabled people's movement, promoting their ability to express their rights. Having this classification can also open further funding opportunities and designed programs uniquely for DPOs. Finally, positioning DPOs as an equal category to other NGOs may reduce the stereotypical, non-disabled advocates speaking on behalf of disabled people.

Examining DPOs' communication skills (see 4.2), found that they had difficulty communicating with their communities. Teaching them further communication channels is another recommendation to make DPOs' activities suit disabled population demands. These channels include monthly group discussions, periodical informal gatherings, and Facebook pages. It is advisable that this communication structure can include assessing the disabled beneficiaries' satisfaction of DPOs' performance through surveys and questionnaires, either on or offline. Regularly conducting such activity will build a more supportive relationship for disabled people to devote time, money and efforts where necessary to assist their DPOs.

This research examined board members' engagements with the DPOs' activities. It found that the lack of their availability along with involvement in both admin work and strategic planning negatively influenced DPOs' performance. The fact that this position is voluntary made some not committed due to their engagement with their daily paid work. To mitigate this, basic essential requirements should be stated prior to selecting DPO board members. This includes time, expertise, and connections to assist them in pursuing their roles. These rules should be discussed during the selection process.

The final finding discussed in 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 is lack of DPOs' alliances and or unions at the district, governorate, or national levels. This is arguably a

significant reason behind the fragmentation of the disabled people's movement, weakening its power to advocate for disability rights. One recommendation for the NCDA is to enhance and activate the current DPOs' unions at the governorate level, forming them into regional coalitions. The later stage is to use a participatory approach where these coalitions should be represented at the national level. The aim is to reach a movement where disabled people are elected prior to national or regional representation. A possible area for further research is to utilise some successful models of representation from other countries to suit the Egyptian context. The decision of which model to follow should rely on a participatory approach where disabled activists can choose and structure their Egyptian movement.

The next subsection moves to provide recommendations to enhance the NCDA's leadership role in supporting Egyptian DPOs as well as fostering the mainstreaming of disabled people's rights into national policies and development programs.

8.3 National Council for Disability Affairs: towards greater leadership

As discussed in 5.4, in June 2012, the National Council for Disability Affairs was established as a response to one of the revolutionary demands from disabled people (Egypt Independent, 2018). This section relies on the analysis of the NCDA's performance in light of its mandate to provide recommendations to enhance the relationship with DPOs while mainstreaming disabled people's rights into policies and government development programs.

According to the Egyptian Councils' law, their mandates are to plan, coordinate, and design pilot projects to support the country's implementation of the designed policies across their designated fields. Their work should also support the fulfilment of the human rights conventions that Egypt ratified (NCDA, 2018). Examples of this in Egypt are: women, childhood and motherhood and human rights (NCDA, 2018). Chapter 5 demonstrated that the NCDA has gone too far in executing initiatives and projects rather than

strategically plotting the future of disability status. This found to dissatisfy DPOs who expected the Council to play more supportive a leading role in building their capacities and uniting them towards being a more organised movement.

Positively, however, the Council's policy efforts started to grow following the 2014 Constitution, as they urged government organisations to crosscut disability among their plans. The Council's efforts were also evident in supporting the new elected disabled MPs to mainstream disability rights into the newly established laws.

The other finding was a degree of dissonance between NCDA and DPOs. While the former seem proud of involving DPOs in its activities, the latter are not happy with the level of connection with the Council. DPOs expressed their anger at not being invited to participate in both the implementation of the council's projects, and the policy consultations given to different Ministries. Due to the tight time given to NCDA in some of these consultations (such as ESDS), it relied only on the disabled board members considering their different types of impairment and a variety of expertise. The fact that board members are not elected exacerbates the feeling of division between the NCDA and DPOs. One recommendation to enhance DPO participation in the NCDA affairs is to organise monthly open meetings where DPOs could deliver their thoughts regarding the Council's ongoing programs. NCDA could also use this opportunity to ask for volunteers to support the implementation of these programs.

To make the NCDA board more representative, one recommendation is to invite disabled individuals, either representing themselves or DPOs, to apply for its board of trustees. The ability to plan, design strategies, and work in a team should be part of the nomination criteria. Nominees' applications would then be examined by a committee which represents the NCDA, DPO unions, and government representatives. The committee would then select the appropriate candidate to play this role. This would lead to a more interactive and supportive relationship.

Finally, to enhance the weak relationship between the NCDA and DPOs, as analysed in 5.4, it is suggested to conduct a situational analysis to examine the NCDA's visions in relation to the support given to Egyptian DPOs. This should include the history of communication challenges as well as providing mechanisms for the council while guiding DPOs. One of this analysis' results is to ensure that the support given to each DPO is tailored according to the above mentioned needs assessment. Following this, evaluations should be produced to periodically follow up DPOs' activities, with the provision of coaching when necessary. The findings of this future research should be beneficial to government and international organisations when enhancing DPOs' capacities to strengthen their position in advocating for their rights.

8.4 Mechanisms for the NCDA to support disabled MPs

While the previous section provided recommendations to support the relationship between NCDA and DPOs, this section takes a similar focus, but with disabled MPs. It charts their journey, along with their policy achievements, as illustrated in Chapter 5, namely: the Constitution of 2014 and the new Disability Law of 2018. The first finding is that these changes have been positively influenced by the presence of nine disabled MPs (one of whom is designated). They are active participants, managing to mainstream disability into most of the newly discussed Egyptian legislation. Their nomination as part of the parliamentary elections urged the NCDA to establish a program to improve the physical accessibility of parliament, facilitating members' involvement within different committees. Their participation raised non-disabled MPs' awareness regarding disabled people's rights. During the formulation of these policies, disabled MPs were provided with technical input from both NCDA and DPOs.

The quota nomination system enshrined within the Egyptian Constitution supported a balanced and diversified parliament where all community groups are represented. The fear, however, was that having this right only for one term of the House would limit their chances. At the beginning of 2019, and

during the 2014 Constitution amendments, this fear was removed by the preservation of the same quota system for future Egyptian parliaments. Having disabled MPs sitting during the revisions to the law, as required by the 2014 Egyptian Constitution, however, enabled them to consider the UNCRPD and the Egyptian revolutionary demands. Although there were fewer of them in comparison with the number of parliamentary committees, disabled MPs managed to mainstream disability issues in the majority of them. Their varied technical and legal knowledge, however, stands as a barrier to their success. One recommendation for the NCDCA is to provide technical support, as well as following up their performance closely with relevant advice. This could be done through workshops or sessions where representatives from DPOs can respond to MPs policy inquiries.

