

Arab Spring and Poverty in Arab countries

Dr. Khalid Amur Salim Al-Shamli

Assistant Prof. Sultan Qaboos University, Sultanate of Oman

khalid20@squ.edu.om

ORCID iD Link: <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-9760-9798>

Received: 07/04/2026 Accepted: 20/06/2026 Published: 30/06/2026

Abstract:

This study examines the phenomenon of poverty in Arab countries and its relationship to political unrest, particularly the so-called Arab Spring, drawing on data and reports from international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Bank. It argues that poverty constituted a significant structural driver of the protests witnessed across several Arab states.

Poverty in the Arab world is a multidimensional condition encompassing economic, social, and political dimensions, manifested in material deprivation, limited access to essential services, and uneven development outcomes. Despite variations across national contexts, poverty remains widespread, with notable disparities between low-income and middle-income countries in the region.

To analyze these differences, the study classifies Arab countries into two broad categories based on poverty indicators and examines the underlying structural causes within each group. It further explores how persistent poverty, in conjunction with inequality, demographic pressures, and governance challenges, contributed to rising public discontent and, ultimately, to episodes of political instability.

Keywords: poverty, Arab Spring, Arab countries, poor, protests, unemployment.

الملخص:

تتناول الدراسة ظاهرة الفقر في الدول العربية وعلاقتها بالاضطرابات السياسية، لا سيما ما يُعرف بالربيع العربي، وذلك بالاعتماد على البيانات والتقارير الصادرة عن المنظمات الدولية مثل الأمم المتحدة والبنك الدولي. خلصت الدراسة إلى أن الفقر لم يكن مجرد عامل مساعد، بل كان دافعاً رئيساً وراء اندلاع الثورات والاحتجاجات في عدد من الدول العربية.

فالفقر في الدول العربية ليس مجرد أرقام أو مؤشرات اقتصادية، بل هو واقع يومي يعيشه الملايين، ويتجلى في ضعف مستوى المعيشة، ومحدودية فرص التعليم والعمل، وصعوبة الوصول إلى الخدمات الأساسية. وعلى الرغم من اختلاف مستويات الفقر بين الدول، فإنه يظل ظاهرة واسعة الانتشار، تعكس تفاوتات واضحة في التنمية والفرص.

ولفهم هذه الظاهرة بشكل أعمق، صنفت الدراسة الدول العربية إلى فئتين رئيسيتين: دول منخفضة الدخل وأخرى متوسطة الدخل، مع تحليل الأسباب التي تقف وراء الفقر في كل فئة. كما أوضحت الدراسة أن الفقر يتداخل مع عوامل أخرى مثل عدم المساواة، والضغط السكاني، وضعف الحوكمة، ما أدى إلى تصاعد مشاعر الإحباط مع عامة الناس، ودفعهم في نهاية المطاف إلى الخروج إلى الشوارع.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الفقر؛ الربيع العربي؛ الدول العربية؛ الفقراء؛ الاحتجاجات؛ البطالة.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, Arab countries suffer from many problems such as terrorism, violence, climate change and pollution. The problem of poverty is considered the most important problem facing the Arab governments. As poverty is a complex phenomenon with multiple dimensions – economic, social, political, and possibly security – although different concepts of poverty exist in different countries, cultures and times. However, it is agreed that poverty is a state of material deprivation that reflects the most important manifestations of the decline in the consumption of food quality and quantity, low

Arab Spring and Poverty in Arab countries

state of health, educational level, housing situation and the denial of ownership of durable goods and other tangible assets (Green, 2006).

In some Arab countries all manifestations of poverty mentioned earlier have emerged such as Sudan. Tanner (2009) confirms that the number of poor people in Arab countries exceeded 62 million and their daily income is less than US\$1.25 per day. Furthermore, the percentage of poor people in some countries have reached an extreme level, such as in Mauritania, where more than 23% of the total population are in poverty (The World Bank, 2013). Revolutions are one of the natural results of poverty so it was not surprising to see many revolutions in Arab countries. There, the most important demands were to improve the standard of living, freedom and social justice in the distribution of wealth (Ibid). In spite of all of this, the phenomenon of poverty can be addressed if the government and the general public act together as Mandela explains:

'Overcoming poverty is not a task of charity, it is an act of justice. Like Slavery and Apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings' (BBC, 2005).

