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Social entrepreneurship and education in Egypt: A critical inquiry into the role of social enterprises in education

El-Samman Karim

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Education and Social Entrepreneurship in Egypt: 
A Critical Inquiry into the Role of Social Enterprises in Education

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the 
Requirements for the Degree of 
Master of Arts in International and Comparative Education

By Karim H. El-Samman

Under the supervision of Dr. Nagwa Megahed

The American University in Cairo
Graduate School of Education

Spring 2017
The American University in Cairo

Graduate School of Education (GSE)

Education and Social Entrepreneurship in Egypt: A Critical Inquiry into the Role of Social Enterprises in Education

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Submitted to the Department of International & Comparative Education

June 2017

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for The degree of Master of Arts in International & Comparative Education

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Abstract

Social entrepreneurship has become a global trend. In Egypt, the discourse of social entrepreneurship has started to attract attention of national and international development arms. With the increase in the numbers of social enterprises that work on offering educational services in Egypt, there was a need to explore their educational impact to better estimate their potentials as emerging kinds of social organizations. This study critically examines the issue of education-oriented social enterprises in Egypt. Methodologically, a qualitative embedded research design was employed; semi-structured individual interviews were conducted with six social entrepreneurs representing different enterprises, as well as three representatives from intermediary support organizations; and focus group discussions were conducted with a total of thirty students who were enrolled in three different enterprises. Findings of this research document the positive perceptions and potentials of social enterprises to enhance educational quality. However, in relation to educational equality in Egypt, the results suggest that profitable social enterprises may promote educational stratification among Egyptian students. The study also sheds light on the challenges facing social entrepreneurs and presents a critique of several methodological issues related to the entrepreneurial approach in providing social services.

Keywords: education, social enterprises, social entrepreneurship
Positionality Statement

As an educator who works closely with some education-oriented social enterprises and an intermediary support organization, it is important to declare that my professional experience and personal background might affect the analyses I present in this work.
Acknowledgments

I would love to deeply thank my supervisor Dr. Nagwa Megahed for tirelessly guiding me throughout this research journey. Also, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Malak Zaalouk and Dr. Russanne Hozayin for their endless efforts to enrich this research with rigor and precision. I should never forget to thank Jasmine Radwan and Mariam Aziz for their well-thought out comments and suggestions to enhance the quality of the research. Indeed, their flexibility and openness also enabled me to finalize my Master’s degree without having to leave my full-time job. Finally, I would like to thank my dear parents for being always my source of motivation, encouragement and kind care throughout my entire life.
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List of Abbreviations

CAPMAS: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics
CEO: Chief Executive Officer
CSO: Civil Society Organization
ILO: International Labor Organization
ISO: Intermediary Support Organizations
MOE: Ministry of Education
MOSS: Ministry of Social Solidarity
NGO: Non-Governmental Organization
OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Chapter 1: Introduction

Education has been widely viewed as a cornerstone in the development agenda of many countries. Continuous revival efforts have been exerted by national governments to utilize their human capital through investing in education reform strategies. Within contemporary economic hardships facing many developing countries, the focus of many scholars and policy makers has been made more on exploring efficient reform initiatives. These kinds of reforms aim to resolve the trade-off: how to offer quality services that are accessible, with minimal incurred costs? This work explores social entrepreneurship in the field of education provision as an emerging development framework that has grabbed attention, locally in Egypt and globally.

The first chapter generally introduces the research topic. To lay appropriate foundation, the thesis significance is overviewed to establish the need for understanding the issue of study. Research questions are then demonstrated to guide the flow of research in this work, and reason the presented literature review themes as well as adopted research methodology. The chapter ends by referring to the intellectual debate about the social entrepreneurship discourse to better inform the research analysis and ensure grounding with pre-existing literature.

Research Problem, Significance and Questions

Due to the rapid decline of the Egyptian national economy, social services are facing a growing threat. Recently, Egypt is recording negative signs from rising unemployment to severe national currency depreciation, to substantial increases of inflation rates that adversely affect basic living standards of Egyptians (Bloomberg, 2016; OECD, 2015). These indicators have pushed the Egyptian government to sign an agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on a three-year loan package of $12 billion (IMF, 2016).
Financial complications facing the country at large, and hugely impacting the public sector in specific, add more challenges to the situation of social services provision to the public. That is, more social needs are arising owing to the current economic situation. This corresponds to a notable inability from the public sector to accommodate those growing needs. Furthermore, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) as a predominant arm of the third sector in Egypt, are confronted with robust critiques. Despite millions of Egyptian pounds that are disbursed on a yearly basis to over 45,000 CSOs in Egypt, the social impact is questionable to many observers (CAPMAS, 2016).

Importantly, a relatively new player has joined the third sector organizations with distinctive features from traditional CSOs that claims better capabilities in attending to the pressing social needs in the Egyptian society (Dahshan, Tolba & Badreldin, 2012). The concept of social entrepreneurship and social enterprises as the executive operating model are propagated as promising alternatives to CSOs. Social enterprises are viewed as models that would overcome problems that CSOs suffer from, namely: dependency on donors, absence of sustainable solutions and lack of sufficient professionalism (Defourny, 2001). The social entrepreneurship wave emphasizes the role of social entrepreneurs as change-making agents that seize limited opportunities despite minimal available resources to create and sustain social value through mature business models (Cope, Jack & Rose, 2007).

Of the many pressing social needs, education in Egypt is facing extensive challenges with regards to equitable access to education and offered quality of learning (Krafft, 2012). Socioeconomic backgrounds of students play a significant role in deciding the quality of educational services they receive (Megahed & Ginsburg, 2009). Private schools are better alternatives to public schools, provided that parents can afford them. Additionally, formal
curriculum has faced several critiques that center around its inability to catch up with real life demands and prepare students for future careers (Amin, 2002; ILO, 2007; OECD, 2015). This overall status of Egyptian education paved the way for the emergence of non-state providers that started to include, in the past few years, social enterprises as a new model that operates in the arena of education provision.

Social enterprises have different scopes of educational work; they either offer services related to the formal curriculum to enhance the quality of learning, or they work on offering non-formal curriculum that target the improvement of the well-being of their beneficiaries.

Considering that education-oriented social enterprises are relatively new actors in the Egyptian educational scene, there is a need for research that uncovers the underlying potential (if any) and encountered challenges of this kind of social organization. Also, in light of increased local and global attention to support social entrepreneurship, a critical analysis of social enterprises as a new operational model has to be conducted to reveal its on-ground capacity as a better alternative in providing social services in Egypt.

This study attempts to explore the role of education-oriented social enterprises through highlighting different but complementary dimensions. This is anticipated to serve as a foundational base for more critical and in-depth studies about the issue. The research questions are as follows:

1. To what extent do social enterprises contribute to better educational quality through non-formal services?
2. Taking into consideration the operational characteristics of social enterprises, to what extent can social enterprises improve or hinder educational equality in the Egyptian scene?
3. What are the challenges that impinge on the expected impact of social enterprises in the educational field?

4. To what extent is the social entrepreneurship framework perceived as a promising alternative for better social services in Egypt?

It is worth mentioning that the above questions will be addressed through multiple credible sources of data. It was intentional to formulate questions that take the analysis beyond examining selected case studies, to reach a critical understanding of the potentials and challenges of social entrepreneurship in education at large. This approach rests on the almost identical nature of social enterprises in operational terms as well as the limited number of education-oriented enterprises in Egypt.

**Theoretical Background**

Historical sketching of intellectual thought demonstrates how the provision of social services has been perceived differently over the past centuries. Education, as a prime social good, has been regarded during certain times as a right only for the elite, and at other times as a public good that has to be served for all by the state. With the rise of neoliberalism during the 1970s and after the break-down of the socialist Soviet Union, there was a notable conceptual shift with regards to social services provision and the type of role that governments ought to play within emerging market economies (Rose, 2011). Cutting off expenditure on public goods including education and mobilizing the private sector to fulfill ever-growing social needs represent signs of the new development approach (Ross & Gibson, 2006; Kendal, 2009). It is important to refer at this point to the assertion on which neoliberal models rested, which is the inefficiency of the public sector and its lack of professional capabilities to solve societal problems. In fact, the social entrepreneurship discourse steps into the social services field with apparently similar allegations
about the inefficiency of the public sector but also the CSOs (Dahshan, Tolba, Badreldin, 2012; Defourney, 2001).