The other recommendation is to conduct quarterly meetings between MPs and DPOs, where the former can present their efforts, with an invitation to DPOs to stand behind them during the advocacy process. This is to decrease the dissatisfaction with MPs' performance, given that their efforts in responding to the revolutionary demands were viewed as minimal. Parliament could relieve the degree of responsibility on each MP to promote their activities to the public by providing additional funding. Parliament's marketing department could institute a promotion system with monitoring in place to ensure that each MP is fully engaged with his/her constituency. The final recommendation is to develop the accessibility of the parliament website to ensure that everyone has equal access to its content; this would also promote increased responses during open consultations and enrich MPs' knowledge regarding public opinion.

8.5 SDGs: An opportunity to develop the disability inclusivity within ESDS

This section relies on the analysis of disability content within the ESDS and SDGs presented in Chapters 2, 6, and 7 to provide recommendations for further disability crosscutting throughout the ESDS, benefitting from its dynamic structure.

The timing of the Strategy's implementation ensured it was able to respond to both the revolutionary demands as well as the SDGs. The mainstreaming of disability rights for the first time was influenced by the UNCRPD, the Egyptian Constitution of 2014, and the SDGs. It referenced disability issues in three pillars: the Strategy introduction, social justice, and the education and training pillars, while omitting disability rights in paramount issues such as poverty and health. Such minimal attention to disability in these areas deprives disabled people access to an equivalent level of support to others. This contributed to their affairs not being included as part of some ministries' decrees, programs, and activities.

Comparing this to the SDGs, however, found extensive reference to disability in more than a third of the goals (11 references and seven specific targets). This inclusive nature has been influenced by the UNCRPD, used by the disabled people's movement as a guiding framework to spread their rights. It is also due to the global attention given by the UN and other international organisations to prioritise disabled people's rights in the new global goals, addressing the omission found in the MDGs. The final contributory reason is the embedded participatory approach attached to the SDGs' formulation process which increased DPOs' opportunities to communicate their demands.

Analysing the formulation process of both the ESDS and the SDGs suggests that the Arab uprising empowered different community groups to unite towards the mobilisation of their rights. It also encouraged policy makers to provide more space for participation. The Egyptian Revolution and its consequences, for example, brought a positive atmosphere to embedding participation, widening the chance for the minority groups' demands to be considered (see 1.1.3). This supported DPOs to mainstream their rights. SDGs also relied on the concept of participation to support the inclusion of disabled people's voices.

Disabled people's increased awareness of participation and inclusion following the Revolution was seen as one contributory reason behind their

dissatisfaction. A degree of conflict was found between themselves and policy makers relating to the understanding of these concepts. While DPOs were eager to be engaged with government to express mainstreaming their rights into national policy, the government viewed their participation as unsatisfactory. They argue that, although they invited disabled people, there was a reluctance to be involved. This conflict encouraged DPOs to employ additional channels to express their voices. Lack of unity, however, resulted in decreasing their power. An organised and structured disabled people's movement with elected representation, balancing between an equal variety of impairments and geographical distribution, empowers and strengthens their voices (see 8.2).

Although the preparatory discussions of the UNCRPD and SDGs witnessed larger attendance from DPOs, due to language, size, and funding limitations, some were unable to equally participate in these discussions. A recommendation is to prepare participants with terminologies and knowledge before inviting them to policy consultations (avoiding tokenism and ensuring meaningful and genuine participation).

Comparing the disability terminologies expressed by SDGs and ESDS found that the latter's conflicting use of disability terminologies is due to the history of disability policies in Egypt. This has confused different ministries' support for disabled people. Referring to disabled people in some sections of the Strategy as 'special needs', for example, may allocate their support under the traditional approaches to disability, focusing on the provision of pensions and care. The SDGs, however, employed a unified terminology following the UNCRPD.

Implementing both SDGs and ESDS at the same time brought considerable benefits to disabled people. While the ESDS has a limited number of references to disability, compensation is provided by a more extensive focus on disability within the SDGs. This increased mainstreaming of disability affairs in international organisations' and government development projects.

The Takaful and Karama programs run by MOSS, are examples of this (see 7.2.2).

A number of challenges hindered the Strategy's implementation: the lack of administrative, technical, and expert capabilities in some ministries' employees, in addition to the lack of cooperation and coordination found between government, private, and civil society sectors slows and/or weakens the efficiency of the process. One recommendation to address this is to conduct a baseline needs assessment identifying required training to enhance the government employees' performance in support of the Strategy. This can also examine the resources available to assist its implementation. It is also important to orientate them with the ESDS vision and objectives prior to implementation. A steering committee can be established to respond to the above, consisting of representatives from government, DPOs, NGOs, and private sectors, to ensure neutral, localised, and sensitive Monitoring and Evaluation of the implementation of the Strategy objectives.

A final overarching recommendation is to increase mainstreaming disability rights within the ESDS, benefitting from its dynamism and the global support given to disabled people through SDGs. This could be achieved through conducting workshops at a variety of levels where DPOs, disabled MPs, activists and experts can express their thoughts. The newly declared Disability Law in 2018 is a further framework that could be relied on while developing the inclusivity of this Strategy.

8.6 Research Limitations and Successes

This section discusses the achievements and limitations evident in this research.

The first achievement is the research's data generation, which was successfully conducted. It covered 18 DPOs; two for each of the nine selected governorates (see 3.3.2). However, a limitation is that some governorates were represented more than others due the unavailability of DPO

representatives within the period of fieldwork. Another limitation is that some of my representatives are charismatic and erudite people often asked to promote their DPOs in front of international organisations or research firms. This may lead to some inaccurate emphasis being placed on the successes and failures of their real situation in order to provide the 'best' possible account of their work (i.e. for funding purposes). My former working relationships with them helped to detect possible bias and further questions were asked to address this. One DPO, for example, was eager to report their achievements at the expense of any areas for development – a success contradicted by other DPOs working in the same governorate.

