

Social Policies in the Arab Region

A Weak Performance in Outreach and Impact

During the youth uprising in the Arab region, popular discontent was summarized, by the slogan “Bread, freedom and social justice”, underlining clearly the interdependence of economic and social inclusion with inclusive governance. It was emphasizing the need to address social inequity and the gaps between developed and underdeveloped areas and zones across regions. In the same time, it has demonstrated the limited impacts of social policies (1) which have clearly failed their populations, either directly through inadequate provision, or indirectly through their negative impact on economic development and employment generation. It has finally emphasized the need of a social policy which could contribute to the emergence of socio-economic and political systems that are both democratic and developmental.

While the situation in each of the Arab countries has its own special features, similar root causes did triggered uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria, such as the high unemployment, particularly among educated youth, the lack of social justice in the distribution of wealth and income between the ruling elite and ordinary citizens, and the absence of democratic governance and dialogue. Also, for too long, the question of social policy in the Arab countries has been sidelined by raging political disputes, and these states badly need to start using policy to articulate a lost sense of the common good.

Today, in the countries where political changes are taking place (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen), the risks including violence against vulnerable people, and unequal access to social services are still noticeable. Today, the Arab region continues to experience significant instability, civil strife, and a mix of transitioning democracies along with cautiously reforming

Mostafa Kharoufi

Former Policy Adviser
of UNFPA, Arab States
Regional Office.
(m.kharoufi@hotmail.fr)

(1) Social Policy is defined as actions that affect the well-being of members of a society through shaping the distribution of and access to goods and resources in that society. Social policy embodies the totality of interventions. It addresses all aspects of social production, reproduction, protection and redistribution, as well as issues of equity, inclusion and rights. Social policy integrates and connects the economic and social dimensions of development into a coherent whole (UN- ESCWA. Integrated Social Policy: from concept to practice. Report II, 2008, p. 4.)

monarchies. In addition to the protracted crisis in Libya and Syria, the long drawn-out conflict in Somalia, and Sudan, the political stalemate in Egypt, the struggling transition in Yemen, the region is being swept by a new wave of socio-political protests. The multitude of destabilizing factors: the fragility of States in the “region”, upsurge of political Islam, growing militarization, demographic growth and pressure, competition for natural resource, migration, a general climate of insecurity are persistent and/or emerging challenges relevant to the United Nations in their respective thematic areas of work.

These factors which could grow in the shadow of low economic performance, inadequate social policies would increase consequently political tensions and conflicts and become more challenging for the next coming years. This gives rise to the need to understand and promote economic and social rights, and to focus on these rights’ effect on human development, and examine policies that promote social protection, social mobility and inclusion.

This paper highlights some key issues related to social public policies and programmes that are supposed to address human needs in the Arab region. It focuses on some social policies, education, employment and health provision and identifies gaps in some of these main services.

About social policy in the Arab region

Social policy in the Arab region is somewhat new, even though in practice, governments and civil society organizations have been engaged in social welfare activities since the time of state independence in the region. Over the past few decades, social policy has been seen as a way of alleviating the allegedly temporary deterioration in living conditions. Also, as many Arab countries have adopted liberal market policies, they install some safety nets and social protection mechanisms in order to alleviate the negative effects of such policies and lead to poverty reduction. In recent years, targeting vulnerable groups through instruments such as cash transfers, money versus education, small loans for activities that generate revenue, was the emphasis for social policy. However, these programs often restrict the target only to the very poor as they limit the nature of the assistance to supplementing their income marking a very narrow vision of social policy (2).

Despite progress made in some areas of social development, including poverty reduction, access to health, education and employment issues such as the imbalance between population and resources and inequality, in relation with weak governance remain limited. However, the remarkable progress in poverty reduction observed has been successful in reducing the proportion of the poorest of the poor only and extreme poverty is even acute in the low-income Arab countries. As the region continues to be characterized by disparities between different sub-regions, the picture changes when

(2) Gregor Hamann,
*Towards a new social
contract: Social Justice in
North Africa and Middle
East*, Friedrich Ebert
Stiftung, September 2011,
p. 2-3 [http://library.fes.de/
pdf-files/iez/08475.pdf](http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/08475.pdf)

considering national poverty lines. Many sub-regions, especially in rural areas are witnessing a lack of infrastructure and social services such as roads, potable water and sanitation; inadequate health care and services; poor access to basic education and training; high illiteracy rates; gender inequality; youth marginalization. In addition, rural-urban migration in many countries has led to rapid urbanization which, in turn, has created unplanned, congested urban centers and slums.