As the social entrepreneurship definition emphasizes, the creation of social value is not the end goal; once the value has been created, it has to be sustained. This implies that social enterprises have to independently operate and generate sufficient revenues through the adaptation of competent business models to achieve intended sustainability (Cope, Jack & Rose, 2007; Kulothungan, 2010). Social entrepreneurs running those enterprises have to demonstrate an entrepreneurial spirit, which constitutes a risk-taking behavior as well as the capability of proposing innovative solutions to societal problems. Among the arguments that are propagated in favor of the entrepreneurship framework is that it has a positive impact on national economies through the creation of more job opportunities and the enhancement in the production of goods and services (Dahshan, Tolba, Badreldin, 2012). Nevertheless, social entrepreneurship is considered from another lens as a cosmetic solution to capitalist vandalism. Critics of the social entrepreneurship framework have many reservations about it (Dacin, A., Dacin, M. & Tracey, 2011; Garrow & Hasenfeld, 2014). Among the points raised is that social enterprises suffer from an organizational dilemma; that is, they have a fiscal well-being that has to be nurtured by profit, and on the other hand they are committed to social aims that barely generate those needed revenues. Additionally, social enterprises are looked upon as making social services provision vulnerable to market forces, and thereby marginalizing economically disadvantaged populations. Even the expected economic rebound, named ‘trickle down effect’, is seen as always insufficient to radically transform national economies owing to the ever-lasting hindrance imposed by macroeconomic constraints that would always demand more creation of job opportunities.
In sum, the whole discourse of social entrepreneurship, as has been noted, has witnessed global support but also some criticism from different critical scholars (see Figure 1). The idea of social entrepreneurship has been formulated within multiple intellectual debates after several political and economic circumstances. Attempting to approach and conceptually ground the issue of social enterprises bearing in mind the aforementioned background, neoliberalism with all the arguments that critique or argue for the conception of social market economies are highly related.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Since this study probes the role of social enterprises in the Egyptian educational scene through non-formal services, this chapter reviews previous selected literature related to two main themes, namely: non-formal education and social entrepreneurship. First, the definition and rationales of non-formal educational services are overviewed before sketching its evolution and scope in Egypt. This is followed by summarizing the social entrepreneurship discourse, with special emphasis on the Egyptian ecosystem of entrepreneurship. Furthermore, the research gap intended to be bridged in this work is stated by the end of this section.

Formal, Non-Formal and Informal Education

Formal education as a term is used to describe forms of learning that are institutionalized through public and private providers according to a defined system by the country, “[formal education] corresponds to a systemic, organized education model, structured and administered according to a given set of laws and norms” (Dib, 1988, p.300). Unlike formal education, the term non-formal education refers to a more flexible learning environment that caters to the needs and interests of students with regards to content and delivery. Eshach (2007) elaborated on the meaning of non-formal learning saying that “[i]t shares the characteristic of being mediated with formal education, but the motivation for learning may be wholly intrinsic to the learner” (p.173). On the other hand, as indicated by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, informal learning includes activities that take place “in the family, workplace, local community and daily life, on a self-directed, family-directed or socially-directed basis” (as cited in Yasunaga, 2014, p.7). Dib (1988) made a noteworthy observation about non-formal services in education is that they have an organized design which completely makes them different from the informal learning processes.
**Why Non-Formal Education?** Growing literature are criticizing formal schooling systems as being unable to meet the needs of the society and call for new alternatives such as non-formal education. Scholars studying non-formal education pointed to some factors that caused the emergence of educational services of distinctive characteristics. Among the arguments that were made in previous writings is that non-formal learning experiences “offer the expertise that [learners] hope to acquire and the necessary assistance for a better understanding of their own selves and of their world” (Dib, 1988, p.303).

Bray and Kwo (2014) narrowed down the scope of non-formal services that take place outside the schooling system to two domains: examination-oriented services and developmental enrichment opportunities. Examination-oriented activities take place in the form of private tutoring (Lao, 2014) and enrichment opportunities means for example character building camps, literacy programs and internships. Bearing in mind this range of non-formal services further provides logic for its existence. For example, the quality of learning at schools seems to shape a prime reason that obliges parents to search for private tutoring lessons, certainly in addition to the bottle-neck examination system (Sayed, 2006; Ille, 2015). The formal curriculum is another reason which is perceived as rigid and incapable of catching up with contemporary societal needs; and this condition makes the need for enrichment learning opportunities outside the schooling system more pressing (Dib, 1988; Kliucharev, 2010).

**Non-Formal Education in Egypt.** A significant expansion has been witnessed in the role of CSOs in providing literacy programs during the 1990s period, when former Egyptian President Mubarak embarked on non-formal education initiatives for the sake of eradicating illiteracy (Sayed, 2006). Provided non-formal education activities in Egypt started to include a vast variety such as: vocational trainings, character development and literacy programs and
tutoring sessions for students who could not afford private tutoring. On the other hand, the rise of private sector in the educational field included at first formal schooling models, and started to include profitable development enrichment opportunities or teaching centers that provide examination-oriented tutoring but outside the formal sphere.

A short overview on previous literature that studies the status of educational quality and equality in Egypt (Megahed & Ginsburg, 2009), reveals challenging indicators that directly or indirectly contributed to the flourishing of the non-formal sector in education. Private tutoring as an example, according to many studies, represents a by-product of deteriorating learning quality at schools (Ille, 2015). And from an access perspective, non-formal initiatives that run by national and international CSOs are dedicated to “capture those individuals that had fallen out of the formal education net, for whatever reason” (Sabri, 2007, p.1). Also, some organizations provide practical trainings and workshops that relate more to needs of learners away from any formal examination purposes.

In short, mapping the Egyptian non-formal education sector in terms of service providers as well as scope of activities would resemble the outcomes of Bray & Kwo (2014). Providers involved in the non-formal services range from for-profit companies to independent individuals to CSOs. Services offered are either formal examination-oriented as in the case of private tutoring or development enrichment opportunities (see Figure 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Providers:</th>
<th>Social enterprises, independent individuals and civil society organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scope of Work:</td>
<td>Development enrichment programs and private tutoring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 2. Some examples of non-formal education providers in Egypt and their scope of work.*
Quality and Equality in Egyptian Education

Despite national and international efforts in the field of educational improvement in Egypt, quality and inequality indicators represent signs of an education system that is markedly far from the Egyptians’ aspirations (Sayed, 2006). Previous deep-seated studies documented and analyzed the educational status in Egypt revealing distressing manifestations of a system that requires immediate interventions on a multitude of levels.

Social inequality and stratification are perceived as repercussions of a flawed schooling system that legitimizes prejudice (Megahed & Ginsburg, 2009). Inequalities in Egypt are not only revealed in access to education but also in educational attainment; having access to education does not guarantee equal opportunities in achievement due to the differing quality of learning served. Female to male, rural to urban areas and low to high socioeconomic backgrounds are all divisive poles that portray in statistical records how the system ‘stratifies’ its human capital.

With respect to quality there is a growing emphasis on radically changing the philosophy of instruction to engage learners and develop critical thinking skills (Megahed, Ginsburg, Abdullah & Zohry, 2012). For this purpose, Egypt has undertaken many reform initiatives, however, the attempts seem to face clustered challenges that include: deficiencies in sustainability, local resistance, and lack of teachers’ motivation (UNPD/UNESCO, 1996). As a result, educational quality still suffers from what Freire (1986) called the narrative disease with all its consequences on Egyptian students.

Social Entrepreneurship

In the light of contemporary global crisis in economic and social terms, and the inability of the nation-state to deliver social services to the public efficiently, social entrepreneurship appears to
some observers as an advantageous solution. Definitions made by many scholars about the term social entrepreneurship always center around considering it as a process that involves innovative utilization of limited resources to address the ever-challenging social needs (Cope, Jack & Rose, 2007). Accordingly, a social entrepreneur is a person who is concerned with social value creation rather than profit maximization. The social entrepreneur focuses on “the fulfillment of basic and long standing needs such as providing food, water, shelter, education and medical services …” (Certo & Miller, 2008, p.267).

Social entrepreneurship offers itself as a key solution to the claimed simultaneous failure of the for-profit private sector, the public sector and also unsustainable models of CSOs (Buchahan, 2010; Stecker, 2014). The operational model used by a social entrepreneur is called a social enterprise. In this new model, social problems are solved through the application of business model approaches; this marriage of the business and social circles shapes the essence of this mode of social development. Abdou and El-Ebrashy (2015) elaborated on the nature of a social enterprise, saying that it runs by “social entrepreneurs [who undertake] strategic endeavors to subsidize their services by seeking profitable opportunities in the core activities” (p.37) of their venture. Herein lays an important feature of the definition adopted in this study of social entrepreneurship, which is about the profitable opportunities that have clear relation with the vision of the enterprise. For example, a social enterprise, in the definition adopted by this study, does not raise funds through doing activities that are not at the ‘core’ of their vision (Defourny, 2001; Dees & Anderson, 2006; Nicholls, 2006). That is to say, they can seek profit directly from service recipients or indirectly through sponsors or intermediary clients, but in both cases through their core services.
Promising Alternative to CSOs? Considerable amount of literature about social entrepreneurship focuses on the differences between social enterprises and CSOs. A clear direction of thought is calling for the expansion of social enterprises as a much better kind of social organization, instead of the widely spread CSOs. In fact, the critiques against non-profit organizations belonging to the civil society include the absence of long-term viability that helps the organization achieve its social mission (Dahshan, Tolba, Badreldin, 2012; Defourny, 2001). Despite the overt social intentions revealed by CSOs, problems with funding seem to terminate these utopian attempts. Also, CSOs are accused of falling in the corporatist game, bearing the fact that many of them have partnerships with multinational corporations. This led many observers to see that CSOs cannot be a solution to the capitalist domination -instead it is a part of it- that worsened the societal concerns around the world. Social enterprises adopt a mission-driven business approach which is assumed to increase professionalism in the social development field and create more job opportunities. (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014).