UN representatives' availability also led to some limitations. Although I had extensive contact with three UN groups who were heavily involved with the SDGs' formulation process, I have only managed to interview one group representative. This was, nonetheless, useful to understand their cooperative efforts to mainstream disabled people's rights into SDGs, including their implementation process at the country level. I have compensated for the lack of UN response by familiarizing myself with global discussions and publications about SDGs, along with joining professional and academic conferences.

In general, a variation has been noticed in policy makers' attention and responsiveness to my research topic. While some were keen to provide all the required materials and information, requesting a copy of this research when submitted, others were less interested, resulting in them providing less time and detail in answer to my questions. In addition, I despite repeated communication with the Minister of International Cooperation, her schedule did not allow my research to benefit from her expertise.

Assessing the disability inclusivity during the early implementation stages of the ESDS meant that fewer projects were able to be considered by this research. The initial methodology design included the use of participant observation in order to examine a sample of governmental, international organisations, and DPOs as examples of the implementation of the ESDS and

the SDGs. However, during the data production phase, it transpired that participant observation was no longer the most appropriate method. Takaful and Karama, programs run by MOSS, for example provide only financial assistance and personal care. Therefore, observing participants was not viable. In response, I adapted my methods while in the field, and conducted a focus group which enabled me to have a more holistic insight into the participants' levels of satisfaction regarding government service provision. In addition, in my interview with MOSS, I was advised that one of the other projects, the *Productive Family Project*, did not include disabled families' as one of their beneficiary groups; for this reason, this project was not included in this research (see 7.1).

The final limitation relates to political sensitivity. Although the aim of this research is to examine the influence of the Egyptian Revolution along with the UNCRPD and SDGs on disability politics in Egypt, writing about the Revolution's events and consequences and the degree to which the government has translated disabled people's voices into the post-revolutionary policies could be construed as critical of government. The aim is to support the government with approaches and methods that can be utilised to mainstream disabled people in policies and programs. This has been supported by using appropriate language and a positive spirit when touching upon the challenges and lessons learned.

In conclusion, Egyptian disability politics have witnessed an extensive mainstreaming in national policies following both the UNCRPD ratification as well as the Egyptian Revolution. This development was given even more momentum following the country's signature to the SDGs with the ESDS and other legislation managing to crosscut the theme of disability within its content. This complex global-national relationship created a unique story which paved the way for the country's inclusive disability politics as well as better positioning the disabled people's movements. Evidence includes mainstreaming disability in eight subjects of the Egyptian Constitution and the involvement of nine disabled MPs in parliament for the first time. Finally, the government's acknowledgment of disabled people's voices during national policy

amendments was evident through sending disabled delegates to represent the population at UNCRPD states parties' conferences.

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Appendix A

Description of Coptic Evangelical Organisation for Social Services (CEOSS)

Coptic Evangelical Organisation for Social Services (CEOSS) is a Christian organisation working in the field of development. They have a history of supporting disabled people, either by providing prosthetic and other assistive tools, also mainstreaming disabled people into local communities' services. Through the Empowerment Project, they managed to support establishment of some Egyptian DPOs. They lastly created the Egyptian Disability Forum with more than 20-30 DPO – they provide financial and administrative support while leaving the forum leadership to disabled people.

Appendix B

List of DPOs (transliterated from the Arabic)

- A.** Seven Million Association (referenced in bibliography)
- B.** El Ebtsamaass DPO
- C.** El Haya DPO
- D.** Fajr Al Tanweer (referenced in bibliography)
- E.** Motahady El Eaqa, Tahta District Sohag
- F.** Motahady El Eaaqa, El Qosia
- G.** Sahwa (referenced in bibliography)
- H.** Shamet El Haya DPO
- I.** el Erteqa DPO, Bani Suef
- J.** Homat El Salam DPO.
- K.** Khatwet Khear DPO (referenced in bibliography)
- L.** El Noor Association for the Blind, Qena (referenced in bibliography)
- M.** El Noor El Haqeeqe, (True Light Society), Minya. (referenced in bibliography as True Light Society)
- N.** El Shad DPO for Sona El Khear at El Tanmieah.
- O.** El Mostaqabal DPO

See bibliography for more details.

Appendix C

Interview Sample

Translated from Arabic by the researcher.

Researcher: Mostafa Attia (School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Leeds)

Target groups: 20 Disabled People Organisations representatives (DPOs)

Type: Individual semi- structured interviews

Time: 30-45 Minutes

Aim of the interviews:

To understand disabled activists' experiences and stories behind founding their DPOs

- Determine whether these DPOs have the needed administrative, technical and financial capacities to get involved in any development initiatives and projects.
- To understand the level of inclusivity of the projects or initiatives run by these DPOs.
- To learn the best practices or results that could be taken from each DPO.
- To ascertain the level of knowledge present within these DPOs regarding UNCRPD and the post 2015 agenda, including SDGs.

Questions:

1. Could you please introduce yourself, gender, disability, name of the DPO and your position?

My name is Saied Saad and I am the deputy Chairman of El Erteqa DPO, Bani Suf and I'm also working with many alliances in the field of disability, either in the civil society or the government.

2. Where did the idea of creating the DPO come from? When was it established? What are its aims and objectives?

Our DPO started in 2006 in cooperation with CEOSS. We are the result of a disabled people empowerment project in Bani Suef. One project output was to create a DPO. We call it Sonaa El Amal. While it took a long time to be issued, it was finally created in 2008. In this DPO, we tried to work with many international organisations but all wanted three years of experience in the field before giving us any funds.

While all our board members are disabled, we do not have an understanding of what the concept of the DPO looks like. After the Egyptian ratification of the UNCRPD in 2008, the idea of setting more DPOs spread. We created a new DPO called El Erteqa and we integrated Sonaa El Amal with it. We started to work heavily with the National Council for Human Rights, governmental authorities and big NGOs in Cairo. Since 2014, we got included in the establishment of the Egyptian DPOs' union.

