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## MENA Programme: Meeting Summary

# Education in Egypt

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## INTRODUCTION

This report is a summary of discussions that took place at a roundtable held at Chatham House on 19 January 2012. The Chatham House Middle East and North Africa Programme convened the roundtable in partnership with the British Council Egypt and supporting partners the Egyptian Business Council. The event brought together senior executives based in Egypt and the UK, education specialists, political and economic analysts, teachers, academics and NGO representatives.

Some of the main findings of the meeting include:

- Making Egypt's education system more effective and more equitable will be of critical importance to the success of Egypt's transition in the long term. The system needs a thorough overhaul to make it fit for purpose.
- In the short term, there is an urgent need to fill the gap between the supply of and demand for skilled labour, and to develop 'soft skills' for employability, such as communication and presentation skills, problem-solving and teamwork. Private-sector companies can help to address this gap.
- Lessons can be drawn from the information and communication technology (ICT) sector, where companies have contributed 1% of their earnings to a fund for training the new generation of ICT professionals, with promising results. This model could be followed in other sectors – if businesses can be assured the fund will be run transparently and will go directly into funding training.
- In the longer term, a thorough overhaul of the public-school system is needed. These reforms need to focus not only on the elite schools and universities from which top businesses currently recruit, but also on the vast number of technical schools where most Egyptians study.
- Teachers need to be more valued. Salaries need to be improved as an immediate priority, to reduce the need for teachers to supplement their income. There is plenty of evidence from around the world to show that better-paid teachers perform better. Conversely, it may be necessary to limit the degree to which teachers in public schools can also sell private lessons to their regular students.

- The education system needs to move away from the traditional focus on memorization and rote learning towards greater encouragement of critical thinking. Previous governments may not have wanted to encourage students to ask questions. However, this is no zero-sum game; while encouraging critical thinking may encourage challenges to the status quo, investing in self-expression and negotiation skills would also be beneficial for political, social and labour relations.
- Most of the problems are well known; the issue is fundamentally one of political will. Improving education is of great importance to the public, but overhauling the large bureaucracy is a difficult task. Senior business people can and should press Egypt's newly elected parliamentarians and forthcoming new government to tackle the challenges of the education system with urgency.

The meeting was held under the Chatham House Rule and the views expressed are those of the participants. The following summary is intended to serve as an *aide-mémoire* to those who took part and to provide a general summary of discussions for those who did not.

#### **The Chatham House Rule**

'When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.'

## EDUCATION AND EGYPT'S TRANSITION

### Why it matters

Making Egypt's education system more effective and more equitable will be critical to the success of the country's transition. Deficiencies in this system are one of the factors constraining the country's significant economic growth and contributing to socio-economic inequality. In addition, widespread illiteracy may also hinder Egypt's efforts to develop and consolidate democracy in the post-Mubarak era. Several speakers discussed the importance of education and employment to the 'bigger picture' of Egypt's transition.

Protestors participating in Egypt's 2011 uprising articulated grievances over inequality, poverty, low wages and youth unemployment as well as dictatorship, police brutality and corruption. Improving the quality of and access to education will be critical if their demands are to be met. The severe mismatch between the education provided by schools and the demands of the labour market is one of several important factors behind Egypt's high rate of unemployment. Educational inequalities also help to explain Egypt's dramatic economic inequalities. Several participants emphasized that the top employers tend to recruit from a small talent pool consisting of the top 1–2% of graduates, and that this group largely consists of those who have benefited from private schooling and attendance at a handful of elite universities. 'The others never have the same chance,' a participant said.

It was emphasized that Egypt's demographics should provide a significant economic advantage over Western countries, which face the problems of ageing populations. At least half of the population is under 24, it was said, and there are an estimated 20 million people aged between 15 and 29. However, the country's school system is failing to provide the increasing numbers of young people with the skills they need to make a living. The population is growing at a rate of 2% per year. It was noted by a speaker that official figures show unemployment has risen from 9% to 12% since the revolution, but that the true level is likely to be much higher. In addition, there are millions of people who are employed in very insecure jobs, often in the informal economy, earning as little as LE100 (£11) per month. At the end of 2010 the Egyptian illiteracy rate was 30% across the country, and higher in some areas. It was said that this is well below a number of other countries with a similar income level to Egypt; the Philippines is a particularly striking example, with literacy levels higher than 90% despite a lower GDP per capita than Egypt.