Education: progress, deficiencies and quality concerns

If the Educational progress in the Arab region seems to be quantitatively impressive, educational systems of Arab countries do not perform well as we notice large differences in the quality of education and relevance between and within the countries. Access to education continues to be a critical challenge in some countries like Yemen, Sudan, Morocco, Mauritania and Egypt. Regarding illiteracy reduction, basic progress has been accomplished, and the region still lags significantly behind in terms of the depth of its education. For example, in Morocco the illiteracy rate of people aged 10 and over is around 29%. However, significant differences are emerging in the analysis of illiteracy by region: thus, the region of Taza-Al Hoceima-Taounate has the highest illiteracy rate (54.8% in 2004 against 38.1% in 2012) (3).

Regarding this basic building block of human capital, the average literacy rate among Arab countries is still less than 70% which is directly impeding human capital development within the region. Although education enrolment numbers are increasing in net enrolment rates, particularly at the primary levels, especially over the past years, as the governments have invested heavily in this sector by reforming curricula and adopting national strategies guaranteeing free public education accessible to all citizens, quality of education is a contentious concern in the Arab states (4).

Also, if the average number of years of schooling more than doubled, from under 3 years in 1980 to 6.8 years by 2010, the Arab region still tends to lag behind its comparators in terms of average years of schooling. In 2010, for example, the average years of schooling in countries such as Mexico, Peru, Republic of Korea and Thailand were at least 9 years.

Moreover, educational deficiencies are particularly characteristic of the poorer families within countries. Access to education continues to be sharply differentiated by class, region and gender. For instance, in Arab countries 60% of the children not enrolled are girls. Out-of-school ratios for rural and urban areas are distinctly different-namely, 30% and 18%, respectively. Factors leading to marginalization, such as poverty, gender and geography, tend to reinforce one another (5).

Access to education continues to be differentiated by class, region and gender which make educational deficiencies particularly characteristic of the poorer within countries. In the region, the educational system suffers from

(3) Direction des études et des prévisions financières, *Des inégalités régionales sous le prisme de l'accès aux droits humains : de la multiplicité à l'indivisibilité*, Rabat, mars 2015.

(4) Nick Bontis, National Intellectual Capital index. A United Nations initiative for the Arab Region, 2005, p. 21, <http://www.aquifolium.biz/apgc2005/bontis3.pdf>

(5) Randa Alami and Massoud Karshenas, « Deficient Social Policies Have Helped Spark the Arab Spring », *Development Viewpoint*, Number 70, February 2012, <https://www.soas.ac.uk/cdpr/publications/dv/deficient-social-policies-have-helped-spark-the-arab-spring.html>

quality issues that do not equip youth with the tools they need to succeed in the modern world, including joining mainstream of economic activity. The regulatory environment in some of the countries does not encourage private investment in vocational and tertiary skill development as has been the case in some other regions. The region has failed to sustain job-creating growth and faces an explosive situation of youth unemployment particularly acute amongst the educated.

If the Arab region was able to achieve progress in reducing the gender gap and increasing female enrolment rates in all levels of education, we notice a significant gender related challenges with girls facing difficulties in terms of access, and with boys lagging behind in terms of school completion. For instance, in Arab countries 60 % of the children not enrolled are girls. Conflicts in many countries in the region such as Iraq, Occupied Palestinian Territory, Sudan, Libya, Syria, and Yemen have had serious consequences on access to education and challenges for education in these countries are; renewing the infrastructure of the schools in addition to overcoming the lack of qualified teachers and poor learning environments. The region has also serious and relatively high average of grade repeaters. Where budgets have been reduced, these problems have been compounded by inadequate physical and financial resources.