3. How many disabled board members are there in your DPO? What is their ratio to non-disabled board members?

We have 9 board members and 6 of them are disabled. Their impairments are between visual, hearing and mobility, and the father of a mentally disabled boy.

4. Have you heard of the UNCRPD? What do you think of it? Did you consider it while you were preparing your annual plan? If yes, how?

In 2006, and during the UNCRPD discussions prior to ratification, the Egyptian government objected to five subjects of the convention as they did not fit with their culture and traditions. At that time, I participated with CEOSS in a workshop to reshape these subjects with Dr Heba Hagrass and after that, she took the recommendations back to the United Nations. In December 2008, we attended a meeting conducted by Shomoo NGO in cooperation with the National Council for Human Rights. This meeting was about raising the Egyptian community's awareness of the UNCRPD including some criticisms

and some subjects which could be difficult to introduce within the Egyptian context. I have participated in many events since 2008, but lastly, an international conference conducted in March 2014 by the Arab Organisation for Disabled People (AODP). Its aim was to push forward the implementation of the UNCRPD. Each country which participated in this conference introduced some achievements and challenges they had faced through implementing the convention.

5. How would you define disability models and causes?

6. Did your DPO receive or provide any training regarding the UNCRPD?

We do not have the chance to give training but we are considering the UNCRPD as a tool to amend the current laws and ministerial decrees in our work activities. For example, we are working in cooperation with Handicap International to integrate the disabled children at primary school phases. So while working to amend the current inclusive education ministerial decree, we are pressurizing the Egyptian parliament to submit the new Disability Law during this term of the house. This law includes around three or four subjects, mainly legislating for disabled children to have an inclusive education. As you know, the decree could be very easily cancelled by any minister.

7. How do you design your annual work plan and what approach do you follow?

We do not have a yearly plan but we have a monthly plan as Egypt is constantly changing and each month has its own circumstances. We are working according to reality. For example, June 2016 was related to Ramadan in which many charitable activities took place. So we are arranging our activities according to proscribed requests from different organisations such as Handicap International, Egypt office or the Ministry of Education etc.

8. How does your DPO address the environmental and social barriers affecting disabled people in your community?

We are having some service activities in which we could give traditional services like other NGOs to help poor people, both disabled and non-disabled.

Lately, we have started to focus on the electronic media through a channel on YouTube which expresses the current situation of disabled people in Egypt. It considers the positive sides and success stories of disabled people just to change the view introduced by the traditional media. Also, when other disabled people see these stories, they could learn and be more motivated. Moreover, when a parent of a disabled child sees these stories, he will be more confident that his son will be more like these people.

Then the disabled success stories will not be exclusive to Taha Hosien [a blind writer and ex Minister of Education] and Ammar El Sheree [a very famous blind musical composer]. We need to have a thousand Taha Hosiens and a million Ammar El Sherees. In addition, we also have sports and social activities. Due to our limited resources we try to communicate with the big NGOs who are not based in Bani Suef [Bani Suef deprived from the most international funding as funders are prepared to spend more money on governorates in the middle of Upper Egypt such as Minya or Giza, which are easier to access as they are very near to the Cairo the capital city of Egypt].

9. To what extent do your DPO board members work as activists in developing their communities, and if yes, then how?

At the beginning, some board members thought that this position was a glorious one, or a prestigious social position. But after some changes to our board members, all of us now graduated from the Sociology Department in which we tried to apply all our dreams. So the board members attend our internal activities. We also have some sub-committees in our DPO, and each of them is led by a board member.

10. Is your funding sourced from individual donations or international organisations? What is the percentage of each?

We are against collecting donations as we do not have permission from the disabled people to collect donations on their behalf but we are introducing some services from which we will gain donations. Yes, we know that collecting donations could be lawful, but in reality the mechanism used at the moment is not appropriate for us as disabled people or for the whole disability issue. On

the other note, the mentioned collaborative activities between us and other organisations, support us with other financial resources.

11. What is the annual expenditure of your DPO? Do you consider it financially stable?

We are not a financially stable DPO. We feel insecure and this is due to the fact that Beni Suef is a very poor and marginalised governorate and it has a weak community which is not the case in Cairo or Alexandria. You could easily observe a social hierarchy in other governorates, but not here in Beni Suef.

12. Does your DPO have regular board meetings? Are you keeping minutes of these meetings?

To be clear we are not doing well in terms of documentation and reporting. We need to receive support in this issue. We also need to receive support on how to prepare a strategy, filing and other related issues.

13. Do you provide support for different impairments or do you mainly focus on one impairment? If yes, what are these impairments and what is their ratio to one another?

Yes, our support has been given to all different kinds of impairments and their families. Also we try to give services to non-disabled people just to change community attitudes towards them, and let them know that disabled people can give services to everyone.

14. Roughly how many disabled people benefit from the services provided by your DPO each year?

We are giving our services to a few people – around 1500. We are focusing on the services side rather than advocacy due to security reasons as the rights based approach could be understood wrongly from the government side.

15. Does your DPO have sufficient manpower to manage administrative, financial and technical activities? Do they receive access to any training or capacity building programs?

Due to the lack of financial resources we do not have enough staff to implement our monthly plans. We rely sometimes on volunteers but they are not reliable and may leave at any second.

16. Have you initiated any networking or collaborative projects with other DPOs in or out of your community? Give an example.

As I told you earlier, and at Beni Suef level, we are communicating with some neighbourhood NGOs in relation to the field of disability. For your information, we have an approximate number of disabled people in 2014 in Beni Suef. Concerning the external NGOs outside Beni Suef, we have a good relationship with a large number of them. For example, we are working with El Farah Association in Alexandria on 'on-the-job' training. The result of this cooperation is that we trained about 50 disabled people on the call centers computer services and the leading businesses in March 2016. Then we are contacting companies in Cairo such as Xceed and Toshiba El Araby [private companies] to see if they have vacancies to join. We are making some efforts to offer them new vacancies in Beni Suef.

17. How does your DPO network with international and national NGOs or governmental organisations? Please give an example.

We are cooperating with the AODP and HI. We are only cooperating with these two international organisations because other international organisations are no longer working in Egypt.

18. Did you get involved in any discussions relating to disability surrounding the Egyptian Sustainable Development Strategy?