More broadly, the education system is likely to need a thorough overhaul as part of a transition to democracy. Education serves a number of political, social and economic functions. It is used as a means of creating national identity, instilling values and inculcating political beliefs – with mixed results. It was said that the education system had been seen as safeguarding a specific idea of what it means to be Egyptian, and, by the authorities, as a matter of national security. Various concerns were raised about the lack of encouragement of critical thinking and questioning, and about the influence of security forces and political groups on the curriculum. A participant said that there were newly printed history books that continued to refer to Hosni Mubarak as president ‘and this wasn’t a mere printing error’.

Some participants felt that the election of Islamist parties did not bode well for education on issues of citizenship and national identity, arguing there was already sectarian material in some school textbooks. On the other hand, a participant said there could be a positive aspect to the election of Islamists as they were chosen by constituents who have previously lacked a voice in policy-making, including poor rural families which typically send their children to poor-quality technical schools.

### **Education and government policy**

Egypt’s education sector faces a number of critical challenges, outlined in a background paper that was circulated at the conference.<sup>1</sup> These include:

- Strains on infrastructure;
- Poor teaching quality and dependence on private tutors;
- Over-centralized control;
- A focus on rote learning for examinations;
- Negative attitudes towards vocational training;
- The entrenchment of social inequalities;
- Limited university funding and research capacity.

Many of these problems are already well known, but effective reforms have been elusive, perhaps because of a lack of political will in the face of the daunting and long-term nature of the challenge. It was suggested by participants that senior business people could play a useful role in impressing the importance of education reforms on Egypt’s newly elected parliamentarians and on its forthcoming new government.

There have been previous pushes for thorough reform of the education sector, including major programmes related to international loans in the 1990s, which were supposed to decentralize the administration of education and encourage greater community participation, and, most recently, the National Strategic Plan for 2007–12, supported by USAID.<sup>2</sup> Yet, a participant argued, there had been little to show for these grand initiatives, and others said there was a perception that the sector had no real strategy.

It was said that one of the issues was a lack of real involvement by the stakeholders who were supposed to be consulted. For instance, a participant said, the Mubarak-era government had restricted efforts by teachers to organize into professional unions, and, despite talking about decentralization and the involvement of civil society, had not been willing to allow NGOs and other service providers an equal place at the table. Rather, the state security apparatus had penetrated the ministry right down to the level of individual schools – something rarely taken into consideration in policy advice from international organizations.

Separately, it was argued that parents had tended to be very suspicious of any reforms designed to give individual teachers more discretion in awarding grades, as they feared teachers would use this to pressure their students to sign up for private lessons. The very low salaries paid to teachers have created a *de facto* privatization whereby millions of teachers ask their students to pay them for additional private tuition to supplement their salaries. By some estimates provided by speakers, households may spend more on private tuition than the government spends on the public schools.

There is no official information available on the salary structure for teachers. Some teachers interviewed by education researchers say they earn as little as 60–70 US cents a day, forcing them to supplement their income with private tuition. This situation gives them few incentives ‘to excel or to think or even to teach wholeheartedly’, a participant said. One participant had offered teachers the option of fully funded scholarships to qualify in teaching English as a foreign language, but found that many were unwilling to take up this training as they would have had to give up their private tuition for the duration of the course. It was also noted that the systems for evaluating teachers were

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<sup>1</sup> Louisa Loveluck, ‘Education in Egypt: Key Challenges’, Background Paper, Chatham House Middle East and North Africa Programme, March 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Education, National Strategic Plan For Pre-University Education Reform in Egypt 2007/08 – 2011/12, accessible in English at: [http://knowledge.moe.gov.eg/NR/rdonlyres/8CD0AE22-28C5-4844-8226-6E5CEA468428/10511/strategicplan\\_main.pdf](http://knowledge.moe.gov.eg/NR/rdonlyres/8CD0AE22-28C5-4844-8226-6E5CEA468428/10511/strategicplan_main.pdf).

extremely weak, and that the default option was to grade them all as excellent, regardless of performance.

Meanwhile, in the area of early childhood education, the government had relied heavily on a system where parents would pay fees direct to NGOs that were supposed to provide early childhood education, but were unregulated and often unqualified.