Operationalization. Major conceptualizations occurred to the term social enterprise and thereby social entrepreneurship. Causes of reconceptualization are well-understood when the short history of the concept is considered. As Defourny and Nyssens (2014) confirmed, various interpretations advocated by several scholars and development organizations that attempt to describe enterprises with social purposes did lead to a blurred vision about what really constitutes a social enterprise. This certainly brings up another question which is: what is the difference between a typical non-profit CSO and a social enterprise?

Indeed, answering the above question through previous literature about social entrepreneurship is a back-breaking task with no real conclusion owing to the endless different explanations provided. Fortunately, Dees and Anderson (2006) managed to raise this issue and
pinpoint the different sets of criteria adopted by scholars that result in these varying conclusions. Two schools of thought, they claimed, are contributing to the conceptualization of social enterprises. The first school of thought is referred to as “the earned income” school. In this stream of thought, Mohammed Yunus’s definition of social business is highly related to the concept of social entrepreneurship:

A social business is a cause-driven business. In a social business, the investors/owners can gradually recoup the money invested, but cannot take any dividend beyond that point… Purpose of the investment is purely to achieve one or more social objectives through the operation of the company, no personal gain is desired by the investors. (Yunus, 2007, para.1).

As can be noted, the emphasis is on the application of mature business models to satisfy a social need (Yunus, 2006). It excludes the commercial activities some non-profit organizations carry out to raise funds. Commercial activities have to be, according to this school of thought, central to the organization mission, otherwise it would be a traditional fundraising activity.

On the other hand, scholars belonging to the social innovation school stress more on the change-making outcomes of a social enterprise. They underline the systemic nature of innovation brought about by the social enterprises to solve societal problems. A social entrepreneur is viewed as a change-making agent who creates and sustains social value by seizing limited opportunities through continuous innovation and adaptation to achieve a social mission (Bornstein, 2004). With regards to the fund-raising mechanism, according to the social innovation school, a social enterprise can be a for-profit, non-profit or hybrid organization (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Different types of organizations. According to some scholars, social entrepreneurship can only exist in (1), while other scholars see that (1), (2) and (3) may all fall under the term social entrepreneurship. Source (Dees & Anderson, 2006)
Social Entrepreneurship in Egypt. Egypt, as many developing countries, is facing extensive challenges with regards to the provision of social services. Financial complications facing the Egyptian state are exponentially increasing as contemporary figures clearly imply (IMF 2016; OECD 2015). Besides, unemployment rates are high among youth in particular. According to the definitions and rationales of social entrepreneurship, social innovation or social-problems solving and increasing job opportunities are prominent promises; and they apparently align with evident current needs in the Egyptian society (Blackwood, 2012; Dahshan, Tolba & Badreldin, 2012). This condition has resulted in a growing number of initiatives that started to take place in the past decade regarding social entrepreneurship in Egypt. Public events, competitions and conferences held about the future and promising impact of social entrepreneurship on the Egyptian youth were all taken over by emerging entities that shouldered the burden of spreading awareness about the field in the Egyptian context (Abdou & El-Ebrashi, 2015). Bloom and Dees (2008) used the term ecosystem, which is more common in hard sciences, to describe the common space shared by social entrepreneurship actors in a country. Social entrepreneurs, service recipients, investors and Intermediary Support Organizations (ISOs) are the main actors of the Egyptian ecosystem of social entrepreneurship (see Figure 4). The term ISO was introduced by Abdou and El-Ebrashi (2015). This kind of organization offer technical and financial support to social entrepreneurs. Technical support offered by ISOs include many activities, such as capacity building trainings for entrepreneurs. ISOs also run incubation programs. In these programs, youth are engaged in a lengthy learning experience that helps them identify an entrepreneurial idea and ultimately build a social startup. Financially, some ISOs offer seed-funds for startups or connect them to investors. In Egypt, ASHOKA, Synergos, and Nahdet El-Mahrosa are some examples of active social entrepreneurship hubs.
However, the number of social enterprises compared to the business entrepreneurial models is quite low. Limited support from the private sector, lack of assistance from the media and public sector, lack of cultural awareness and recognition of social workers, are all factors that impinge on the growth of the social enterprise sector in Egypt (Abdou, Fahmy, Greenwald & Nelson, 2008). One of the challenges facing social enterprises in Egypt is the absence of a clear registration format that acknowledge its distinctive characteristics. As a result, social entrepreneurs in Egypt have to choose between registering as a private business or as a CSO.

Role of Social Enterprises in the Non-Formal Sector

As the previous sections imply, various studies have been conducted to examine the importance, role and impact of non-formal education, either examination-oriented (Assaad & Krafft, 2015; Hargreaves, 1997; Sobhy, 2012) or enrichment programs that are run by CSOs in Egypt (Iskandar, 2005; Sabri 2007). Also, a considerable number of scholars did explore the movement of social entrepreneurship in Egypt and highlight remarkable potentials and challenges in the social services field (Abdou & El-Ebrashy, 2015; Abdou et al, 2008; Dahshan, Tolba & Badreldin, 2012). Nevertheless, according to my search, previous literature did not study the role of social enterprises in the Egyptian educational scene as a provider of non-formal services; this is well-understood owing to the relative novelty of the discourse in Egypt. That is why, in my research, I will focus on uncovering the potentials and challenges with regards to the role of education-oriented social enterprises in providing non-formal services in Egypt.
Chapter 3: Research Methods

In this chapter, adopted research framework and employed tools are explained in relation to previously stated research questions. The general framework that guides this research is described before giving a detailed explanation of the research design, sample, instruments, data collection steps and data analysis procedures.

Methodological Framework

The aim of this study is to explore the impact of education-oriented social enterprises from multiple but complementary standpoints to yield an exploratory view about this sort of social organization in the Egyptian educational field. To this end, a critical inquiry approach is adopted as a broad methodological framework (Fletcher, 2016; Kress, 2011). Research methods attempt to uncover the documented and perceived impact of educational social enterprises without isolating them from their social context, and using interdisciplinary post-modernist methods of reading and analyzing data. As this work adopts a critical approach, it studies initiatives such as educational social enterprises without sidestepping macroscopic issues or ideological conflicts including power struggle between state and non-state actors, and neoliberal capitalism. Finally, it is believed that the researcher is not a fully objective, politically unbiased person. On the contrary, the researcher is naturally a subjective observer, locally situated and historically positioned.
Research Design

A qualitative embedded research design (Creswell, 2003) was employed to serve the purpose of this research (see Figure 5). Semi-structured in-depth interviews were individually conducted with: i) six social entrepreneurs that represent different entities of social enterprises, and ii) three representatives from local and global ISOs. Also focus group discussions were conducted with thirty service recipients from four different enterprises. The qualitative component, notably, encompassed the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, and also document analysis of provided brochures (if any) from the social enterprises. Quantitatively, closed-ended questions during the interviews with social entrepreneurs or provided factsheets amounted for the needed figures by this research.

Sample Description

The sample was composed of three main segments: i) social entrepreneurs; ii) service recipients, and iii) representatives of ISOs. Social entrepreneurs were the founders and Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of their enterprises, all located in Cairo. Purposeful sampling was made to choose social organizations that meet a pre-set criteria which is as follows (Dees & Anderson, 2006; Defourny, 2001; Nicholls, 2006; OECD, 1999): i) profits are made through core services; ii) distribution of profit is limited; iii) there is a significant economic risk, and iv) the enterprise demonstrates high autonomy and a participatory nature. It was convenient to approach social
Enterprises through ISOs that have already adopted the above mentioned criteria, which was successfully done to ensure accurate sampling process. Secondly, the service recipients that are either school or university students were randomly selected based on availability at the time of the visit and depending on their willingness to participate in the research. Finally, representatives from ISOs were conveniently sampled; two of them serve in national social entrepreneurship hubs and one serves in an international one (see Tables 1, 2 & 3).

Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Center Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) approvals were obtained prior to the data collection process (see Appendices A & B). The research participants’ approvals were obtained verbally or through previously developed Consent and Assent Forms. Parents’ approvals were also taken orally or through Parental Permission Forms, in case of students whose age is sixteen years or less (see Appendices C, D & E).

**Table 1.** A description of interviewed social entrepreneurs in terms of age and educational background.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Entrepreneur</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Educational Background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Bachelor in Engineering/Master in Business Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bachelor in Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Bachelor in Engineering/Master in Business/Master in Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Bachelor in Engineering/Post-Graduate Diploma in Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bachelor in Marketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Bachelor in Engineering</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.** The sample of students that participated in the focus group discussions disaggregated by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 - 19</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data Collection Instruments

Instruments used to collect the data were i) semi-structured interviews; ii) document analysis, and iii) focus groups. First, the semi-structured interviews were conducted with social entrepreneurs to uncover the role of education-oriented social enterprises in Egypt. The average duration of each interview was about one hour. Themes and questions were defined and used to guide the flow of the interview and ensure its contribution to the research purpose (see Appendix F). In the meantime, participants had the room to elaborate on topics or background information that they saw as valuable with minimal boundaries or restrictions.

In three cases of social enterprises, social entrepreneurs provided brochures and factsheets about their organizations. Even though the content written in the brochures and interview responses were similar, there was sometimes more elaboration on the vision and mission statements, and on the pedagogical philosophy which required a document analysis task. On the other hand, provided factsheets conveyed important numerical information such as the outreach of the organization and the number of impacted student. But in those where no factsheets were provided, closed-ended questions were asked during the interview to collect the required quantitative data.