Unfortunately the National Council for Disability Affairs' board members added their inputs to the ESDS without taking our opinion or input to this strategy. They finished it in only two days, according to the ex-Secretary General Dr.

Heba Hagrass, only because the Ministry of Planning asked the Council to send its input very quickly.

19. Did you get involved in any implementations of the new ESDS, which may reflect the post 2015 agenda, including the SDGs?

20. Did your organisation collaborate with other organisations on an international level during the SDG formulation process? If yes, how?

We are using our personal communications to do so. One example is that we joined the AODP international conference on 18-19th March, 2016. We also attended the IFIS International Conference, which is about the local and international experiences of political participation on 12 -13th April 2016. We also participated in one national conference run by the Ministry of Social Affairs to revise their strategies with regards to disability in November 2015.

21. As a disabled activist, what level of knowledge about SDGs do you think is circulating within disabled people's organisations? In your opinion, what mechanisms should be used to translate these goals to benefit disability policies and practices?

The most important point is that the governmental authorities who are responsible for people with disability should give more confidence of the capabilities of disabled people themselves. If this happened we'd find more cadres than the current 10 – 15 disabled stars who you'll find at every disabled meeting. They are not elected. If we really searched in other governorates and not only in Cairo, we will find several cadres, and by building their capabilities you will be able to generate extra expertise.

22. How do you think that your DPO can play a significant role in developing the Egyptian disabled people's movement?

If we have enough resources, all our dreams will become truth. For example, we will have accessible roads, inclusive education, and human housing to be available to disabled people.

Appendix D

Project Snapshots

A brief snapshot of examples of some projects conducted by international and national organisations in Egypt to start or to develop the capacities of Egyptian DPOs will be attached to the appendix of this thesis.

D.1 Sahwa Project:

Sahwa project and its activities was intended to direct disabled people to work in groups and in a collective manner, rather than to work individually. It started to turn them into groups and then into formal DPOs, the aim being to demonstrate the huge impact if they worked together, rather than individually. The project started with them when they were unaware of development tricks used by other NGOs, which had more experience in the field. Examples of these tricks included tweaking their objectives and activities to fit with the donors' aims and objectives. Moreover, they may have been fabricating their progress reports to show unrealistic results. DPOs began to learn how to decide and set their visions, missions and objectives. 'So we were not only grouping them into DPOs or building their technical and administrative capacities, but also giving them direct financial support to run a simple group initiative or project aimed at making the environment more accessible for disabled people.' (Dr Kabesh)

Sahwa project targeted four governorates in Upper Egypt including Asyut Sohag Qena and Aswan, aiming to create around 120 groups and DPOs. 'We have chosen Upper Egypt area as the amount and quality of services is definitely less than Cairo. Activists are also very limited here. So, although we do not have DPOs in both Cairo and Upper Egypt, the lack of services and support given to disabled people in the latter area is a very important element to create strong, solid groups who can advocate and promote their case.' (Dr Kabesh). As a capital city, Cairo is very centralised and it has many activists with better services in terms of amount and quality. It is important to note that through many projects related to CBR in Upper Egypt, there were some characteristics which encouraged Sahwa project to work there rather than in Cairo. The community nature was simpler and more tightly bound, with easier communication between families. Communities there were more attached to each other and gave more solidarity and support to their needs, even though the area is poor. People there were also more welcoming to any new experience and appreciated any efforts introduced to them. They could not have been more willing to work harder and remain honest to the cause. They

had a proactive spirit, with an initiative to learn and to build upon what they've learned. In Cairo on the other hand, you could find an environment in which big organisations could guide or direct these new groups in specific agenda or political directions. This could have an adverse effect on the genuine motivation of disabled people who were just starting out in their field. The poor level of quality and quantity of services given to disabled people in Upper Egypt is behind their advocating for their rights and clarifying their demands. So all the above explain why Handicap International chose Upper Egypt.

Another important aim was to direct these groups' thoughts towards the rights-based approach and away from the service based or charitable model. They began to know how to advocate and ask for their rights using stronger, legal frameworks in a brave and professional manner. Here, it's important to note that working in the field of disability is safer and easier in terms of government security rather than working on many other topics. People with disability may have the chance to speak and express their views very freely, without fear from policy makers or security guards. Therefore Sahwa is considered a leading project.

There was a profound relationship between the disabled people's movement and the Egyptian Revolution, with the former acting as one of the catalysts for the latter. The collective spirit and teamwork that disabled people gained throughout the Sahwa project and other involvements meant that their voices started to be heard. One example could be the 82 days strike in front of the parliament, where they discovered how effective they could be by being televised and by newspapers writing about them. This would not have been the case if they had worked on their own. They used this collective spirit during the Revolution also, which made their case demands unique. All the above tell us how these actions could be motivators to fuel the Revolution. Whilst millions of Egyptians went to the streets for the first time, this did not hinder disabled people's attendance and participation during the Revolution, even though there weren't very large numbers compared to other minority groups such as Christians.

While this project has many profound achievements it faces many challenges since its closure. Many DPOs closed due to facing many difficulties either because of a lack of financial resources or more basically how to successfully sustain their resources. Although they joined many training sessions with national and international organisations to enhance their capacities, realistically you could find two or three DPOs still working actively in each governorate but others either closed or were not active, according to the

circumstances that they faced and the number of donations received from different international organisations.

We also have many positive results which emerged after Sahwa project closure. One of these was the establishment of DPOs' unions in both Asiout and Sohag as well as some disabled people group coalitions who were not formally issued DPOs yet. Handicap International tried to build on some successes when we recently started Tamkeen Project with DPOs in some governorates. On another note, some DPOs in Minya, Asyut and Sohag started to learn how they could apply for funding from the social development funds, EU or any other international organisations. Although they faced some weakness when their capabilities were still limited, it could still be considered a great achievement. What makes this situation more difficult is that most of funding organisations do not provide support to monitor DPOs sustainability. Currently in Egypt, only Handicap international and Coptic Angelical (COASS) do this.