The educational system as a whole still faces difficulties, particularly in terms of achieving high education quality. Curricula need to be revised to eliminate discriminative images and stereotypes about women and girls in school textbooks. Women should be encouraged to enter scientific fields, linking thereby their education to the labor market's needs. Also, the declining quality of education has further weakened the ability of the middle class to spearhead movements for social justice. Furthermore, education in the region does not include civic and human rights education as a core message. A critical mass of the middle class has problems in translating its dreams or frustrations into rights-based agendas. Moreover, during last years, the public education has progressively declined in quality and availability, and public schooling is often now considered synonymous with poor-quality and over-crowded education.

Finally, schools, universities, and vocational education and training institutions are turning out graduates lacking the skills that are needed in competitive labour markets. The percentage of young people who are both out of school and out of work is higher in Arab countries than in any other developing region (60 %). Diplomas are often not recognized internationally, which makes migration difficult, especially for highly educated young people.

Current education reforms efforts made in the region are still focusing on quantifiable changes, such as building more schools, introducing computers to classrooms, and improving test scores in mathematics and sciences (6). While necessary and important, this emphasis on the "technical" aspects misses a basic human component. The Arab world needs a comprehensive,

(6) See outcomes of 2 main reports TIMS : Trends in International mathematics and Science Study. PIRLS : Progress in International reading Literacy Study.

whole-system approach that does not ignore or marginalize the citizenship component. Students need to learn at a very early age what it means to be citizens who think freely, and seek and produce knowledge. They must be taught to ask questions and innovate.

Furthermore, good education requires good governance, but that is lacking in the region at both the central government and the local school level. Ministries of education assume a highly centralized role and continue to be dominated by authoritarian management systems. Finally, most ministries lack vision, appropriate strategic planning, efficient supervisory units, and competent human resources. Operating under conditions unfavorable to progress, leaders of any new initiatives will face a host of bureaucratic hurdles, including incompetent officers, many of whom are corrupt, resistant to change, or disinterested.

Health services: Provision of high-quality care is far from being achieved

Most Arab countries have public health care systems, but these do not adequately cover the whole population – neglecting in particular rural areas and poorer income groups. These systems are urban based, focused on often mediocre tertiary care, and suffer from fragmentation. Having access to basic health care is often regarded as a citizenship right, but in practice, universal provision of high-quality medical care is far from being achieved.

If there have been significant declines in mortality in all countries since 1970, life expectancy below 70 years old is still noticeable within thirteen countries in the Arab region. Seven countries (Comoros, Djibouti, Iraq, Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen) fell even below far short of that. A number of factors contributed to their low life expectancy, including military and political conflict, economic crises, and the re-emergence of certain infectious diseases, such as malaria, tuberculosis and cholera.

In 1970-1975, infant mortality in the Arab region was 137 infant deaths per 1,000 live births, compared to 102 infant deaths per 1,000 live births in developing countries (table 5). By 2005-2010, infant mortality in the Arab region had dropped to 44 deaths per 1,000 live births, compared to 52 deaths per 1,000 live births in developing countries. Despite the fact that infant mortality in Arab countries has declined, it still poses a major public health concern in some of the countries of the Arab region, especially in countries like Somalia (110), Djibouti (85), Mauritania (73), Sudan (69) and Yemen (59). In sharp contrast, low rates are found in Qatar (8), Kuwait (9) and Bahrain (10). By 2045-2050, the average infant mortality rate in the Arab region is anticipated to drop to 17 deaths per 1,000 live births (7).

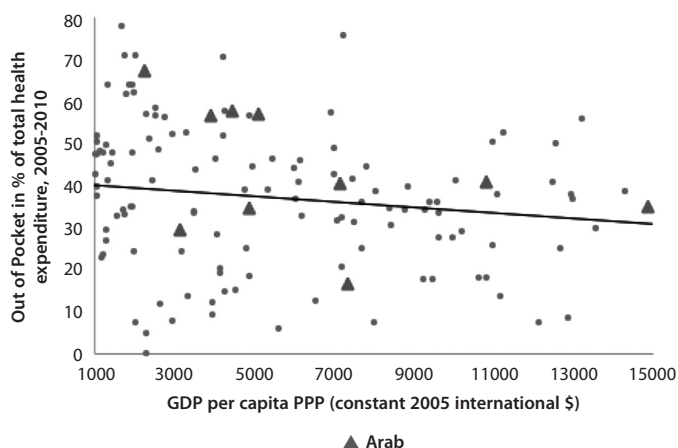
As a result, maternal mortality ranging from approximately 300 in Djibouti up to even 1,600 per 100,000 in Somalia and the least Developed

(7) UNDP, « Population Levels, Trends and Policies in the Arab Region », *Challenges and Opportunities*, 2010, p. 14.