The new government will be aware that improving public services – especially education and healthcare – is of great importance to the public. Many Egyptians see education as a right. It was noted that the Freedom and Justice Party's manifesto mentioned education, healthcare and corruption in its first few paragraphs. However, none of the political parties had so far fleshed out any detailed policies on education. It was argued that voting in the 2011–12 elections had been based more on identity politics than on policy platforms. A participant said it was unwise to 'wait around for the government' and that it was still unclear whether the new government would really prioritize education.

Another issue is that the government finances are already under significant strain, potentially limiting the availability of new resources. There was some debate over the extent to which funding is a key cause of the problems. It is clear that there is severe underinvestment in both teachers' salaries and school infrastructure; overcrowding means many schools operate in two shifts, with students only allowed to attend for half the day. Yet some participants argued that the problem lay not so much in the overall level of public spending on education as in the way it was used, with too much money allocated to administrators in the education ministry rather than going into schools and teachers' salaries. Participants remained divided over this issue. Overall, Egypt has dedicated 12% of total government spending to education over the past four years, and the 2012–13 fiscal year projected a 10% rise in education spending to US\$8.7bn. Yet when this is broken down to the level of education spending per student – just \$129 per student per year on education – it is a comparatively poor level of expenditure. The US spends 40 times as much on each student.

It was noted that since 2011 there has been an independent teachers' union, which could become a significant force. The ministry of education is one of the largest employers in the public sector. A post-revolutionary phenomenon of grassroots 'community councils' is also emerging. These groups bring together parents, teachers, lawyers and other local residents for greater local oversight of schools, and could potentially make valuable contributions to the

development of education policies and initiatives. There is a need for student groups that are able to be articulate advocates of students' interests, it was said. Finally, it was emphasized that many people – both in Egypt and elsewhere – receive important aspects of their education informally, for instance through societies, clubs or religious teaching. Civil society's role in providing informal education should be recognized and could be a significant resource for future policy development, although as a complement to, not a substitute for, qualified teaching.



## EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

It was said that Egypt's education system is becoming an economic liability because of several decades of mismanagement and underinvestment. Enrolment numbers have expanded massively, but investments in infrastructure, teacher numbers and education quality have lagged behind. A session focusing on education and employment addressed first the 'top of the pyramid' – the top graduates sought by recruiters – and the 'rest of the pyramid', often trained in technical schools that are badly neglected and disconnected from the needs of the job market.

The perception that technical schools are low-status creates a vicious circle of under-funding and social exclusion. In general, it was noted, Egyptian society places the highest status on the traditional professions of medicine and engineering, followed by government jobs, while many other jobs are undervalued.

It was noted that deficiencies in the education system are by no means the only reason for high unemployment in Egypt: the number of new entrants to the labour market each year greatly exceeds the number of available jobs. However, greater investment in skills would allow the country to develop – and attract foreign investment into – more highly skilled economic sectors, which would boost economic growth. The country has already had some success in doing this in the ICT sector.

While the focus of this session was on education for the labour market, it was noted that education policy would always be influenced by broader politics and social needs.

### Graduates

A participant said that even the standard of skills achieved by graduates had dropped noticeably over the past decade, and that his company, which used to put graduate recruits through tailored graduate training courses, now had to consider Egyptian university graduates as though they did not hold a degree. Instead, the participant said, 'we have created a six-month course just to get them to graduate level'. But another speaker said that when his company sent Egyptians to the UK for postgraduate study, 'once they are put in the right environment they excel beyond all expectations'. A participant noted that there was still a high risk of brain drain for the best-performing students, both within the country (where most will opt to move to Cairo) and outside it (where people move from Cairo to London, Paris or Washington).

It was agreed that it is not essential – or expected – for schools to provide people with all the skills required for a job. Rather, students need to learn how to learn. ‘As an employer, I would rather employ someone with average technical skills but good soft skills than the other way around,’ one participant said. It was suggested that schools should place more focus on the provision of basic soft skills such as working in a team, working independently when needed, and communication and presentation skills. One participant said he had never had to give a presentation during his education. It was noted that employers’ difficulties in finding graduates with the right skills were not unique to Egypt. However, there could be useful examples from other countries, including the UK, of ways to improve the focus on ‘employability’. There would always be a balance to strike between meeting the needs of business and maintaining the necessary academic level. Parents also needed a better understanding of the importance of soft skills; one participant was involved in an effort to teach language skills to high-school students, but said some parents were unwilling for their children to attend these additional classes twice a week.