Interviews with the three representatives of ISOs were conducted to provide bird-view speculations about social enterprises’ potentials and challenges in the social services arena in general. The adopted methodology of interviews was the same as with social entrepreneurs but

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Representative from (ISO)</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Current Relevant Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Designs and supervises an incubation program of a national ISO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Co-founder and board member of a national ISO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Director of MENA venture, international ISO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
with a different set of themes and questions (see Appendix G). The average duration of interviews with representatives of ISOs was 30 minutes.

Focus group discussions centered around the differences between the learning experience at the social enterprises and at formal schools. Questions were formulated to reveal the students’ perceived impact from the programs they participate in (see Appendix H). The average duration of the focus group was fifteen minutes. Participants in the focus groups were the service recipients of only three enterprises; two enterprises were offering online learning platforms, which made approaching a sample of their beneficiaries difficult.

**Data Analysis: Procedures and Rationales**

Analyzing the collected data was built upon the research questions:

1. To what extent do social enterprises contribute to better educational quality through the non-formal services?

2. Taking into consideration that social enterprises have different operating models, to what extent can social enterprises improve or hinder educational equality in the Egyptian scene?

3. What are the challenges that impinge on the expected impact of social enterprises in the educational field?

4. To what extent is the social entrepreneurship framework perceived as a promising alternative for better social services in Egypt?

First, each question was broken down to themes. This was followed by matching those themes to the different categories of the research participants: social entrepreneurs, students or representatives of ISOs, which were assumed to best inform those various subjects (see Figure 6). Upon the completion of the interviews and focus group discussions that were all done in
Arabic, based on the preferences of participants, data were transcribed then translated into English. Afterwards, a thematic analysis was conducted to extract the most relevant data before identifying the most powerful quotes to include them in the findings.

**Q1: Better Quality?**
- **Themes:** Dissatisfaction towards formal education/ Educational philosophy/ Curriculum/ Perceived impact from students/ Perceived impact from entrepreneurs
- **Instruments:** Interviews with social entrepreneurs and focus group discussion with students

**Q2: Better Equality?**
- **Themes:** Systemic Inequalities/ Charging fees/ Serving underprivileged/ Essentiality of profit-making
- **Instruments:** Interviews with social entrepreneurs

**Q3: Challenges**
- **Themes:** Legal and regulatory framework/ Funding/ Official support/ Business sense/ Educational sense/ Governance
- **Instruments:** Interviews with social entrepreneurs and representatives of ISOs

**Q4: Best Alternative?**
- **Themes:** Promising future/ Methodological concerns/ Addressing expectations
- **Instruments:** Interviews with social entrepreneurs and representative of ISOs

*Figure 6. Thematic analysis in relation to the research questions. The figure shows the themes according to each question and points out the employed research instruments.*

It is important to highlight again that questions about quality, equality and alternative social enterprises, each would probably need a separate study. However, due to the lack of previous studies about that sort of social organizations in education in Egypt, the purpose of this work is to yield an initial view about educational social enterprises from diverse and complementary stances.
The first question, as previously mentioned, was about the impact of social enterprises in terms of providing quality learning experiences. Assessing educational quality is a complex process that necessitates the incorporation of a variety of tools. Within available data collection instruments, the study looked at how social entrepreneurs perceived the impact of their organizations on education. Also, it examined the perception of service recipients about the impact of participating in the programs offered by the social enterprises. The theme namely curriculum, explored one question: to what extend do the designed programs meet the participants’ expectations and needs? The educational philosophy as well was an important index to discern the learning environment at the enterprises from the service providers as well as the recipients. Last, as the desire to improve educational quality always springs out from certain reservations on the current system; accordingly, social entrepreneurs were asked to explain what are the defects in formal schooling and how they try to heal its consequences on students through their services.

In the second question, the intent was to uncover whether social enterprises can contribute to better equality or maybe boost educational stratification, bearing in mind their business operational model. Social entrepreneurs were asked about the percentage of underprivileged students enrolled in their activities, and whether they charge fees for offered services or not. Themes, laid out by this question, probed also how social entrepreneurs think about the profit-making nature of their enterprises. Collective responses to those themes were to provide valuable data about the role social enterprises play in the equality domain.

Understanding the challenges that face education-oriented enterprises and hinder a long-lasting impact from their educational activities was the main course of the third question. To that end, revealing the perceptions of social entrepreneurs and the representatives of ISOs about their
legal framework, funding mechanisms and official support was targeted. While the entrepreneurs pointed to their personal entrepreneurial challenges, representatives from ISOs interestingly referred to more generic kinds of challenges that they explicitly notice in the whole ecosystem of social entrepreneurship in Egypt.

The social entrepreneurship discourse that is strongly propagandized by powerful intermediaries, globally and locally, emanates from high skepticism about the role of governments and private sector in solving pressing social needs. By this question, the study attempted to underscore, through the words of social entrepreneurs, challenges that are highly tied to the social enterprise approach itself. Besides, representatives of ISOs were asked to comment on some critiques raised toward the social entrepreneurship framework, and they expressed their personal opinions about the real promise of social entrepreneurship in Egypt.

**Study Limitations**

As a qualitative research, the yielded results depend only on sampled social enterprises as well as ISOs. Although education-oriented social enterprises do share many key characteristics and the ecosystem is still in its embryonic stage, the study presents the documented and perceived findings of a small sample of the ecosystem. Furthermore, the posed research questions each would deserve a separate study to yield more in-depth insights, however, as mentioned earlier this work attempts to provide a critical exploratory view about the potentials and challenges of educational social enterprises in Egypt. Finally, this research adopts a certain definition of social entrepreneurship (Dees & Anderson, 2006; Defourny, 2001; OECD, 1999). However, it has to be mentioned that other scholars have agreed on a different interpretation of social entrepreneurship that includes non-profit and hybrid ventures (Fowler, 2000; Nicholls, 2006).
Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

As established, the purpose of this study was to critically inquire into the role of an emerging player in the Egyptian educational arena, namely social enterprises. While it is believed that sampled social enterprises share many operational and technical mechanisms with the rest of enterprises in the ecosystem, the laid-out results should be dealt with caution to avoid hasty generalizations.

The chief objective of this chapter is to thematically showcase the research findings yielded after finalizing the data collection process. The findings are chronologically introduced in accordance with the four research questions listed earlier. After displaying the raw results in relation to each of the themes tied to every question, the responses were analyzed and linked with previous related literature (if any) to consolidate answers for the questions raised by this research. Prior to all of that, an overview, that was drawn from the interviews, on the entities involved in this research is provided, to better contextualize and envision the narratives of the research participants.

Social Enterprises: Nature of Work

Organizations studied by this research represented Cairo-based models of social enterprises that are led by Egyptian youth of an age range from 22 to 37 years. Although the six cases had operational commonalities, different functions and goals shaped the kinds of educational intervention undertaken by each enterprise (see Figures 7-12). All social entrepreneurs stated that their enterprises are registered as private businesses, not CSOs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vision</th>
<th>Prepare an influential and productive generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scope of Work</strong></td>
<td>Focusing on main values and principles, namely: productivity, multiple intelligence &amp; democracy, enterprise A offers project-based programs where students meet regularly with mentors to develop their own products. The target group is school students from grade 3 to 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Facts</strong></td>
<td>Founded in 2013 and reached 1,200 students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 7. An overview on social enterprise A*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vision</th>
<th>Enlighten every young individual in Egypt to be at the best position according to his/her capabilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scope of Work</strong></td>
<td>Enterprise B focuses on providing hands-on career education programs that includes university faculties’ orientations and job-shadowing opportunities. High school students are the current targeted segment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Facts</strong></td>
<td>Founded in 2015 and reached 4,500 students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 8. An overview on social enterprise (B)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vision</th>
<th>Connect with and change the life of younger generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scope of Work</strong></td>
<td>Based on a student-centric instructional design, enterprise C offers a variety of services to school students that include workshops, camps and special programs to develop the students’ skills set and self-awareness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Facts</strong></td>
<td>Founded in 2014 and reached 10,000 students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 9. An overview on social enterprise (C)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vision</th>
<th>Improve the skills of Arab students for a competitive job market</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scope of Work</strong></td>
<td>Enterprise D provides an online video platform for school students to support and guide students in studying formal curriculum in Egypt, KSA and other Arab countries. It has an online a premium online tutoring service, in addition to the free crowd-sourced educational videos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Facts</strong></td>
<td>Founded in 2012 and has 700,000 active users</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 10. An overview on social enterprise (D)*
Vision | Offer personalized education for students
---|---
**Scope of Work** | Concentrating on certain subjects such as business, English and computer science, enterprise E regulates an online tutoring marketplace and matches competent tutors with students.
**Facts** | Founded in 2017 and is still in beta phase

*Figure 11. An overview on social enterprise (E)*

| Vision | Boosting scientific awareness for better life decisions and effective citizenship
---|---
**Scope of Work** | Enterprise F attempts to bring science to life for school and university students by designing group challenges to create robots using materials in homes or low-cost store-bought items.
**Facts** | Founded in 2007, put on hold several times and reached 9,000 students

*Figure 12. An overview on social enterprise (F)*

**Intermediary Support Organization: Nature of Work**

Representatives of ISOs participating in this research were asked about the nature of role that their organizations play in the social entrepreneurship ecosystem in Egypt. Their responses about their missions in the entrepreneurial field are pivotal to critically conceive their perceptions with respect to the challenges and promises of social enterprises (see Figure 13-15).

| Vision | Supporting entrepreneurship and empowering Egyptian youth to boost national economy
---|---
**Scope of Work** | ISO A offers technical support through intensive workshops, and runs an incubation program every year to choose ten winner teams. Winning teams have access to seed funds according to their ranking and get exposed to a variety of investors.
**Facts** | Founded in 2006, registered as a national CSO

*Figure 13. An overview on ISO (A)*
Question (1): Better Quality?