Countries in the region are still off track when measuring under-five mortality rates; and even in more developed country like Algeria, some regions like Adrar, maternal mortality is 239 per 100,000 (at national level it was 81, 4 per 100,000 in 2009). Among the main factors contributing to high mortality in the region are: early marriage; lack of coordinated family planning programmes and limited use of contraception; high demand for children and preference for large families due to tradition, culture, and the need for old age security; limited access to health and medical facilities; and lack of integration of population factors into development planning. Due to the high levels of fertility and mortality, the Arab region has a young population.

The situation is aggravated in deteriorating and crisis situations, where the vulnerability of groups such as women (especially the pregnant) increases, leaving little or no scope for women's needs and services (8). Conflict areas and mobile and displaced populations do still have problems of accessibility to vaccines, health facility coverage, suboptimal delivery and unavailability of services.

(8) Third Arab Report on the Millennium Development Goals and the impact of the global economic crisis, 2010, UNDP-LAS, p. xvii.



Despite the substantial progress made in reducing infant and child mortality, improving life expectancy, and increasing access to health care, major problems however remain challenging public health systems. They include high maternal mortality, malnutrition, wide disparities between rural and urban areas, emphasis on curative rather than preventive care, weak public health institutions, variable quality of health care, lack of capacity in policy making, and unresponsive and inequitable health systems.

In terms of the distribution health services, there is a gap between the big and small administrative units, urban and rural, the rich, and the poor in the distribution of such services. On account of intra-regional inequality a contrasting paradigm of rural and urban opportunities for the poorer segment of population. Rural poor populations are frequently/usually worse

off in terms of social indicators such as health compared to their urban counterparts.

Also if most Arab countries have public health care systems, they do not adequately cover the whole population. If pension schemes have been elaborated over the last decades in many cases; few have developed a coherent national social security policy encompassing the various components of social security, including social insurance as well as non-contributory transfers and services covering rural areas and poorer income groups.

Because these systems are urban based, focused on often mediocre tertiary care, and suffer from fragmentation and lack of capacities. For example, regarding medical staff distribution in Morocco, only three regions (Rabat-Salé-Zemmour-Zaer, Grand Casablanca, and Fès-Boulemane) which represent only 26% of the population, do concentrate 53% of doctors in 2011.

Therefore, consequently, one of the main challenges for the Arab region is to build an effective social protection floor that would guarantee a minimum level of social protection for the population, and which would contribute to realizing the universal right to social security. Besides formal social security systems, many countries in the region have established, social assistance programmes with social insurance as dominant element, which provides long-term benefits for old age and in case of disability and death. However, such plans are covering usually workers on regular contracts in the public sector, as well as workers in the formal private sector. Other categories of workers, such as temporary or casual workers, agricultural workers and domestic or migrant workers, are excluded from legal coverage in some countries. Few formal social security mechanisms exist to cover the risk of unemployment, while social assistance plans and other formal social safety nets tend to be fragmented and weakly coordinated.

Also, in most Arab countries, as the private sector has become an important supplier of health services, coverage is available only to people who are contributing to insurance. On average, public health insurance covers only 30%-40% of the population, and the rates are even much lower in countries such as Egypt, Morocco, Sudan and Yemen. Because of inadequate coverage, the population has unequal opportunities to access health services and people remain highly vulnerable financially when they are injured or become seriously ill. Also, as 'informality' and self-employment are main features of the Arab labour market, the situation of many employers and workers is vulnerable because they do not benefit from social coverage protection.

Furthermore, during recent years, public health systems have had to contend with shrinking or stagnant financial resources while they have been called upon to respond effectively to growing populations. Public spending on health as a share of GDP in the Arab region in 2005-2009 was

consistently below international norms. In fact, most Arab countries had spending that was below the 2.7 % average for sub-Saharan Africa.

Also, lack of institutionalized and effective social dialogue mechanisms, which could contribute in guiding crisis response strategies, has created additional challenge for the development and implementation of social policies.