This study tries to shed light on the phenomenon of poverty in Arab countries through five main points. The first point concerns general information about Arab countries in terms of the number of states, population and the most important resources (water, minerals, agricultural). The second point will divide the Arab countries into two main regions depending on indicators of poverty. Also the most important reasons that lead to poverty will then be reviewed alongside some possible solutions that are likely to shrink the size of this phenomenon for each region separately. The areas are as follows: the first group is poor countries where large proportions of the poor people live. The second group is middle-income countries where the proportion of poor is neither high nor low. The last point will discuss how poverty relates to the Arab Spring - in other words, whether poverty was the main cause of revolutions in some Arab countries.

In order to highlight the phenomenon of poverty in the Arab countries, this study will depend on the reports issued by international organizations such as the UN, World Bank, Transparency International. The reasons are that firstly; these organizations are highly credible in their statements. Secondly, the comparison will be more realistic and credible if the derived information on the subject comes from the same sources. It is, however well-known that data may differ according to the different sources. Thirdly, some countries do not have a database on poverty, so international reports are the sole source.

2. Arab states in brief :

Arab countries are a group of countries where the populations speak Arabic. There are 22 such countries located on two continents: Asia, and the north and northeast Africa (League of Arab States, no. date). It covers an area about 5.25 million square miles (BBC, 2011). So it is the second largest area in the world after Russia. This is in terms of size and location (Figure 1).

Population: there are 350 million people living in the Arab

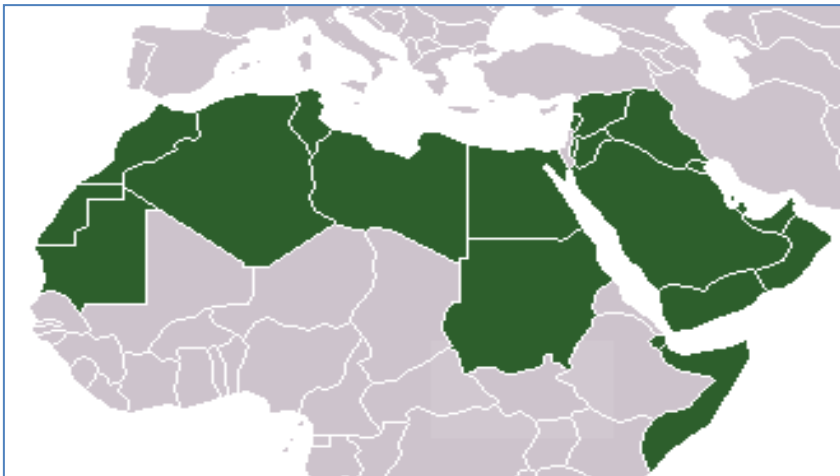


Figure 1: Map of the Arab countries. Source: League of Arab

world (UNFPA, 2013), approximately 5% of the total world population. Therefore, the Arab world is the fourth most

Arab Spring and Poverty in Arab countries

populous region in the world after China, India and the United States. Population growth in the Arab world is very high with an annual rate of 2% annually, one of the highest in the world. The global average for population growth is 1.1%, compared to only 0.4% in developed countries and 1.3% in developing countries (UNFPA, 2012). Based on the above, the size of the Arab population will be about 420 million people in 2020.

In addition, about 70% of them live in countries that are located in the continent of Africa, whilst the remaining 30% live on the Asian side. Egypt is unique with about a quarter of the Arab population 86 million (statistical Year Book, 2013). According to UNFPA (2013) Morocco, Algeria, Iraq and Sudan contain about 40% of the Arab population, with each of them having between 30 to 40 million people. Thus 17 countries have nearly a third of Arab people.

In short, the population growth rate in Arab countries is high, but the population is not evenly distributed amongst the countries. So some countries are highly populated whereas others are not. This of course will lead to pressure on resources and thus contributes to the emergence of the phenomenon of poverty as we show below.