The first question was about the extent of the educational social enterprises’ contribution to the provision of quality education.

**Findings.**

*Dissatisfaction toward formal education.* All social entrepreneurs interviewed deeply expressed their disappointment with the formal education system. Their allegations regarding the contemporary status of education (public and private) addressed multiple issues. To elaborate, social entrepreneur (A) claimed that the critical drawback in schooling nowadays is the absence of a shared end in mind goal from education. From another standpoint, entrepreneur (B) focused in his critique on the gap between career life and what is taught at schools. Similarly,
entrepreneur (E) expanded that criticism to encompass higher education institutions: “when I was in university, I didn’t see that they teach practical experience that prepares one for the labor market”. Shedding light on the low attainment percentages in Egyptian public schools and the absence of in-depth understanding, entrepreneur (D) emphasized on the inconvenient learning environment at schools that is demonstrated in low teacher to student ratios. And entrepreneur (F) views that the problem of formal schooling is in the adopted “industrial-age learning” model and the chronic segregation from students’ real lives. Finally, entrepreneur (C) said that “formal curriculum is outdated and oppressive”.

**Educational philosophy.** When the founders of the enterprises were asked about their educational values and strategies, their responses differed according to the nature of the services they offer. However, all of them put emphasis on their adoption of modernistic learning designs that completely differ, according to them, from the learning strategies at formal schools. For instance, entrepreneur (C) explained their adopted learning approach saying: “Our approach is definitely student-centered”. Entrepreneur (A) stressed on democratic education as a prime value of the enterprise; he defined it as the participatory approach of engaging the students in every stage of their learning process including what to learn. Other entrepreneurs such as (B) and (F) highlighted their hands-on learning techniques, while entrepreneurs (E) and (D) gave emphasis on personalized learning and students’ empowerment respectively.

**Curriculum.** Most of the social enterprises developed their own curriculum that matches the nature and scope of their activities. As entrepreneurs were asked to provide a brief about offered programs they gave some examples of addressed topics in the curriculum such as: social responsibility, decision making, career hunting and self-discovery. Enterprise (D), despite being dedicated to covering formal curriculum, regulates also the development of videos related to self-
discovery and learning styles. Also, in the educational videos that they offer, special care is given to the contextualization of different concepts to lead to higher levels of comprehension. Important to note herein that Enterprise (E) does not have a specific educational program, instead, it only administrates the tutoring market place (see Figure 10).

Perceived impact from students. The random sample of students who participated in the focus group discussions had generally positive perceptions about their learning experiences. In their responses, there was an evident dissatisfaction towards the learning approach at schools but the whole environment of formal schooling. Students depicted, in their narratives, the difference they experience saying: “Here we learn vital skills that would help us after school life” and “[at school], they teach curriculum that hardly relates to my life”. Furthermore, participants expressed the change in their attitudes in many statements, like: “I’m now less sensitive to others’ judgments, I believe more in my abilities” and “I feel very aware of the career life”.

Perceived impact from entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs when asked to disclose the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction towards the impact of their organizations so far, showed relatively high sense of achievement. Parents’ positive comments, promising changes in students’ behaviors, awards, reached number of students were common supporting evidence used by entrepreneurs. For instance, entrepreneur (C) said: “I see the impact in the change that happens to students’ behaviors and skills. I see it when I talk to parents and they tell me that their son or daughter have become more responsible”. With regard to enterprise (A), the founder said that students who are committed and attend regularly are more likely to demonstrate positive changes in attitudes and skills. Entrepreneur (D) pinpointed that his enterprise won several national and international awards; he clarified also that the growth in the number of users to reach 700,000
was completely organic (no marketing campaigns were made) which also indicates that students benefit from the offered services.

**Discussion.** Synthesizing the previous thematic responses from the service providers and recipients to answer the quality question raised by this research brings up a couple of remarks. Initially, examining the quality indicators, captured by this study, such as students’ satisfaction, perceived impact, learning environment and pedagogical values revealed promising results with regards to the impact that social enterprises have on their beneficiaries. It can be observed that ‘young’ entrepreneurs have managed to better connect with younger generations and design learning experiences that relate more to their needs and expectations. As documented in the narratives of social entrepreneurs, most of them said that they personally suffered from not being ‘educated’ as they should have been. Consequently, most of their ideas are inspired from authentic life complications and experiences; and this makes their enterprises rest on a concrete ground that is definitely shared with school and university students who face similar realities.

Yet, some concerns evolved in relation to the ‘entrepreneurial’ ideas of some enterprises. To point the concerns out, the dynamics of the entrepreneurship cycle have to be considered. Broadly speaking, the cycle of entrepreneurship springs out from the most essential and decisive stage which is idea formulation; ideally, the team that undertakes this stage are the founders of the enterprise (Bamford & Bruton, 2016). To build a startup and excel, as established by business scholars, the service has to be piloted with a sample of customers (Kuratko & Hodgetts, 2007). And based on their feedback, the entrepreneur runs a number of iterations either to modify the service prototype or probably refine the idea itself. Herein lays a key characteristic in the evolution of an enterprise which is the complete dependency on customer satisfaction; it is
certainly important, but should it be the only decisive indicator for ‘success’ when it comes to social services such as education?

To make it clear, as drawn from the interviews, some social enterprises do offer for profit private tutoring services or regulate tutoring market places to support students academically. Obviously, the model has clicked with the ‘customers’: students and parents. But, many studies that were conducted on private tutoring articulated that it shoulders parents and students a back-breaking burden with no actual educational benefit (Aurini, Davies & Dierkes, 2013; Hargreaves, 1997). This means that some enterprises reproduce flawed alternatives that do not solve the educational problem but may amplify it; because, the extent of innovation is framed by customers’ satisfactions. As LeBoeuf\(^1\) said in a famous quote, “A satisfied customer is the best business strategy”.

In the same vein, out of the six entrepreneurs, only one studies education. This may explain why some educational initiatives are built on imprecise assumptions about enhancing educational quality through private tutoring. It might not be a fatal drawback to have the CEOs of educational enterprises without strong background in education as long as they would hire experts. However, as noted above, the essence of the idea formulation stage is in the hand of the entrepreneur.

**Question (2): Better Equality?**

While the social entrepreneurship wave is coupled with calls for replacing the inefficient CSOs or at least mobilize the societal solutions of social enterprises at the expense of unsustainable approaches of CSOs, it is widely recognized that a main segment of the beneficiaries from the

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\(^1\) Michael LeBoeuf is a business author and former management professor at the University of New Orleans. He published eight books including one that is titled: *How to win customers and keep them for life.*
civil society models is the underprivileged. That is why, understanding more about the input of the enterprises with respect to improving educational equality in Egypt was intended from the second research question.

**Findings.**

**Systemic inequalities.** None of the interviewed social entrepreneurs disagreed on the observation made by many scholars that current formal educational system reproduces inequalities among Egyptian youth. They claimed that socioeconomic backgrounds of students play an important role in their lives as ultimately it determines the quality of education they receive.

**Charging fees.** Generally, social enterprises participating in this research charge fees for the services they provide except social enterprise (D); it offers the basic service which is the educational crowd-sourced videos for free. Some enterprises agreed to disclose the fees requested for participation, however, comparing the amounts of different enterprises may be misleading due to the variety in the number of meetings per different programs. To give an example, students who want to join a six-month program by enterprise (A) have to pay 2500 EGP, while enterprise (F) charges 450 EGP in total for a program that includes four meetings of an hour and a half.

**Serving underprivileged.** Although all entrepreneurs expressed their willingness to serve economically disadvantaged students, two out of the six entrepreneurs said that their organizations have contributions in that regard. Entrepreneur (D) while explaining the vision of the enterprise, indicated that the idea was to provide a free educational alternative for people who cannot afford private tutoring. According to him, public schools do not offer quality education and thereby parents turn to private tutoring that swallows up their income with no real benefit.
That is to say, he was concerned with the issue. Enterprise (A) was the second model that serves underprivileged students with a total of six students out of one hundred per term (six months).

**Essentiality of profit-making.** Asking entrepreneurs about the reason for not being able to serve underprivileged or only serve limited numbers, their responses were all about the necessity of profit-making to sustain their existence as enterprises. Entrepreneur (A) said for example “we don't receive funds from donors, we are depending on our generated revenues to sustain the services”, and a similar response from entrepreneur (B) was: “I must have a concrete and mature business model to sustain the company”. To avoid confusion with the previous theme, enterprise (D) offers a premium tutoring service in addition to the for-free basic service. Also enterprise (A) makes use of the profits to subsidize the enrollment of underprivileged students. Therefore, all enterprises are generating revenues, however, enterprises (A) and (D) capitalize on their earnings to serve needy students.