Access to employment: A major concern for youth

While most of the countries in the region have achieved relatively good economic performance, the progress has not fully translated into sufficient increase in employment. If the region managed to reduce the overall unemployment rate from a level of 12 % in 1990 to 9.3 % by 2010, it holds still the highest unemployment rate among developing regions (9). The employment-to-population ratio in Middle East and North Africa countries continues to be the lowest in the world, only slightly increasing from 42.1 % to 42.9 % in the Middle East and from 41.8 % to 42.8 % in North Africa.

The increase in the working-age population, as a corollary of demographic transition which explains that the region has one of the highest labour force growth rates in the world, exceeding 3 % per annum did exacerbates this concern. In some countries like Egypt, young people's risk of unemployment is six times higher than that for adults (10) and women's participation in the labour market remains very limited as they are under-utilized human resource, and in many Arab countries the gaps between men and women are still unjustifiably large (11).

Young people (15-24 age groups) in the region are particularly concerned and their unemployment based on estimates derived from ILO and UN data reached 24 % in 2005-2011 (more than double the world average of 11.9 %), accounting for more than 50 % of the total Arab unemployed. Youth unemployment in MENA countries remains the highest in the world, reaching 28 per cent in the Middle East and 30 per cent in North Africa in 2013. This is more than twice as high as the global average. The lack of proper economic policymaking is leading to this accumulation of high unemployment rates, which remains the most crucial challenge facing the region. It must be noted, however, that youth unemployment rates differ across countries registering in 2013 around 18.5 per cent in Morocco, 24 per cent in Algeria, 20.6 per cent in Lebanon, 38.9 per cent in Egypt, 33.7 per cent in Jordan, 28.7 per cent in Saudi Arabia, 38.3 per cent in the Occupied Palestinian Territory and 31.2 per cent in Tunisia.

One of the main reasons for a high youth unemployment rate is the problematic transition from school to work, particularly among university graduates. Arab unemployment is gender biased. Also, unemployment rates for Arab women are the highest compared to world regions and the gap between male and female remains high (though it has recently narrowed).

(9) UNDP, Arab Development Challenges Report: Towards the Development State in the Arab Region, 2011, p. 5 http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/corporate/HDR/UNDP-ADCR_En-2012.pdf

(10) ILO, Challenges in the Arab World: An ILO response, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---exrel/documents/genericdocument/wcms_176850.pdf

(11) Nabil F. Khoury, Valentine M. Moghadam, *Gender and Development in the Arab World: Women's economic participation: Patterns and Policies*, 1995, p. 2. http://books.google.com.eg/books?hl=fr&lr=&id=EBsOEEcC8rsC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Soci al+Policies+in+the+Arab+Region&ots=w8rkLOB3Bn&sig=FjcVfD6i7eg9yW3pqFc20HODP0Q&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Social%20Policies%20in%20the%20Arab%20Region&cf=false

Arab women's unemployment rate is double that of Arab men (16% and 8% respectively). Unemployment is particularly acute amongst younger women who are joining the labour force in ever-larger numbers because of their increasing participation in higher education and rising average age of marriage. The average unemployment rate for young Arab women is estimated at 35%, according to the most recent surveys (2004-2011), compared to 20% for young men.

Poor employment response to economic growth implies that there is something deeply flawed with the policies in place. The Arab region lags behind all other regions in indicators of full, productive and decent employment, particularly for women and youth. Gains in female education have not translated into rapid improvement in the female labor market participation and improvement has been modest. On youth, the evidence on the labor market shows that due to demographic trends, youth share of the labor market is growing.

According to data for the Arab States, there is a weak link between real growth of GDP and employment generation in the region. Such a weak link is manifested in low and declining response of employment to real growth, which exacerbates the phenomenon of "jobless growth" (12).

In relationship with low formal employment levels, low female participation in the labour market and high level of youth unemployment remain the main causes for low coverage rates of formal social security plans. This leaves a large portion of the population vulnerable to economic shocks. As nearly all social security systems in the region are financed by contributions and linked to formal employment, a high proportion of people lack any form of social security, other than some basic social assistance. While the small proportion of women with stable careers in the public and private sector is relatively well protected, many women with short and interrupted formal employment have little or no social security coverage.