3. Indicators of poverty in the Arab world :

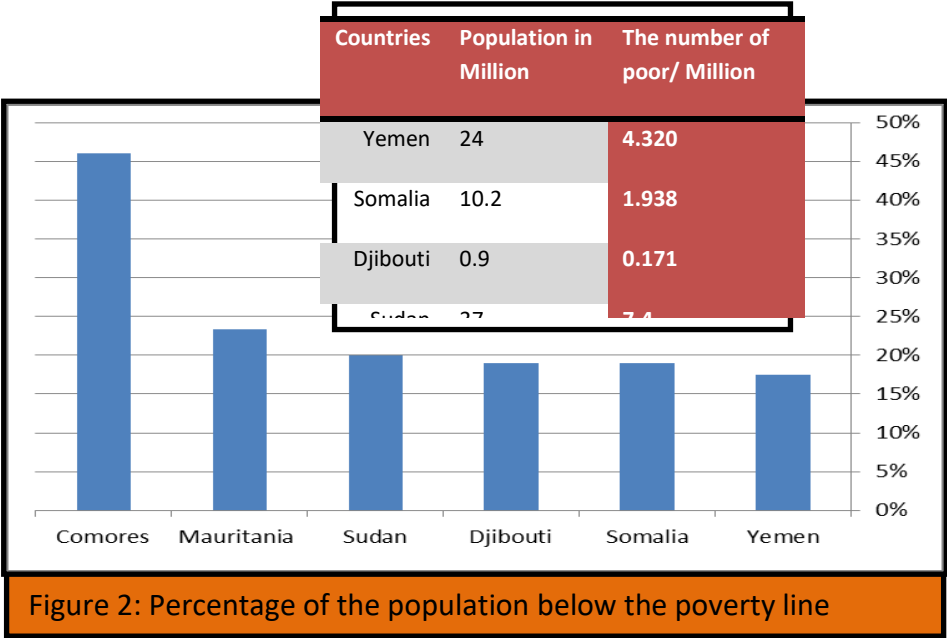
According to the Human Development report (2013) Arab countries show a great disparity in levels of development. Some states are classified in the list of very high human development, such as Qatar, while other states are classified in the list of countries with low human development. Not only that, but they lie at the bottom of that category, such as Yemen. Therefore, poverty levels will be different from one country to another, depending on the level of development. In order to understand the dimensions of the issue I will divide Arab countries into three major groups according to indicators of poverty.

*** First group, poor countries with a high number of poor**

In this group are countries that suffer from the problem of poverty dramatically, where the poverty rate is more than 20% of the population. These countries are: Somalia, Yemen, Sudan, Comoros, Djibouti and Mauritania (Figure 2)

Dr. Khalid Amur Salim Al-Shamli

This graph shows several things. Firstly, there is a significant difference in the proportion of poor people among these countries. Comoros has the highest percentage of poor



people amongst the Arab countries with a percentage of 46% in 2013, representing more than 300,000 people of the population of the Comoros, which has a population of 700,000 people. Most of those poor live in rural areas (Central Intelligence Agency, no date). While, the proportion in other countries did not exceed 20% with the exception of Mauretania which reaching 23%.

However, there is a great disparity in the number of poor people between these countries. This is due to the vast disparity between the size of their population. For example, the total of poor people in these countries is 15 million. About half that number live in Sudan (37 million). According to this argument, sometimes percentages do not reflect the true reality of the phenomena.

Against this background, it is important to note that most Arab countries that have a high rate of poverty, are on the African continent with the exception of Yemen. It is recognized that African countries in general have large areas suitable for

Arab Spring and Poverty in Arab countries

the cultivation as well as have enough water. As evidence of this, Oppong (2010) claims that Sudan is an agricultural country. He adds "about 187 million hectares are arable, or suitable for farming, but only 0.17 percent of the country's land is actually farmed". Even more importantly, Sudan has a wealth of water 'because it is where the White Nile meets the Blue Nile to form the Nile River. This situation is similar to most countries in this category except Mauretania, which comprises largely desert. The question arises as to why populations continue to suffer from poverty and famine when there are more than enough natural resources to produce sufficient food for the whole population.

In fact, there are many reasons that lead to countries having large numbers of poor people. First, most of these countries suffer from a conflict or internal wars, whether ethnic or separatist, thus preventing resources from being exploited for the production of food. Even if it has been exploited and exported, the revenue is used to purchase weapons and a good example of that is the war in Darfur, Sudan (Waal, 2007). This also applies to Yemen and Somalia.

Second is non-optimal use of resources, for example, Yemen cultivates Qat, which is a type of drug that is harmful to health and causes cancer (Kennedy, 1987), while at the same time importing wheat. It is worth noting, in the past, it was the biggest producer of coffee in the world, but currently it imports most of its food from abroad. If those spaces could be used for the cultivation of wheat, Yemen will achieve self-sufficiency of this important crop which is currently imported in large quantities. Another example of the mismanagement of agricultural resources is in Sudan where only 0.7% of the land area is suitable for cultivation (Oppong, 2010). If Sudan farms only 2% of the area suitable for cultivation, it will reduce the number of the poor, especially that most of those areas are in the countryside, which is home to most of the poor people. Not only that, but also increasing the agricultural area will lead to the creation of jobs, especially for women and youth.