**Discussion.** In spite of the fact that all sampled entrepreneurs demonstrated an understanding of the contemporary status of educational equality in Egypt and its consequences on social immobility, there were obvious constraints that prevented them from intervening. The young entrepreneurs, who have the eagerness to serve economically disadvantaged students, reasoned the difficulty in driving this passion into practice by the essentiality of making profits to sustain their companies. Their comments, indeed, raise important determinants that relate to the potential of social enterprises in improving or more likely worsening educational equality in Egypt.

While issues of sustainability represent a huge burden on social ‘startups’ that prevents them from serving disadvantaged students, it was noted that their contribution in that regard was
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a factor of the following: i) the nature of provided services; ii) the adopted vision, and iii) the entrepreneurial environment.

First, for a social enterprise to function, there must be profits. The challenging trade-off that social startups face is how to offer a quality service that satisfies the customer and makes enough profit. Accordingly, when the service is not expensive, the amount of revenues needed to account for an acceptable profit margin, normally, will not be substantial. As an example, enterprise (D) as mentioned earlier provides its basic service for-free; the basic service is the crowd-sourced videos that are voluntarily uploaded by contributors (students and teachers) while the enterprise regulates the online platform. Obviously, the role that enterprise (D) plays costs some money, but not too much. This is an important reason for why social enterprise (D) ‘can’ offer its basic service without charging fees. On the other hand, social enterprises that offer educational programs requiring regular meetings, camps and field trips spend more money, which pushes them to charge fees. In this case, organizations offering these kinds of services cannot improve educational equality by offering their services to students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. By contrast, they ‘unintentionally’ reinforce pre-existing inequalities.

Secondly, when resolving inequalities or similar purposes related to that domain are not part of the enterprise vision, it is more likely that such enterprises will not serve disadvantaged students. To demonstrate, entrepreneur (D), while explaining why his organization exists, sketched the status of public schools in Egypt and how private tutoring represents a financial burden on parents especially those who cannot afford it. He also indicated that many consultants recommended that he has to start charging token fees that would generate substantial revenues owing to his huge number of users, but he refused. Simply it was a decision that stemmed from
the very vision of the enterprise. The observation was confirmed by another enterprise; entrepreneur (A), who cross-subsidizes the enrollment of a relatively low number of disadvantaged students through generated revenues. He clarified that since the establishment of the enterprise, social responsibility towards the needy has remained an important concern. Other entrepreneurs did not raise the issue of inequality when asked about their vision or about the challenges facing the education system in Egypt.

Thirdly, an important dimension to understand why sampled education-oriented social enterprises might not have great efforts with regards to equality improvement is looking thoroughly at the ecosystem and the challenges that social entrepreneurs confront. This is exactly what the third question tackles.

**Question (3): Challenges**

This question aimed at visualizing the challenges that face social entrepreneurs but also ISOs that are supposed to provide financial and technical support. In doing so, the factors that impinge on the impact of education-oriented social enterprises can be comprehensively presented.

**Findings.**

*Legal and regulatory Framework.* The absence of a clear registration format that acknowledges social enterprises as a separate legal entity in Egypt strongly emerged as a core challenge in all interviews with social entrepreneurs and representatives of ISOs. Participants confirmed that registration as a private business or as a CSO does not meet the special nature of a social enterprise. They believe that the legal distinction would furnish necessary facilities including exemption from taxes at least for the first five years.
**Funding.** Funding complications were tackled at two levels: social enterprises and ISOs. First, social entrepreneurs agreed that funding is always a huge concern especially for social startups. Entrepreneur (D), after highlighting the powerful role that investors can play, said that “social startups are not appealing to investors”. Representative of ISO (C) interestingly said that “investors fear of being looked upon as philanthropic” by investing in solving social aims without generating revenues. Secondly, national ISOs face funding difficulties as well. The social entrepreneurship hubs, that are registered as national CSOs, suffer while trying to access funds from donors or grants. Furthermore, the representative from ISO (B) indicated that even though CSOs have the legal right to do commercial activities and raise funds, they practically cannot because of the government intransigence, especially from the Ministry of Social Solidarity.

**Official support.** While most of the entrepreneurs did not show their need for special official support except with regards to the requested legislative reforms, entrepreneur (E) confirmed the presence of a growing state support to entrepreneurs. Conversely, entrepreneur (D) criticized the role of government saying: “they simply don’t care”. He added that official recognition from the Ministry of Education, if done, would have resulted in a huge promotion for his startup and thereby a greater benefit for students: “As we are exerting that huge effort to offer services that should have been provided by the state, then at least the government should offer a helping hand … We need promotion through official recognition”.

**Business sense.** Representatives of ISOs mentioned that one of the challenges is “the absence of business sense” among socially-minded entrepreneurs. Having this sense, according to them, would help them sustain their startups and be more convincing to investors.

**Educational sense.** As can be drawn from the educational background of interviewed social entrepreneurs, only one entrepreneur studied education.
Governance. None of the interviewed founders of enterprises that offer educational services have indicated any kind of governance from the state except the annual revisions of budgeting performed by the Ministry of Investment to calculate the due taxes. All sampled social enterprises are registered as private businesses, this is why they fall under the Ministry of Investment. For instance, entrepreneur (C) and (E) respectively responded when asked about governance saying: “As if they don't recognize me, they simply don't care” and “No governance, it’s some papers that we sign”.

Discussion. In response to the raised question about what might be limiting the impact of social enterprises in the educational arena, the related themes have to be merged to highlight some issues. First, the current legal framework that does not acknowledge social enterprises represents a root cause for many problems that face entrepreneurs. The registration as private businesses or CSOs are both limiting, according to the entrepreneurs and the representatives of ISOs. Registration as private businesses shoulders the ‘startups’ the burden of paying taxes, while registration as CSOs means employing the limited resources to the struggles with officials of the Ministry of Social Solidarity to raise funds by making commercial activities, which is surprisingly stated as a right in the CSO law (MOSS, 2016). In this vein, entrepreneur (B) said: “I’d rather choose to pay taxes rather than suffer as an NGO”.

Secondly, being technically and financially supported by ISOs, social startups including educational ones are negatively impacted by the difficulties that face ISOs that are registered as national CSOs. Thirdly, most of the entrepreneurs when asked about official support responded that they do not need it. However, this can be reasoned by the nature of their activities. In the case of social enterprise (D) that covers formal curriculum, the founder called for the support of the Ministry of Education. The entrepreneur claimed that he tried several times to reach officials
but they were not welcoming any kind of cooperation. He angrily commented: “We’re suffering … they don't care”. Fourthly, representatives of ISOs emphasized on the need of social entrepreneurs to enhance their business skills and ‘language’ to better communicate with investors and sustain their companies. Besides, as mentioned previously, the absence of educational awareness among entrepreneurs who are sincerely minded about education might lead to initiatives that harm the essence of education, as in the case of private tutoring.

Finally, entrepreneurs by their responses about absence of any forms of technical governance posed a fatal deficiency in the system. In Egypt, the Ministry of Education technically monitors CSOs that either provide formal education or enrichment opportunities inside formal schools (MOE, 2016). That sort of governance ties the functions of the Ministry of Education to the roles of the Ministry of Social Solidarity; the latter monitors the funding and cash flow, while the other is concerned with the offered educational service. However, in the case of social enterprises that are registered as private businesses, there are no communication channels between the Ministry of Investment and the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Investment has no educational experts who can monitor the quality of provided services, that is, it looks only at the annual balance to calculate the due taxes.

**Question (4): Best Alternative?**

In the light of interviewed social entrepreneurs and representatives of ISOs, this question attempts to examine the allegation that social entrepreneurship is a remedial solution for better social services in Egypt. It is important to highlight here that one of the themes, namely methodological concerns, depended on the narratives of social entrepreneurs when sketching the stories of their startups and general challenges. In other words, their responses indirectly served the theme that raises some imperfections in the very approach of social entrepreneurship.
Findings.

*Promising future.* In spite of the mentioned challenges, entrepreneurs and representatives of ISOs predicted a promising future for social entrepreneurship in Egypt. They all agreed that the ecosystem is notably growing, and predominantly there is an increased awareness towards the importance of social entrepreneurship in Egypt.

*Methodological concerns.* As drawn from the interviews with social entrepreneurs and representatives of ISOs, they directly and indirectly pointed out to several methodological constraints. For instance, representative of ISO (A) explained that many social entrepreneurs suffer from an inner conflict with regards to their own intentions: “Am I socially-minded or business-minded?”. Also entrepreneur (C) referred to the same confusion when asked about how he perceives the impact of his organization: “It’s really a hard dilemma, business and education”. Interestingly, entrepreneur (B) disclosed the same meaning with different words when asked about profit making and social aims: “I always have this inner conflict”.