D.2 Hewar HI project

Hewar project is a regional project conducted between three countries, Egypt, Jordan and Palestine, supervised by Handicap International. The Egyptian DPOs who participated in this project are: 7 Melion DPO, El Hayah, Egyptian Association for Deaf Rights, the DPOs Egyptian Union, El Mostaqbal DPO, and Village of Hope, Alexandria. A project highlight was DPOs aiming for organisational & capacity building to be able to better advocate their Rights. It included current situation of DPOs and initial list of DPOs identified in this research and a thorough assessment of DPOs and their organisation and capacity. HI discovered that DPOs are mostly very weak and fragile and are unable to advocate disability rights effectively. This was an internal study and included around 11 DPOs. They need to be strong and sustainable enough to establish relations with major stakeholders to advocate and enhance the acknowledgement and sustainability of the Rights.

D.3 Tamkeen and Tagheer HI projects.

I support two projects which are EU funded; both projects focus on supporting & promoting disability movements. Both resulted from a baseline study that Handicap international conducted in 2013 with the Regional project of Hewar.

Handicap International tried to build on some successes when we recently started Tamkeen Project with DPOs in some governorates. Although these unions' capacities were very weak, this project dealt with these unions as

partners rather than target groups. Usually when an international organisation would like to conduct a project with Egyptian NGOs, they will work with them as target groups to implement some activities. However, the aim of Tamkeen project is not only to enhance DPO's organisational development, but also to teach them how they could work as an executive team to apply practical work. For example the DPOs chose education subjects. Their task was how to promote inclusive education rights on the ground. In order to do this they tried to understand the convention, read some inclusive education ministerial decrees and then started to conduct many interviews with many stakeholders related to this topic. This guided them to analyse and generate ideas on how this inclusive education right could be applied and utilised in the Egyptian environment and context. DPOs compiled all these results and recommendations in a report requested from Tamkeen Project. It is evidence-based projects depending on the reality within the current educational situation. It is important to note that most of the written reports about the UNCRPD applications are knowledge or theory based rather than based on evidence. We tried in this project to conduct active and realistic baseline studies on how we could understand the level of application of the convention. This is rarely found in other projects. Another important aim of this project was to participate in the application for funds.

The main challenges facing disabled people are: lack of technical capacity; many DPOs in the field are competing with each other, but in a negative rather than positive way. They forget about using the public for the collective good. I'm not very sure about sustainability, but we try to make it sustainable and this is perhaps why all this activity was thought of or designed in the very beginning. Through all the activities we try to help them to do self-organisation and self- assessment. This is to help them identify exactly what they lack. Accordingly the DPOs in Tankeem developed and co-ordinated plans where they could work on the components of the organisation development having a timeframe into three phases, A, B and C. These corresponded to three months, six months and an extra year. We had a full strategy for them with measurable indicators so we could visit them and verify whether they were really able to achieve their goals and objectives.

The Organisational planning activity is a crucial component in promoting DPOs and supporting the disability movement in general. In recent times we witnessed that it mostly depended upon one or two people but lacked institutionalisation in terms of passing college, transparency, availability of information, good governance. In Tagheer, we focussed more on the

representation of the under-represented groups: We focussed on women and on young people with disabilities to guarantee them a brief representation within organisations and for them to be represented in the disability movement in general. The second aspect is outreach: how the DPOs would be able to be connected with their consequences; how they would be able to raise awareness and to empower the consequences. Furthermore, how they could build long term and far sighted strategies in light of the needs and demands.

Three components about Tamkeen are the same in Tagheer:

1. Capacity building on disability and rights for the individual members of the DPOs.
2. Organisational development activities.
3. Working group where DPOs have an interactive dialogue with other important players like NGOs, Human Rights Organisations and so on.

Hewar has a regional character and the project is still working and carrying out activities. It is ending this month, but the baseline that was conducted was insightful enough to guide the strategies of the mission; and to bend the program to make it responsive to the needs of the disability movement of the Middle East in general and Egypt in particular.

Councils such as the NCDA and the NCCM, Media representatives and local authorities and service providers are all included in the third component mentioned above. But the Is formed in relation to a specific sector; in Tankeem e.g they chose to focus on DPOs and inclusive education since education challenges life opportunities. The more educated you are, the more opportunities you have in life. If education is closed to individuals, it excludes them from society. In Tagheer we have 15 DPOs participating in a project and they chose to focus upon two sectors: firstly, social protection – this was decided by internal voting. It comprises a safety net tax transfer provided by the social solidarity. Secondly, they chose to focus on employment. So in effect, the DPOs divided into two groups, one focussing on each sector. This way we could pinpoint both the gaps and also which solutions were possible; which are the most effective institutions.

Tagheer is geographically in the greater Cairo area. We are supposed to finish in March 2017. I agree that the disability movement is stronger in Upper Egypt: in Asiout, there is a degree of social intimacy that allows for any action or social project to have its own effective outcome really quickly. People are more engaged. The third component especially was successful with people more aware of their responsibility to the community and how they are accountable to the whole society. In greater Cairo the disability movement is certainly not

so contained and has promising opportunities, although I cannot identify exactly what they are.

Appendix E

Interview Sheets

H.1 Disabled Members of Parliament (MPs) Interview Sheet

Researcher Name: Mostafa Attia (School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Leeds)

Target Group: Disabled Members of Parliament (MPs)

Type: Individual Interviews

Time: 30-45 mins

Introduction and purpose of the semi-structured interview:

- To understand the newly elected disabled MPs' stories and experiences regarding the nomination process and time in office.
- To investigate the efforts they exerted to include basic rights and needs of disabled people in the discussed Egyptian legislations and policies.
- To discuss their future plans for disability rights during their term in office, if any.
- To evaluate the elected disabled MPs' level of knowledge of the social model of disability, the UNCRPD and the post 2015 agenda including SDGs.

Questions:

1. What is your name, gender, age, and type of disability?
2. How did you get accepted into Parliament? Were you elected or designated?
3. Why did you nominate yourself into Parliament at this time?
4. As it was the first time that the Parliament had a large quota of disabled members (whether by election or designation), were there any obstacles facing you as a candidate during the election process?
5. Have you attended any training to enhance your knowledge regarding UNCRPD and the post 2015 agenda? What do you know about them?
6. Since the beginning of the term, what have been the achievements with regards to disability policy within Parliament and how have disabled people benefited from these? What was your role in these achievements?
7. What are your future plans in this term of office in relation to disability rights and inclusion?