The Sudanese Minister of Agriculture argues that Sudan has untapped agricultural land, but this is not due to

mismanagement, but the weakness of the financial and technical capabilities, which in turn prevents the exploitation of the land. He added that there is a serious work needed in order to increase agricultural production in Sudan (Al Jazeera Net, 2014).

Third, these communities suffer from high rates of unemployment, due to a lack of literacy, especially among females. The report, by the United Nations Population Fund (2013) confirms that the percentage of female secondary school enrollment in Yemen did not exceed 31% while the percentage of enrollment for males was only 41%. This is reflected in the life expectancy in these countries, which amounted to 62 years in Yemen, while Japan is 85 years (Ibid).

In sum, these countries possess sufficient resources in order to reduce the number of the poor people, but those resources are used in the wrong way and they are exploited in the management of conflicts rather than in education and in reducing illiteracy. It is the duty of those countries to address this problem. To this end, they must overcome obstacles to rid of the problem of poverty. This in turn requires many steps. The first step is to determine the reasons for the problem clearly. Secondly, develop an action plan and a comprehensive program to address those problems. Thirdly, they should stop the wars, violence and increase spending on health and education. Also, it is advisable that these countries pay special attention to the most vulnerable sectors of the population, such as women, children and the elderly.

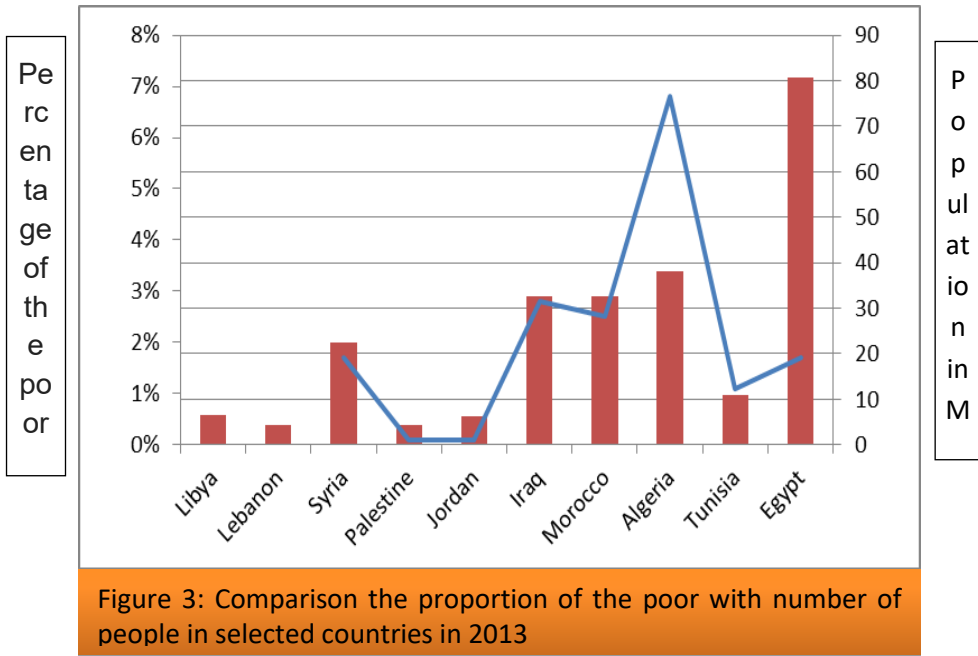
This is about the states that suffer from a high proportion of the poor, what do the status of countries which have medium proportions of poor. That is what we will discuss in the next section.

*** Second group, Countries with medium levels of poverty**

Figure (3) shows that percentage of the poor living on less than US\$1.25 a day in 10 Arab countries, namely: Tunisia, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Algeria, Morocco, Libya and Palestine. Percentages of poor people in these countries are uneven: Where in Algeria reached nearly 7%, it did not exceed 1% in Jordan. Other countries average 2% to 3%. It is

Arab Spring and Poverty in Arab countries

noteworthy, there is no data about the proportion of poor people in Libya and Lebanon.