(12) UNDP, ESCWA and the League of Arab States, « Third Arab Report on the Millennium Development Goals 2010 and the Impact of the Economic Crisis », 2010, p. 13. http://204.200.211.31/Update_Dec/AMDGR/Third%20Arab%20report%20on%20the%20MDGs%202010%20_30-09-2010.pdf

Emerging and problematic social issues

The roots of uprising in the Arab region showed real connections between population, development, and governance issues which are well understood by most researchers in the region who do usually flag the needs of the most vulnerable members of society and of those who enjoy the least autonomy to protect their rights, including the poor, women and adolescents. In the Arab region, some countries do have social policies covering specific components, some others are in the process of developing policies that address health and rights issues, and few others do still have confused idea about the promotion of human development.

During the last years, several Arab countries, have witnessed a public debate, boosted by civil society actors, revolving around socioeconomic and cultural rights (Employment, Education, Health care, etc.). This gives rise to

the need to understand and promote economic and social rights. Therefore, there is a need to focus on these 'rights' effect on human development and examine economic policies that promote social protection, social mobility and inclusion.

Despite the great variation of the situation across the Arab region regarding economic development, education, human rights, gender equality, and health, many countries are still lagging behind other regions in the world, and are facing major challenges: such as poverty alleviation, coupled with difficult social conditions.

The transitions have made some tangible progress over the past years, with a number of countries holding elections and some embarking on constitutional process. When we look at the political environment, we could say that arguably, the current juncture and across some countries (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Sudan) transitions towards more open and free political systems are not occurring easily. However, the ongoing transformations have brought new dynamics and challenges regarding the need to raise educational standards and promote jobs for the younger generation.

Along the current transitions, debates calling for a strong constituency for social justice and accountable governance are creating a new dynamic in most Arab countries. The aspiration for a new social contract that empowers the society through inclusive participation of youth requires responsive policies of social inclusion and equity. Governments seem to be willing to provide the population with political space in the public arena, especially on issues of personal freedom, education and employment.

Many researchers raised the persistent lack of comprehensive and concrete social policies elaboration in the region (13), underlining that the Arab governments are following a combination of medium and short term social strategies aiming at alleviating the negative effects of public policies geared primarily towards economic growth, and to a lesser degree spreading the fruits of development where it is possible. They are also emphasizing the need of an entire paradigm shift to a systematic approach to social provision, which will support viable new economic development strategies (14).

The challenge facing Arab countries remains not only to achieve higher growth – which is necessary for rapid poverty reduction and social wellbeing – but also to transform the regions' existing and future into an inclusive growth, which will contribute to reduce poverty, creates work opportunities and views social expenditure as a real investment in the future. More national strategies are required, not only to address the lack of infrastructure, limited access to health, and education, but also to deploy redistributive policies in a transparent and accountable environment, which itself relies on a democratic and participative political system.

Even in rich Arab countries, economic growth should not ignore either the pressing needs of the most vulnerable, but also a transparent, accountable, and regulatory environment, which itself relies on a democratic

(13) Gregor Hamann, *Towards a new social contract: Social Justice in North Africa and Middle East*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, September 2011, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/08475.pdf>

(14) Randa Alami and Massoud Kershenas, « Deficient Social Policies have helped spark the Arab Spring », *Development Viewpoint*, Number 70, Center for Development Policy and Research, February 2012.

and participative political system. A window of opportunity has been created by Arab populations to drive a policy debate with priorities of this debate should be youth employment, job creation, and alternative industrial policies to generate equitable and sustainable growth.

As it is noticed in some “Arab Spring countries”, governments are trying to address social deficits, to revisit current policies in order to build new, relevant and proactive approaches in addressing heavy deficits. As the political environment is changing in the region and this change is also an opportunity for the Arab countries to develop new strategies to redefine priorities for the coming era in many domains, in Social issues. In addition, current political situation in the region requires from the governments to institute a qualitative change in their approach by focusing more on Social and Economic issues, and this could help them providing responses, which contribute in addressing youth unemployment, civic participation beside other issues.

During the current transition, debates calling for a strong constituency for social justice and accountable governance, and human dignity, are creating a new dynamic in most Arab countries. Aspirations for a new social contract that empowers the society through inclusive participation requires responsive policies of social inclusion and equity that governments should provide young people with political space in the public arena, especially on issues of education, employment and personal freedom.