8. What do you think of the level of accessibility in Parliament for disabled people, both indoors and outdoors? How easily can you interact and communicate with other non-disabled MPs? Also how easily can you manage your role as a disabled MP (e.g voting, requesting a speech and adding a written comment)?
9. Are the new Parliament by-laws disability friendly and do they support all disabilities or they favor certain types only? What was your role in this development?
10. Are disability rights well perceived by non-disabled Parliament members? How do you advocate for these rights in Parliament?
11. Do you think that the Egyptian revolution had a role in facilitating disabled members' entry into the Parliament?
12. Considering the demands that disabled people claimed in their protests during the 25th January 2011 revolution events, are current Parliamentary efforts in accordance with these demands? Are they well recognised and perceived by disabled people? If yes, please explain how and if no, please explain why?
13. As the 25th January 2011 revolution's main demand was 'Freedom, Dignity, and Social Justice' for all, how do you think these concepts will be reflected within discussed laws and policies with particular relevance to disabled people?
14. In reference to the international commitment regarding SDGs, what is the Parliament role to utilise SDGs within the Egyptian context to enhance the inclusion of disabled people within their communities?

H.2 Disabled People Organisations Representatives Interview Sheet



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Researcher: Mostafa Attia (School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Leeds)

Target groups: 18 Disabled People Organisations representatives (DPOs)

Type: Individual semi-structured interviews

Time: 30-45 Minutes

Aim of the interviews:

- To understand disabled activists' experiences and stories behind founding their DPOs
- Determine whether these DPOs have the needed administrative, technical and financial capacities to get involved in any development initiatives and projects.

- To understand the level of inclusivity of the projects or initiatives run by these DPOs.
- To learn the best practices or results that could be taken from each DPO.
- To ascertain the level of knowledge present within these DPOs regarding UNCRPD and the post 2015 agenda, including SDGs.

Questions:

1. Could you please introduce yourself, gender, disability, name of the DPO and your position?
2. Where did the idea of creating the DPO come from? When was it established? What are its aims and objectives?
3. How many disabled board members are there in your DPO? What is their ratio to non-disabled board members?
4. Have you heard of the UNCRPD? What do you think of it? Did you consider it while you were preparing your annual plan? If yes, how?
5. How would you define disability models and causes?
6. Did your DPO receive or provide any training regarding the UNCRPD?
7. How do you design your annual work plan and what approach do you follow?
8. How does your DPO address the environmental and social barriers affecting disabled people in your community?
9. To what extent do your DPO board members work as activists in developing their communities and if yes how?
10. Is your funding sourced from individual donations or international organisations? What is the percentage of each?
11. What is the annual expenditure of your DPO? Do you consider it financially stable?
12. Does your DPO have regular board meetings? Are you keeping minutes of these meetings?
13. Do you provide support for different impairments or do you mainly focus on one impairment? If yes, what are these impairments and what is their ratio to one another?
14. Roughly how many disabled people benefit from the services provided by your DPO each year?

15. Does your DPO have sufficient manpower to manage administrative, financial and technical activities? Do they receive access to any training or capacity building programs?
16. Have you initiated any networking or collaborative projects with other DPOs in or out of your community? Give an example.
17. How does your DPO network with international and national NGOs or governmental organisations? Please give an example.
18. Did you get involved in any discussions relating to disability surrounding the Egyptian Sustainable Development Strategy?
19. Did you get involved in any implementations of the new Sustainable Development Strategy, which may reflect the post 2015 agenda, including the SDGs?
20. Did your organisation collaborate with other organisations on an international level during the SDG formulation process? If yes, how?
21. As a disabled activist, what level of knowledge about SDGs do you think is circulating within disabled people's organisations? In your opinion, what mechanisms should be used to translate these goals to benefit disability policies and practices?
22. How do you think that your DPO can play a significant role in developing the Egyptian disabled people's movement?

H.3 Policy makers Interview Sheet

Researcher Name: Mostafa Attia, PhD Student, School of Sociology and Social Policy

Target Group: Policymakers in Egyptian Ministries and Councils

Type: Individual semi- structured interviews

Time: 30-45 Minutes

Aim of the interview:

The Aim of this interview is to discuss the following:

- The mechanism on which the Egyptian Sustainable Development Strategy 2016-2030 was set and developed.
- The levels of cooperation and coordination between various authorised bodies on implementing the national strategy.
- How disability issues are considered in the strategy main objectives.

Questions:

- 1- Could you please introduce yourself, state your position and how long you have been engaged in this work?
- 2- How was the idea for setting the Egyptian Sustainable Development Plan generated?
- 3- What role did you play when establishing this strategy?
- 4- How has the strategy formulation and development process been undertaken?
- 5- To what extent did the civil society representatives participate in the strategy formulation process?
- 6- What is the approach that the Ministry of Planning adopted when formulating the strategy to ensure the equal representation of all social groups?
- 7- Does the strategy design benefit all marginalised groups including disabled people in an inclusive manner? If yes, how?
- 8- Could you explain the level of coordination between different ministries involved in the strategy, on both policy level and implementation phases?
- 9- Is this strategy dynamic or static? Please elaborate.
- 10- If dynamic, in what way was the development process managed?
- 11- Were there any financial resources allocated to the implementation of the strategy? If yes, how much and upon which mechanism was this distributed?
- 12- What types of support are required to enhance the effective implementation of the strategy, e.g. technical, financial, etc..?
- 13- What are the suggested monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to follow up the implementation process, e.g. field visits, periodical reports, etc..?
- 14- What are the mechanisms that the entitled ministries used to ensure that the strategy was prioritised?

H.4 United Nations Alliances' Representatives Interview Sheet

Researcher Name: Mostafa Attia, PhD Student, School of Sociology and Social Policy

Target Group: United Nations Alliances' representatives

Type: Individual semi-structured interviews

Time: 30-45 Minutes

Aim of the interviews:

The aim of these interviews is to know how the SDGs and its indicators formulation and development process has been undertaken. Moreover, to know the United Nations future monitoring plans to ensure the right implementation of those SDGs.