Notwithstanding, these countries (second group) have high levels of poverty, but it cannot compare to the first group where poverty rates amounted to nearly half the population in some countries while the highest reaches 17% (see figure 2). On the other hand, in this group the country with the highest rate of poverty is Algeria, which did not exceed 7% (see figure 3). But this does not mean that the number of poor people in the first group is more than the number of poor in the second group. In other words, the number of poor in the second group is more than in the first set, which has higher percentages.

The argument goes for two main reasons: Firstly, the first group includes a small number of countries with no more than five countries, while the second group includes twice that number. Secondly, the second group includes a larger number of the Arab population, it is enough to know that Egypt's population is more than 80 million. This means that it has more

than the total population of the first set which is 76 million people. The question is what causes poverty in these countries.

There are many reasons for the spread of poverty in these countries. Firstly, these countries have a high population growth rate as well as large existing populations. As evidence for this, the statistics of United Nations Funds for residents show that these countries have almost 70% of the population of the Arab countries. Secondly and even more importantly, the majority of the populations are aged between 15 to 40 years old (Howe, 2008). This means people who live in these countries are young, but the problem is that most of them are unemployed. This was confirmed by Fakhouri (2010) who states:

'Arab League members are unprepared for the effect of population growth. About 60% of the Arab world's population are under 25 years old, meaning officials have to create 100 million new jobs by 2020 to avert mass unemployment among a youthful population. The increase in population size is destructive in light of the limited natural resources and the absence of a clear economic development strategy'

This is not only limited to this extent, but this category (young people) also bears other financial burdens such as supporting their elderly, children and women. Thus the problem of poverty is exacerbated and extended to the other age groups (older and younger) in those communities. Against this background, people's responses will be either to migrate to other Arab countries such as the Gulf States due to high wages and provision of jobs for immigrants or they start to make demonstrations the government to raise wages and people start to demand the resignation of the government. These points will be explained later in this study.

The question is, why the unemployment rate is rising among young people in these countries. The answer to this question is considered as the third reason, which leads to high incidence of poverty. According to Fakhouri (2010) this represents the nature of the economy in those countries that have a lack of economic projects that create job opportunities for young people, such as factories and other service employers.

Arab Spring and Poverty in Arab countries

So it is not surprising to find that most young people think of migrating to other countries in order to work. This can be problematic in Arab countries which lose their competencies, or what can be termed 'a brain drain'. With most of the young immigrants holding advanced degrees and high skills, they have moved to developed countries that receive special quality of immigrants such as efficiency scientific owners. So which kind of workforce works in the Arab countries with poverty? It is mainly unskilled or low-skilled workers, thus depriving those countries of economic growth because they have lost the most important element of growth - human labour.

The fourth reason is globalization, where countries have opened their markets to the products of other countries, leading to their markets being flooded with products of multinational companies (Tanner, 2009). It is not secret to anyone the huge potential held by these companies on one hand, and on the other hand, Arab countries do not have the ability to compete. Thus, national manufacturers tend to shed jobs in the face of better quality, and sometimes cheaper products which are imported.

The fifth reason is corruption in these countries. According to the Corruption Perceptions Index (2013), issued by Transparency International (a global civil society organization leading the fight against corruption) most of these countries occupy low rankings. Libya stands in 172nd place and Iraq in 171st place in the Corruption Perceptions Index 2013. Syria and Egypt also have significant levels of corruption.

It can be concluded that these countries have lower rates of poor people when compared with the first group, but this does not mean that the number of poor people in these countries is less than the number of poor in the first group, but on the contrary. So, if these countries want the number of poor people to decline, they prefer the following instructions. First, reducing the rate of population growth, by following one family planning methods, for example, encourage on the use of contraceptives (UNFPA, 2012). Second, they should fight diffused corruption in all sectors and operate an economic plan aimed at bolstering the economy and establish factories that

provide many job opportunities and thus reduces unemployment and immigration, which will have a positive impact on the level of people's lives.

4. Poverty and the Arab revolutions

Most revolutions throughout history have been motivated by poverty and injustice, the best example being the French Revolution (Furet, 1996). From 2010, many of the Arab countries have witnessed a wave of protests demanding change and revolutions that brought down systems and threatened others. So what is the real motive of these revolutions - is poverty actually the reason?

The Prince of Qatar indicates that poverty and unemployment are the real motives for the Arab revolutions (Al Jazeera, 2013). This means that people do not choose to go out to the streets to protest and demand for change in vain. People protested because of the policies adopted by the referees and that produced extreme poverty, the spread of the phenomenon of unemployment, low wages and corruption. It is enough to know that the Arab revolution bomber in Tunisia, Abu Aziz, was from a poor class and avenged himself after a policewoman slapped him.