However, it was also said that students had little motivation to learn such skills when they saw no meaningful job prospects ahead of them. One speaker had trained fresh graduates in soft skills, initially seeing good results but observing the trainees’ motivation being eroded quickly when they failed to find a job. Another speaker noted that many young people are opting out of the labour force altogether, no longer showing up even in the unemployment statistics.

### **Technical and vocational training in schools**

It was said that the government’s focus on education policy was heavily biased towards the general secondary schools, which take just 25% of Egyptian school students. Together with the small minority of 2.7% who attend private schools, these make up the middle and lower-middle class. The majority of young Egyptians study at technical schools – which are badly neglected. A participant described technical education in Egypt as ‘little more than a certificate of eradication of illiteracy’. They described visiting a technical school where less than one-third of the machinery designed for students’ workshops was operable – and where most students were prohibited from touching the machinery, for fear they would break it.

The problems of underpaid teachers and straining infrastructure are particularly acute in the technical schools, which are marginal to the priorities

of politicians. As enrolment numbers have expanded far faster than investment in school facilities, schools have begun to teach in half-day shifts – especially in the technical sector. It was stated that only one-quarter of technical schools were able to provide their students with a full school day, compared with 63% in the general secondary system where the children of the middle classes study. In the technical schools where one participant had conducted research, around 90% of children had part-time jobs to support their families. There are also children who are unable to attend school at all, as poverty means they have to work to support their family, ‘at sub-subsistence wages’.

A large proportion of the unemployed in Egypt are technical or secondary school graduates. It was emphasized that there is a huge problem of the ‘educated unemployed’, whose education is totally disconnected from the available jobs. Those who are employed are often working for subsistence wages without a contract under poor working conditions. They tend to come from poorer backgrounds, with parents who are largely unable to influence or lobby for better-quality education.

## **EFFORTS BY THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY**

It was noted that businesses already have to invest substantially in training for their staff, and that some are going further, providing basic literacy and technical training for the wider community, as part of corporate social responsibility efforts. Participants acknowledged the need for a thorough overhaul of government policy on education, but said that the business sector could help to fill gaps in the short term, through on-the-job training and by funding courses at private institutions.

At present, these efforts are not well coordinated, and it was suggested that businesses operating in Egypt should open a dialogue on the issue of training, to share experiences, to find possible ways of pooling resources, and perhaps also to bring in perspectives from civil society and labour representatives, to help design mutually beneficial training programmes. A participant said that this was one area where businesses did not need to see themselves as competing with each other, and that spending more on training efforts would be a highly productive investment.

### **Case studies**

Egypt's ICT sector has been a success story in terms of skills development. A good ICT skills base has helped Egypt to attract foreign investment from multinational ICT companies, ranging from simple outsourcing to software development. Vodafone runs its global intranet from Cairo. Training programmes in the ICT sector have been funded by a 1% levy on the turnover of all firms operating in the sector. While businesses rarely ask for additional taxes to be levied, several participants felt that it would be worthwhile for them to pay an additional levy for training, based on the ICT sector's successful model.

Looking at the case study of Vodafone Egypt, it was said that the company has been able to fill all of its 6,000 posts in Egypt with local staff; it employs just a handful of expatriates in order to ensure some diversity of experience at a senior level. For its own recruitment needs, the company invests in a variety of training schemes, including paid internships, sponsoring NGOs to provide soft skills training to university students, and sponsoring a graduation project design scheme that allows students to access the company's technological systems to design potential ICT projects (60 to 70 of these students are typically hired by the company afterwards). Vodafone has also partnered with the Egyptian government's Information Technology Institute, along with other technology providers, to create a one-year specialized postgraduate

programme in data warehousing and analytics, which was otherwise not taught by any Egyptian universities.

It was noted that the small businesses that make up the bulk of the Egyptian economy have a greater struggle to recruit talent, as well as having fewer resources to invest in training. Here there may be more of a role for business associations to play, clubbing together to offer joint training programmes. It was also noted that the public sector has fewer resources to invest in training, and that going on training courses is often seen as a perk that should be offered to senior or favoured staff – even if they are close to retirement – rather than to those who need it most.