Secondly, the pressure exerted on social startups to be commercialized and focus on raising more profits was mentioned several times. Entrepreneur (F) said that a prime reason for halting their activities more than once was the absence of cashflows and his intent not to charge substantial fees. However, he claimed that currently the enterprise is doing much better progress because they decided to change their target segment to charge significant fees and generate sufficient revenues. Similarly, entrepreneur (D) said:

> We’ve tried to focus only on social impact and ignore making profit, but things didn't work out well. If time went backwards, I’d have chosen to make profits from day one. This delay has resulted in many suffering moments, and we’re still suffering!
Last but not least, it has been indicated that the profit-making characteristic is highly essential to all social enterprises; entrepreneur (B) made it explicit: “There can’t be a social enterprise without profit making, no one works for free”, while entrepreneur (D) said: “Profit maximization is becoming a need to seize independency from investors and scale the startup”. Clearly, this organizational feature makes these enterprises fail to reach big masses of the Egyptian community, not only economically disadvantaged populations.

**Addressing expectations.** Representatives of ISOs when confronted with some of the raised critiques against social entrepreneurship tended to explain their rationales of supporting the discourse in Egypt specifically. The representative from ISO (B) agreed on the importance of state interventions when it comes to the provision of social services, and criticized the free enterprise ideology rooted in the Egyptian system from the last decade of Mubarak’s epoch, he claimed. In the meantime, he thoroughly explained that taking into account the dismantling of civil society by the new CSOs Law, the space created by social entrepreneurship is extremely important for Egyptian youth. He added while trying to redress the imbalanced view about social entrepreneurship: “It’s just a space where Egyptian youth can channel their energies in a productive way during these depressing circumstances until the chance comes and they work in the public sector”. Representatives of ISO (A) and ISO (C) respectively said in a similar line of thought: “Social entrepreneurship is not a radical solution - if there is something called a radical solution -, it’s just the best that we can do for now” and “As we live under the tenets of neoliberalism any solution these days will certainly contain neoliberal assertions, however, it is a promising move”.

**Discussion.** Analyzing the argument that social entrepreneurship is the best alternative for improving the provision of social services in Egypt through themes that entrepreneurs and
representatives of ISOs brought up during the interviews, has yielded two categorically different insights. The first category is about the role of social entrepreneurship specifically in Egypt given the contemporary political context. And the second domain entails some reservations on the entrepreneurial approach in the provision of social services.

Starting with the first category, in light of expected restrictions on the civil society due to the new NGO law, it can be said that social entrepreneurship amounts for well-intentioned and socially-minded Egyptian youth a convenient career path where they can challenge chronic societal problems in education, health or other sectors. This indeed doubles the value of social entrepreneurship, at least during this period of time. Yet, the social entrepreneurship approach has to be objectively examined to avoid exaggerations on the magnitude of its impact.

As clarified earlier, some imperfections in the social entrepreneurship methodology evolved in the findings of conducted interviews. First, social enterprises that are committed to social aims and at the same time have to generate ‘sufficient’ revenues suffer from an organizational dilemma. Despite being fully immersed in the ‘competitive market’ that barely values any aims but commercial, social enterprises have to remain socially dedicated. As a result, social enterprises face the threat of drifting away from their social goals due to isomorphic pressures from the market ‘system’ (Garrow & Hasenfeld, 2014; Lindblom 2001). As demonstrated in the cases of enterprise (D) and (F), the first started with offering a free service but as time passed founders were pushed to raise more funds to sustain their startup. Thereby, they started to offer profitable private tutoring service, though as the founder mentioned, one of the reasons for the establishment of the enterprise was to resist the phenomenon of tutoring. Similarly, enterprise (F) started to charge more fees and changed their customers segment to avoid liquidation of the company.
Secondly, the perceived essentiality of making profits, confirmed by entrepreneurs, rests on the entrepreneurial logic that relates scalability of social impact with profit. As many advocates of for-profit social entities believe, “profit is the magic that allows solutions to be infinitely scalable” (Porter, 2016); this is problematic. The insistence on profit-making raises many concerns about the impact of a probable expansion in the role of social enterprises on individuals of limited financial capabilities; this tactic will certainly reinforce inequalities and also abolish the concept of social rights. In fact, the momentum that social entrepreneurship is gaining in developing countries that have highest numbers of vulnerable populations, given its emphasis on profits, is quite surprising. To sum up this point, it appears that advocates of entrepreneurship still analyze the social enterprise model from an individualistic point of view that is biased towards the commercial success of the entrepreneur at the expense of a critical examination of its social impact.
Chapter 5: Conclusion and Future Work

In view of the escalating attention and encouragement of social entrepreneurship as a worthy career option among Egyptian youth by influential national and international development organizations, the need for a sector-based study that critically explores the impact of social enterprises according to the perspective of the field specialists that is targeted by the intervention was pressing. Previous research approaching social entrepreneurship in Egypt tended either to present extended arguments on the national economic gain from expanding this emerging sector (Dahshan, Tolba & Badreldin, 2012), or map its progress and highlight encountered challenges under several political tensions that took place in a few years (Abdou & El-Ebrashi, 2015; Abdou et al, 2008). However, the main objective of this study was to survey the impact of social enterprises that offer educational services to yield evidence-based insights into the potential of that sort of social organizations in the Egyptian educational arena.

The research questions were formulated to construct a concise exploratory view that documents the impact of education-oriented social enterprises on educational quality and equality. But also, they looked at the challenges embedded in the ecosystem of entrepreneurship in Egypt to better assess the educational contribution of the enterprises that operate within a certain context and under multiple on-ground complications. Finally, the last research question explored pragmatically the propagated allegations about social entrepreneurship as a solution package for ‘efficient’ social services generally and for educational services specifically.

Methodologically, the research followed a qualitative embedded design. The main contributing element employed in research methods was the in-depth interviewing. In-depth individual interviews with six social entrepreneurs who are the founders of different education-
oriented enterprises were conducted, in addition to three social entrepreneurship experts that spoke on behalf of three influential ISOs in the ecosystem.

Outcomes and Recommendations

1. The quality contribution of education-oriented social enterprises is promising. Social entrepreneurs are showing positive signs with respect to connecting with students and thereby benefiting them, compared to formal schooling, public and private.

2. The emergence of new actors as providers of educational services such as social enterprises poses an important question: how can formal and non-formal learning experiences be bridged to lead a well-defined purpose? The development of national quality framework standards would open the door to non-state actors as complementary providers of learning.

3. Several queries are raised about the entrepreneurial idea of offering private tutoring services that cover formal curriculum. Although the tutoring phenomenon faced robust critiques from many perspectives including educational quality and social equality, such an idea is gaining momentum in the Egyptian ecosystem of social entrepreneurship. Surprisingly, startups providing these kinds of services were successfully incubated and won many competitions. This may be reasoned by the over-concentration of competition judges on the commercial success of the startups. And hence they pay little attention to questioning the social impact of the startups.

4. It is highly recommended that ISOs, while recruiting judges, have to take into consideration the importance of having field experts that evaluate the very logic of the entrepreneurial ideas, in addition to the focus they already have on business models which is done by business specialists.
5. Lack of governance from the Ministry of Education on private businesses that offer services that should fall under their umbrella of expertise, is problematic. Instead the current situation is that those businesses fall under the Ministry of Investment as they do not offer formal schooling services but rather supplementary services: an area that the Ministry of Investment lacks in expertise and generally lies outside its authority. Governance would have helped to point out technically flawed entrepreneurial ideas such as private tutoring from the beginning, especially that the government is about to criminalize private tutoring among its teachers.

6. As case studies in this research imply, educational equality is not a domain that social enterprises are expected to strongly improve. Social enterprises have a fiscal well-being that requires continuous pumping of revenues in order to be functional. Socially impactful activities that run by an enterprise are coupled by an explicit profit gain. This nature of a social enterprise seems to contradict any unprofitable endeavors with economically disadvantaged students.

7. Factors that were noted as influential to decide on the contribution of social enterprises in promoting educational equality are: i) the nature of provided services; ii) the vision of the enterprise, and iii) the entrepreneurial environment.

8. Social entrepreneurs in Egypt suffer from challenges that include: i) access to funds; ii) the absence of a legal registration that acknowledges social enterprises, and iii) lack of official support.

9. The term social entrepreneurship lacks a consistent theoretical grounding (Dacin, Dacin, & Tracey, 2011). As a result, ISOs working in the Egyptian ecosystem seem to follow varying definitions of social entrepreneurship and thus work with minimal coordination.
Developing a comprehensive national vision and strategy about social entrepreneurship may result in better utilization of the efforts made by ISOs in Egypt.

10. Undoubtedly, devoted spaces for Egyptian youth that social enterprises create are empowering the catalysts of change in this nation. In opposition to cultural norms that encourage the recruitment in a ‘defined’ career path in the public sector or in the corporatist world, many youth are now leaning towards an entrepreneurial lifestyle that sustains their living and positively impacts the society. Well-intentioned youth who wish to serve their community and at the same time need to make a living seem nowadays to be finding an appealing alternative. This movement of Egyptian youth toward -I would call- socially responsible businesses portrays an increased awareness of encountered social problems in the country at large.

11. Several methodological concerns related to the strategy of entrepreneurship in the field of social services appeared. The confusion between social goals and commercial necessities, probable shifts in social visions in response to market forces, and linking scalability with profit-making are some of those concerns.