On the other hand, The New York Times (2011) confirms that Western regimes are the main driver of these revolutions because the leaders of revolutions have been trained in the USA. According to this argument, Arab revolts are not revolting against poverty and unemployment, but the goal is to redraw the map of the Middle East in order to be compatible with Western interests.

This is denied by the International Labor Organization (2013), Which confirms that the worsening problem of unemployment in the Arab world was among the factors that sparked popular revolts. The organization adds that,

'The Arab region, with the highest unemployment rate in the world and youth unemployment rate almost four times the adult rate has also suffered from persistent inequality, poor social protection, weak institutions for social dialogue, and a considerable decent work deficit'.

Arab Spring and Poverty in Arab countries

Howe (2008) agrees with the opinion of the International Labor Organization. He warned of the outbreak of the Arab revolt in 2008. He based this on several indicators, the most important of which was that most of the population of the Arab countries are young people and most of them are suffering from unemployment.

In short, statistics and published figures largely reflect the size of the breadth distinctions, social stratification, and the extent of the bitter reality experienced by the vast majority of the Arab people. Also it shows how the failure of the majority of the authorities and the Arab elites ruling in meeting the most basic conditions of human needs in the Arab world by ensuring the security of life and standard of living, let alone wastage of freedom and dignity and their human rights. The result was a massive revolution led by the young people to oust the ruling regimes and it was intended to achieve dignity, freedom and a fair standard of living.

To be fair, the reasons for the Arab revolutions cannot be restricted to one side which is economic / livelihood. However, no doubt it was the main driver of these revolutions. The most important lessons that can be learned from the revolutions of the hungry is that people cannot be silenced forever on injustice. So the governments that are looking for the consolidation of state security without investing in human security are governments that don't achieve any of them, human security and state security are two sides of the same coin.

5. Conclusion

It has been argued that all Arab countries are suffering from the problem of poverty but in uneven proportions. There are countries where the rates of the poor exceeded 40% of the total population. On the other hand, there are countries did not exceed 1% of the poor. And between the first group and the last group is a group in the middle, where the proportion of poor people reached 7%. This group includes the largest number of Arab countries. So it contains the largest number of poor people.

Dr. Khalid Amur Salim Al-Shamli

Disparity in the percentages of the poor in the Arab countries can be traced to two main factors: firstly, the variation in the distribution of the population in the Arab countries. Secondly, the variation in the distribution of resources. This means that there are countries with large populations and few resources, such as Egypt and Sudan. By contrast, there are countries have smaller populations, but they have tremendous resources such as the UAE and Qatar.

The causes of poverty in the Arab countries can be traced to several factors, including the common factors which are shared by all the Arab countries and the special factors which are specific to a particular group. Common factors are unemployment, as well as corruption with its two parts financial and administrative. To consider special factors, the most important is conflict for the first group and expat workers for the third set.

The most important lesson that can be learnt from history is that people cannot tolerate injustice and poverty. Thus, the revolutions in the Arab countries can be considered as the reaction of the people against poverty, corruption and unemployment, which are widespread, especially among young people. It is worth mentioning here that the study depends on US\$1.25 per a day as a measure of poverty. But if the measure was US\$2, the number of poor people would be double.

Finally, if the Arab countries are serious about fighting poverty, there needs to be recognition of the problem. Whilst researching this essay, I observed that there is a discreet dissemination of poverty data discreetly by some countries. As a result, I did not get the poverty data for some countries. Secondly, the fight against corruption in all its forms and manifestations. Third, increased spending on education, health and reduce military spending. Because Security countries cannot be achieved, what has not been achieved human security.