Meanwhile, in the creative industries, there is little vocational training available in areas such as craftsmanship, creative design, product design and marketing. The value of these areas – which can help add significant economic value to Egyptian goods destined for European markets – is not always well understood in the local market. A jewellery designer, Azza Fahmy, who found that her own design skills were ‘revolutionized’ when she had the chance to study in London, now brings teachers from Europe to provide workshops training Egyptians to hone their design skills. Some are subsequently employed in Ms Fahmy’s company. It was suggested that design could be included in the school curriculum or in vocational training offerings. This could, for instance, help train the next generation of Egyptians to upgrade the value of their textile industry.

It was noted that private-sector businesses mainly invest in training for their own employees for direct commercial reasons. A participant asked whether the private sector could play a much greater role in contributing to education, including at the secondary-school level, and in investing in research and development at the university level. Some companies have been doing this on a limited scale. For instance, BG Group, one of the largest investors in Egypt, has linkages with universities on geo-sciences and on employability programmes. It also has a programme to finance micro-industries in a coastal area where traditional livelihoods such as fishing are being disrupted by the development of the gas sector. Another programme discussed by participants was the Vodafone Foundation’s sponsorship of a major programme of basic literacy training in partnership with UNESCO; the first 200,000 participants in this scheme are due to graduate in May 2012. Workshop participants asked whether such efforts could be scaled up, with commitments from a wider range of companies and perhaps with some governmental support, such as tax breaks.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

In the short term, there is an urgent need to fill the gap between the supply of and demand for skilled labour – where businesses can play an important role. In the longer term, thorough, systemic reforms are needed to make the education system fit for purpose. These reforms need to focus not only on the elite schools and universities from which top businesses currently recruit, but also on the vast number of technical schools where most Egyptians study.

Three breakout groups produced a number of recommendations for the new Egyptian government and parliament, as well as for civil society and the business community.

### Contributions from the business community

- It was noted that under the 2003 labour law, companies employing more than 10 staff are supposed to pay 1% of their net profit into a government fund for vocational training. However, participants said this tax is not well implemented and many businesses refuse to pay it, saying the money will simply be wasted. This is separate from the more effective scheme in the ICT sector, where companies pay a higher proportion of earnings – 1% of revenues rather than profits – but see better results.
- Participants suggested that businesses should accept their role in contributing financially towards vocational training, but that they need to be assured that the money will be collected and used transparently, and that the bulk of it will go directly to pay teachers and trainers, rather than being subsumed in the large bureaucracy of the education ministry. If the result is to create another bureaucracy, there will be no point in starting such an initiative. The government is short of financial resources and needs the help of the private sector, which can also offer some innovative and flexible thinking; businesses should push for an efficient and transparent vocational training fund.
- Businesses will also continue to run their own training programmes for their specific needs, bearing in mind the direct interests of their shareholders. Egypt's banks have been relatively successful in creating more than one generation of highly qualified bankers, who often end up working overseas.

- It was suggested that businesses could become more involved in promoting careers guidance for students at both school and university level. They could contribute to careers fairs, talk in schools, provide online information about career options, and offer role models beyond the traditional high-status professions of doctor or engineer.
- Overall, it was noted that there is currently not enough dialogue either among businesses or between the business community and wider civil society. More dialogue among businesses could help business federations to have more of a voice and play a more productive role in policy debates. It was noted that there is a big disconnect between big business, which has an important voice, and the small businesses that provide most of Egypt's jobs but that are largely unrepresented in the policy debate. Meanwhile, the lack of dialogue with civil society contributes to some negative perceptions of business in an often polarized post-Mubarak political scene. Going forward, there is scope for business to play more of a role as part of civil society. The need to improve vocational training may be an area where business people, labour representatives and NGOs can find some common ground. The needs of business must also be balanced against other functions of the education system; for instance, a participant emphasized it was important to see universities as 'public goods' with a vital social as well as economic role.