Questions:

1. Could you please introduce yourself, state your position and how long you have been engaged in this work?
2. How has the SDGs formulation and development process been undertaken?
3. In your opinion, was it different from the process of issuing the MDGs?
4. If yes, in what way was it different, e.g. Bottom-up or top-down approach?
5. What are the criteria that the committee followed when formulating the SDGs to guarantee the equal representation of all social segments?
6. Throughout the literature, it was clear how the United Nations gave special attention to the marginalised voices. How was this reflected during the formulation process of the SDGs?
7. To what extent did the civil society representatives (NGOs) participate in the SDGs formulation process?
8. What are the mechanisms that the United Nations used to ensure that the SDGs are prioritised on the countries' political agenda?
9. What types of support does the United Nations plan to provide to enhance the effective implementation of the SDGs, e.g. stakeholders training, workshops, etc..?
10. Did the United Nations allocate financial resources building the countries' capacities to implement the SDGs? If yes, which criteria were used to determine how the support was distributed?
11. Can you familiarise me with the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms suggested by the United Nations to follow up the implementation process, e.g. field visits, direct reports, means of verification, etc..?
12. How have the UNCRPD official conferences contributed to promoting the post-2015 agenda, including the SDGs, on the global level?
13. Since this research focuses on the Egyptian Context, how successful has Egypt been in implementing the SDGs? Do you have any recommendations for the Egyptian policy makers to move towards a more inclusive environment benefitting disabled people?

Appendix I

Egyptian Sustainable Development Strategy (ESDS) Indicator Definitions

- Input indicators: to evaluate available resources and necessary activities to reach required outcomes and results.
- Outcome indicators: to assess the actual level of output versus the planned to reach specific results.
- Strategic results indicators: to identify the achieved results through impact assessment.

Appendix J Ethical Approval

Performance, Governance and Operations
Research & Innovation Service
Charles Thackrah Building
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UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Mostafa Attia

School of Sociology and Social Policy

University of Leeds

Leeds, LS2 9JT

**ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics
Committee**

University of Leeds

3 May 2016

Dear Mostafa

Title of study: **The impetus of the Egyptian revolution on inclusive
development within the disability movement**

Ethics reference: **AREA 15-109**

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the Committee's initial comments, I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

Document	Version	Date
AREA 15-109 Response to the research ethics committee.docx	1	11/05/16
AREA 15-109 Mostafa Attia Ethics form.pdf	2	11/05/16
AREA 15-109 Egyptian Disabled Parliament Members information sheet.docx	1	13/04/16
AREA 15-109 Egyptian Policymakers information sheet.docx	1	13/04/16
AREA 15-109 PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM.docx	1	13/04/16
AREA 15-109 Disabled Parliament Members Interview Questions.docx	1	13/04/16
AREA 15-109 Egyptian DPOs Individual Interviews Questions.docx	1	13/04/16
AREA 15-109 Mostafa Attia health and safety application.pdf	1	18/04/16

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the original research as submitted at date of this approval, including changes to recruitment methodology. All changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment>.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits>.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Blaikie

Senior Research Ethics Administrator, Research & Innovation Service

On behalf of Dr Andrew Evans, Chair, [AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee](#)

CC: Student's supervisor(s)

Appendix K Information Sheet



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Research project: Revolution, global development and disability politics in Egypt. – Information Sheet for United Nations Representatives

You are being invited to take part in the above research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If there is anything that is not clear, or if you would like more information, please ask me. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. As you already know from previous conversations, my name is Mostafa Attia and I am a PHD student at the University of Leeds School of Sociology and Social Policy.

Over the past few years, Egypt has experienced extensive changes in its political arena. This has meant that its country development plans, policies and social contexts have been impossible to study in isolation for those changes. This research will seek to investigate the effects and consequences that the 25th of January 2011 Revolution and relevant political events had on disabled people, policies and practices in Egypt, as well as the extent to which the Revolution contributed to the development of mechanisms of inclusivity. The research is concerned with the impacts of the Revolution's impact on the development of the disability movement and in particular disabled people's organisations.

In light of the changes wrought by the Egyptian Revolution, the research will consider how the global move from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), will be used as a tool to guide policy makers in the post-revolutionary period towards the use of further mechanisms for inclusivity. It also considers whether there are any results or recommendations from other promising countries that this research can build upon to develop a greater understanding of a better approach for Inclusive Development within the Egyptian context.

Although there is a lot of literature on the Egyptian Revolution, disability and development in their own contexts, the significance of this research is that there are not many studies attempting to focus on inclusive development as a system, rather than an individual initiative. The combination of these three main concepts will prepare a base for recommendations as to how Egypt can benefit from the application of inclusive development as a national strategy. The relevance of this research can be seen nationally and internationally. On the national level, it will investigate the political, economic and social effects that the 25th of January 2011 Revolution had on inclusiveness with regard to disabled people, policies and practices in Egypt. On the international level it will explore how the global move from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), will be used as a tool to guide the Egyptian policy makers towards a more inclusive development approach.

The design of this research will include semi structured interviews and participant observations, while the participants will be Egyptian disabled activists, policy makers and representatives of both the United Nations and other international organisations. In the framework of this research, I intend to conduct discussion-type interviews which will last approximately 45 minutes to one hour. You will have my sincere appreciation if you decide to take part in an interview. I'd like to stress that your participation would be voluntary, and you can decide to opt out of the research with no questions asked until six months before submission of my thesis. As a member of a distinguished international organisation your participation will allow my research to understand how participatory the process of the SDGs' formulation was. It will allow for discussion of the practicalities of the monitoring process surrounding

the best implementation of the SDGs in the framework of the targets suggested to suit each country.

The interview will be tape-recorded in order for me to remember our conversation and for data analysis. Please be assured that only yourself, my personal assistant and I will have access to the recording, and any personal information will be removed and the whole transcript will be anonymised; the data will also be highly secured and kept strictly confidential. You will be able to choose a false name. Parts of the interview such as quotes will be used within the thesis. You will be updated as to when the research will be published, and you will be able to gain access to the publication if you wish. You will have my upmost respect and integrity throughout the process.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Yours sincerely,

Mostafa Attia