Arab Spring and Poverty in Arab countries

References

1. Al Jazeera Net (2013) Syria and Iran dossiers came first at world leaders' speeches. Available from: <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/pages/2976448d-d74e-4a27-b46f-46495a32aa79> (Accessed: 2 May 2014).
2. Al Jazeera Net (2014) Dialogue with the Sudanese Minister of Agriculture. Available from: <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/pages/8949d41d-20c0-4afb-a318-10c139141995> (Accessed: 2 March 2014).
3. Arabian Business (2010) AB Rich List 2010. Available from: <http://www.arabianbusiness.com/rich-list-2010> (Accessed: 17 March 2014).
4. BBC (2005) In full: Mandela's poverty speech. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4232603.stm (Accessed: 25 February 2014).
5. BBC (2011) Profile: Arab League. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles/1550797.stm. (Accessed: 25 February 2014).
6. Central Intelligence Agency (N.D) The World Factbook. Available from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html> (Accessed: 13 February 2014).
7. CNN (2007) Inside the Middle East from Bahrain Part 01. [online]. Available from: <http://edition.cnn.com/video/data/2.0/video/specials/2007/06/01/im.e.hidden.pop.bahrain.cnn.html> (Accessed: 6 March 2014).
8. DeCapua, J. (2012) Arab World Faces Serious Poverty, Food Security Challenges. Available from: <http://www.voanews.com/content/decapua-arab-food-security-6feb12-138786354/151662.html> (Accessed: 7 March 2014).
9. Dito, M. (2006) Governing labour Migration Policies in the GCC countries: Risk and Opportunities. Beirut: United Nations. Available from: http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/EGM_Ittmig_Arab/P08_Dito.pdf (Accessed: 10 March 2014).
10. Fakhouri, H. (2010) Middle East Today. Available from: <http://mid-east-today.blogspot.co.uk/search/label/Poverty> (Accessed: 6 March 2014).
11. Forbes (2014) The World's Billionaires. Available from: http://www.forbes.com/billionaires/list/#tab:overall_country:United%20Arab%20Emirates (Accessed: 12 March 2014).

Dr. Khalid Amur Salim Al-Shamli

12. Frantz, F. (2013) 'Jordan's Unfree Workforce: State-Sponsored Bonded Labour in the Arab Region', *The Journal of Development Studies*, 49 (8), Pp. 1072-1087.
13. Furet, F. (1996) *The French Revolution*. Oxford: Blackwell.
14. Geneva Institute for Human Rights (2010) Warning of increasing poverty in the Arab world. Available from: http://gihr-ar.org/ar/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=495:2010-12-17-21-04-34&catid=58:2010-06-25-17-25-56&Itemid=80 (Accessed: 25 February 2014).
15. Green, M. (2006) 'Representing Poverty and Attacking Representations: Perspectives on Poverty from Social Anthropology', *Journal of Development Studies*, 42 (7), Pp. 1108-1129.
16. Howe, N. and Jackson, R. (2008) *The Graying of the Great Powers Demography and Geopolitics in the 21st Century*. Washington: CSIS.
17. Kennedy, J. G. (1987) *The Flower of Paradise: The Institutionalized Use of the Drug Qat in North Yemen (Culture, Illness and Healing)*. New York: Springer
18. League of Arab States (no date) Member States. Available from: <http://lasportal.org> (Accessed: 25 February 2014).
19. OPEC (2014) OPEC Monthly Oil Market Report. Austria: OPEC. Available from: http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/publications/338.htm (Accessed: 9 March 2014).
20. Oppong, J. R. (2010) *Sudan*. New York: Chelsea House.
21. Tanner, S. (2009) *Poverty and corruption on Arab world*. Beirut: Saki.
22. The Information and External Relations Division Of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). (2013) *Motherhood in Childhood Facing the challenge of Adolescent pregnancy. The State Of World Population*. New York: United Nations.
23. The Information and External Relations Division Of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). (2012) *By Choice, Not By Chance: Family Planning, Human Rights and Development. The State Of World Population*. New York: United Nations.
24. The New York Times (2011) U.S. Groups Helped Nurture Arab Uprisings. Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/15/world/15aid.html?pagewanted=all&r=0> (Accessed: 16 March 2014).

Arab Spring and Poverty in Arab countries

25. *The World Bank (2013) Poverty & Equity. Available from: <http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/region/MNA> (Accessed: 25 February 2014).*
26. *The World Bank (2013) The World Bank Annual Report - Ending Extreme Poverty and Promoting Shared Prosperity. Washington: world bank. Available from: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/16091/9780821399378.pdf?sequence=1> (Accessed: 25 February 2014).*
27. *Transparency International (2013) Corruption Perceptions Index. Berlin: Transparency International. Available from: http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/pub/cpi_2013 (Accessed: 6 March 2014).*
28. *United Nations Development Programme (2013) The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World. New York: United Nations.*
29. *Waal, A.D. (2007) Darfur and the failure of the responsibility to protect. International Affairs, Vol. 83 (6) Pp 1039-1054.*