## Schools

- Teachers need to be more valued, it was said. Salaries need to be improved as an immediate priority, to reduce the need for teachers to supplement their income. Conversely, it may be necessary to limit the degree to which teachers in public schools can also sell private lessons to their regular students. There is also a clear need for better evaluation of teachers, rather than signing off all senior staff as 'excellent'.

Other suggested short-term priorities included:

- Developing more attractive education resources using magazines, DVDs, and, as PC ownership and internet access continue to rise, software and online education.
- Introducing new vocational training subjects, such as product design and marketing, with direct relevance to Egyptian industries.

- Scaling up some of the successful models pursued by small-scale experiments, such as the Nile Schools pilot initiative supported by the University of Cambridge International Examinations.
- In the longer term, the image of the teaching profession also needs to be improved. It has lost the high status it enjoyed 50 or 60 years ago. Higher salaries would help. Other options that could enhance the status of the profession include awards for teachers, developing role models (for instance, teachers as TV presenters), and introducing some version of the 'Teach for America' scheme where graduates are encouraged to spend a year or two teaching before joining corporate graduate programmes.
- The human resources system in the ministry of education needs thorough change, with more transparent pay, performance evaluation, and less of an urban bias, it was said. A participant noted there is a need to train more teachers in upper Egypt; currently teachers in these areas are often recruited from Cairo but do not want to stay.
- Overhauling the large bureaucracy will be difficult, as education cuts across the responsibility of several ministries, and bureaucratic reforms almost always have political costs. It will be tempting for any new government to put off this gargantuan task. For the same reason, it will be important to open a dialogue with the teachers' union, students' representatives, parents and local community representatives to ensure support for future reforms and to reduce the potential political costs. Yet overall some of the most-needed reforms are very straightforward: there is plenty of evidence from around the world to show that better-paid teachers perform better.

### **Soft skills for the labour market**

- Soft skills ultimately need to be integrated into the curricula of schools and colleges. In the meantime, initiatives could be developed to develop soft skills outside school hours, for instance in after-school or summer course programmes.
- Change in educational curricula will only work if all stakeholders are involved, including parents, who need to be convinced of the value of such training, and teachers.



- Core 'soft skills' to prioritize include communication and presentation skills, problem-solving and teamwork. It was said that developing soft skills requires children to be encouraged to express themselves from an early age, including talking about personal stories at the kindergarten level. This also means encouraging the teachers to listen to them.
- An understanding of basic anti-corruption measures should be included in soft skills training. At the university level, programmes on corporate governance and compliance should be encouraged.
- It was suggested that 'learning by doing' is the most effective way to learn soft skills, whether by practical experience in class (e.g. presenting, working in small teams) or through work experience. Students equipped with soft skills from school or university might not necessarily succeed in a job where soft skills were not valued. For instance, soft skills learnt at a business school might not be welcomed in a traditional public-sector workplace.
- Critical thinking also needs to be encouraged, including questioning sources. It was suggested that this can be encouraged partly through a historical approach, for instance by looking at how engineers or doctors fixed problems left by their predecessors.
- Prescriptions for cultural and value shifts within the education system can have political implications as they may challenge existing systems. It was noted that previous governments may not have wanted to encourage critical thinking and questioning. However, it was suggested that investing time and money in developing self-expression and negotiation skills would have beneficial effects for political relations and labour relations, for instance, by encouraging negotiation and arbitration as alternatives to more confrontational approaches of strikes and protests.

One overarching theme of the discussions was that the core problems with the education system – such as the bureaucracy, the poor salaries paid to teachers and the prevalence of unregulated private tuition – are already well known. Yet successive efforts at reform have had limited results owing to a lack of political will. It was said that no one is really lobbying seriously for education reform, as the elites tend to opt out of the system of public schools.

This is one area where businesses have a vital role to play. Business representatives could and should champion the cause of education in their

discussions with government and parliamentarians, as an area where investment could help to answer the clearly voiced demands for greater social justice in Egypt, while also directly benefiting the economy.

## **ABOUT THE MENA PROGRAMME**

The Middle East and North Africa Programme, headed by Dr Claire Spencer, undertakes high-profile research and projects on political, economic and security issues affecting the Middle East and North Africa. To complement our research, the MENA Programme runs a variety of discussion groups, roundtable meetings, workshops and public events which seek to inform and broaden current debates about the region and about UK and international policy. We also produce a range of publicly available reports, books and papers.

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