12. Social entrepreneurship, from a close observer’s point of view, is overwhelmingly booming. In a sense that gives impression that it would take Egypt to paradise. Maybe because the prime propagators of the discourse, notably, are experts in marketing. Anyway, there is a need for carefully reviewing the critiques on the social entrepreneurship approach to acknowledge its pros and cons. Social entrepreneurship needs to be consciously valued in accordance with its actual magnitude of impact on the nation, not because it is fashionable nowadays.
Future Research

1. Social enterprises are emerging actors in the Egyptian educational arena. Therefore, ethnographic research about these kinds of organizations would reveal many social and cultural dynamics that take place; providing this information is expected to provide more contextual understanding for scholars and policy makers about the issue.

2. Many previous studies about social entrepreneurship claim that social enterprises are better alternatives to CSOs (Buchahan, 2010; Stecker, 2014). Future research may comparatively examine the impact of both kinds of social organizations in Egypt.

3. The contribution of social enterprises to educational quality and equality deserves more rigorous examination by future studies.

4. This study assumes that social entrepreneurship only includes profitable social enterprises. However, this point is debatable. Some scholars believe that social entrepreneurship may encompass hybrid or non-profitable organizations. Accordingly, studying social entrepreneurship from their lens would help to comprehensively envision the role social enterprises or ventures play in the realm of Egyptian education.
References


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http://www.moss.gov.eg/misa/ar-eg/%D8%B9%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A9/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D9%86%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA.aspx


http://www.ted.com/talks/michael_porter_why_business_can_be_good_at_solving_social_problems


Appendix A: IRB Approval

TO: Karim El Samman
CC: Dena Riad
FROM: George Marquis, Chair of the IRB, Fall 2016
DATE: 30 Dec 2016
RE: Approval of study #2016-2017-055

This is to inform you that I have reviewed your research proposal entitled “Education and Social Entrepreneurship in Egypt: A Critical Inquiry of Social Enterprises’ Role in Supplementary Education” and determined that it required consultation with the IRB under the “full-board” heeding because of its use of a vulnerable population. I have determined that the proposal design used appropriate procedures to minimize risks and discomfort to human participants. I have also determined that adequately informed parental permission and assent of minors in the study will be obtained.

This approval letter was issued under the assumption that you have not started data collection for your research project. Any data collected before receiving this letter may not be used since this would constitute a violation of the IRB policy.

Please note that IRB approval does not automatically ensure approval by CAPMAS, an Egyptian government agency responsible for approving some types of off-campus research. CAPMAS issues are handled at AUC by the office of the University Counselor, Dr. Amr Salama via an official letter from your School Dean. The IRB is not in a position to offer any opinion on CAPMAS issues, and takes no responsibility for obtaining CAPMAS approval.

This approval is valid for one year from the date of this letter. If data collection is not completed within the period of validity, you will need to apply for an extension. Please also inform us of any future modifications to the data collection procedures as your IRB approval covers only those procedures that were specified in the reviewed protocol.

Thank you and good luck.

George Marquis
Chair, Fall 2016
T: 02-261-1598
Email: geonarq@aucegypt.edu
Appendix B: CAPMAS Approval
Appendix C: Consent Form

Documentation of Informed Consent for Participation in Research Study

Project Title: [Education and Social Entrepreneurship in Egypt: A Critical Inquiry of Social Enterprises' Role in Supplementary Education]

Principal Investigator: [Karim El-Semman - karimelsamman@aucegypt.edu - 01010022695]

*You are being asked to participate in a research study. The purpose of the research is understand the impact of education-oriented social enterprises that offer educational services.

*Findings may be published and presented. The expected duration of your participation is 25-30 minutes.

*The procedures of participation in this study will include: responding to a series of closed-ended and open ended questions about the impact of the aforementioned social enterprises. The interview will be recorded for the sake of documentation.

*There will not be certain risks or discomforts associated with this research.

*There will not be direct benefits to you from this research. However, your contribution would help in understanding the role of social enterprises in the educational arena in Egypt.

*The information you provide for purposes of this research is confidential

*Questions about the research, my rights, or research-related matters should be directed to (Karim El-Samman) at (01010022695).

*Participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Signature

Printed Name

Date
Appendix D: Assent Form

Documentation of Informed Assent for Participation in Research Study

Project Title: Education and Social Entrepreneurship in Egypt: A Critical Inquiry of Social Enterprises’ Role in Supplementary Education

Principal Investigator: Karim El-Samman

Mobile: 01010022695
Email: karimelsamman@aucegypt.edu

We are doing research to study the impact of social enterprises that offer services to people. A research study is a way to learn more about people. You were selected for this study because of your participation in programs provided by one of the social enterprises in Egypt.

If you decide that you want to be part of this study, there are some things about this study you should know:

* The expected time of your participation is 25-30 minutes
* You will be asked to do an interview or a focus group
* The interview/focus group will be recorded to document your responses

You will not receive a prize or an award or any money for being in this study

Nothing bad will happen to you from participating in this study.

When we are finished with this study, we will write a report about what was learned. This report will not include your name or that you were in the study. This report may be published in international conferences.

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to be. If you decide to stop after we begin, that’s okay too. No one will do any harm to you. Your parents know about the study too.

If you have any questions about this study, you can call me: (Karim El-Samman/Mobile: 01010022695)

If you decide you want to be in this study, please sign your name.

I, __________________________, want to be in this research study.

(Sign your name here) (Date)
Appendix E: Parental Permission Form

Parental Permission Form Prior to Participation in the Research Study

Project Title: [Education and Social Entrepreneurship in Egypt: A Critical Inquiry of Social Enterprises’ Role in Supplementary Education]

Principal Investigator: [Karim El-Samman - karimelsamman@aucegypt.edu - 01010022695]

* I would like your son/daughter to participate in a research study. The purpose of the research is understand the impact of education-oriented social enterprises that serve supplementary education services to solve the skills mismatch issue between formal institutions and labor market needs.

* Your son/daughter will be asked to respond to a series of closed-ended and open ended questions about the impact of social enterprises offering supplementary education services. This will recorded for the sake of documentation after your permission.

* The findings may be published and presented. The expected duration of your son/daughter’s participation is 25-30 minutes.

* There will not be certain risks or discomforts associated with this research.

* There will not be direct benefits to you from this research.

* The information your son/daughter will provide is confidential.

* Questions about the research, my rights, or research-related matters should be directed to (Karim El-Samman) at (01010022695).

* Participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your son/daughter may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

* You son/daughter will be asked for an assent too.

Your son/daughter’s Name:

[Blank space for signature]

Parent’s Signature: ______________________________

Date: __________________________
Appendix F: Interview Questions with Social Entrepreneurs

1. What is the name of your organization?
2. Why does it exist?
3. What are the vision and mission of your organization?
4. Describe the educational philosophy of your organization.
5. What problems do you see in the formal education system that you are trying to solve?
6. How do you evaluate the impact of your organization on the enrolled students so far?
7. What is the number of programs offered?
8. What are their names? What are their main objectives? Please elaborate.
9. What is the number of students enrolled each semester? How many students have you reached?
10. What is the percentage of male to female students?
11. What is the percentage of students who are enrolled in public schools?
12. What are the tuition fees per year or per program?
13. How do you perceive the problem of inequality in the Egyptian educational system generally?
14. To what extent do you think your organization contributes to more equality in education provision?
15. How do you define social entrepreneurship?
16. To what extent do you see your organization as a social enterprise?
17. Among the characteristics of many socially-driven enterprises is prioritizing services over profit making. How do you perceive your organization with regards to profit maximization issues? Do you see profit maximization as a problem? If yes or no, why/how?
18. To what extent do you believe in the impact of social entrepreneurship on social services provision in Egypt?
19. Being a social entrepreneur, what are the challenges that social entrepreneurs face in Egypt in your opinion?
20. Is there a sort of governance from the state? Is your organization registered as CSO or as a private business?
21. Do you have suggestions for probable policy reforms that would furnish a better utilization of social entrepreneurs’ efforts in social services provision? If yes, what are they?
Appendix G: Interview Questions with Representative of ISOs

1. How do you see the importance of social entrepreneurship in Egypt?
2. What is your contribution as an organization to the entrepreneurial field in Egypt?
3. Please elaborate more on the services you offer.
4. How do you perceive, in general terms, the progress of social entrepreneurship in Egypt?
5. What are the challenges that you think social entrepreneurs face in Egypt?
6. Regarding the whole ecosystem of social entrepreneurship, do you think there are embedded obstacles that would hinder the prospered impact from social startups? If yes, what are they?
7. To what extent do you perceive the future of social entrepreneurship as better alternative in providing social services in Egypt?
8. There are many critiques against social entrepreneurship, many researchers look at it as a cosmetic solution to neoliberal vandalism? They perceive it as another neoliberal denial, that aims at more state isolation, how do you think about these critiques?
Appendix H: Focus Group Questions with Students

1. Why are you joining this organization?
2. What do you specifically learn here? Give example and elaborate on each of them.
3. Do you think there is a difference between the learning experience here and at school? Why?
4. What is the difference between what you learn here and what you learn at school? Give examples and elaborate on each of them.
5. To what extent do you think your participation in the programs offered by this social enterprise would positively impact your life in the future?