However, many researchers raised the absence of comprehensive and concrete social policies in the region (15), arguing that the Arab governments are following a combination of medium and short-term social strategies aiming at alleviating the negative effects of public policies geared primarily towards economic growth, and to a lesser degree spreading the fruits of development where possible.

The main mission of the Arab developmental state is to invest in its citizens. To this end, what is required and is feasible, is an overhaul of current social policies, changing paradigms of growth and development Arab social policies have clearly failed their populations, either directly through inadequate provision, or indirectly through their negative impact on economic development and employment generation. Hence, the region is badly in need of an entire paradigm shift to a fairer, rights-based, systematic approach to social provision, which will support viable new economic development strategies (16).

As social policy is also an outcome of complex social dialogue between different interest groups. Hence, it is important to underline the main contours of the issues that need to be addressed during these early stages of the democratization process through many components:

- To create fertile ground by providing communities the mechanisms and processes necessary for accountability to ensure equitable delivery of services, with political and fiscal decentralization, local governance. Decentralized

(15) Gregor Hamann, *Towards a new social contract: Social Justice in North Africa and Middle East*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, September 2011, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/08475.pdf>

(16) Randa Alami and Massoud Kershenas, « Deficient Social Policies have helped spark the Arab Spring », *Development Viewpoint*, Number 70, Center for Development Policy and Research, February, 2012.

local governments increased social development and political participation and an overall quality of governance. Greater role of local governments over educational services improved educational outcomes including achievement scores.

– Putting emphasis on the most disadvantaged groups, population based prevention and essential care with proved cost effectiveness, strengthening primary health care and integrating fragmented health services, strengthening public health institutions, supporting community based and community designed health improvement initiatives. Priorities for public health should aim at reducing access inequalities, especially for poor and vulnerable groups (women, disabled persons).

– Ensuring a good quality and relevance of public health and education services for improving any social policy in the region. As the freedom from debilitating health conditions as well as equal access to adequate and quality education is vital for breaking the cycle of poverty of the poor who only have their labour power to offer. Another important guarantee of inclusive development is to institute mechanisms and processes of legal empowerment of the poor to enable them to break through poverty traps and disrupt exclusionary dynamics.

References

- Banque mondiale, Ciblage et protection sociale : note d'orientation stratégique, 2012.
- Carnegie Middle East Center, The Importance of Education in the Arab World, September 2013, <http://www.hpu.edu/CHSS/History/PapersCommentariesStudies/carnegiarabeducation.pdf>
- Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, de la formation et de la recherche scientifique, Instance nationale d'évaluation, Rapport analytique : bilan de la mise en œuvre de la Charte nationale d'éducation et de formation : 2000-2013, Rabat, mars 2015.
- NICK BONTIS, *National Intellectual Capital index*, A United Nations initiative for the Arab Region, 2005, p. 21, <http://www.aquifolium.biz/apgc2005/bontis3.pdf>
- GREGOR HAMANN, *Towards a new social contract: Social Justice in North Africa and Middle East*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, September 2011, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/08475.pdf>
- ILO, *Challenges in the Arab World: An ILO response*, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---exrel/documents/generic-document/wcms_176850.pdf
- RANDA ALAMI and MASSOUD KARSHENAS, « Deficient Social Policies Have Helped Spark the Arab Spring », *Development Viewpoint*, Number 70, February 2012, <https://www.soas.ac.uk/cdpr/publications/dv/deficient-social-policies-have-helped-spark-the-arab-spring.html>

Nahda : la grande transformation dans le monde arabe

Articles parus

BOUDERBALA Negib (2011), « Tunisie: la révolution imprévue », *Critique économique*, n° 27, hiver-printemps.

CHEDDADI Abdesselam (2012), « Les approches de la civilisation dans le monde arabe: les avatars d'un concept », *Critique économique*, n° 28-29, printemps-été.

LAZAREV Grigori (2012), « Maghreb et Méditerranée: à l'épreuve du "Printemps arabe" », *Critique économique*, n° 28-29, printemps-été.

MOSTAFA KHAROUFI (2014), « Transition démographique, transition démocratique: une équation périlleuse? », *Critique économique*, n° 32, automne.